

o Appianus

AN AVNCIENT  
Historie and exquisite Chronicle  
of the Romanes warres, both  
Ciuite and Foren.

Written in Greeke by the noble Orator and Historiographer, *Appian of Alexandria*, one of the learned Countsell to the most mightie Emperoures, *Traiane and Adriane*.

Translated out of diuers Languages, and now set forth in English, according to the Greeke text, taken out of a Royall Librarie: by W.B.

In the which is declared :

*Their greedy desire to conquere others.  
Their mortall malice to destroy themselves.  
Their seeking of matters to make warre abroad.  
Their picking of quarrels to fall out at home.  
All the degrees of Sedition, and all the effects of Ambition.  
A firme determination of Fate, thorow all the changes of Fortune.  
And finally, an euident demonstration, That peoples rule must giue place, and Princes power preuaile.*

With a continuation, bicause that parte of *Appian* is not extant, from the death of *Sextus Pompeius* second sonne to *Pompey the Great*, till the ouerthrow of *Antonie and Cleopatra*, after the vvhich time, *Octavianus Caesar*, had the Lordship of all, alone.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΙ ΧΑΡΙΣ, ΔΕ ΣΠΟΤΙΔΙ Τ' ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΑΤΗ.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON  
by *Ralph Newberrie* and  
*Henry Wynnuman*.

Anno: 1578.



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, his singular good Mayster, Sir  
*Christopher Hatton, Knight, Capitaine of the Queenes Maiesties*  
*Garde, Vicechamberlaine to hir Highnesse,*  
*and one of hir Maiesties most honorable priue Counsaile.*



HAT care the Almighty King of Heauen hath, of the Princes and States of the earth, though sacred Scripture did not teache vs, Prophane doctrine might instruct vs. *Homier* sheweth, that God throweth his shilde in the vvarre, to defende the Prince from harme, and that he appoynteth to euerye Gouvernoure, a peculiar God for his protection.

Hovve God plagueth them that conspire againste their Prince, this Historie declareth at the full. For of all them that coniured against *Caesar*, not one dyd escape violence death. The vvhych thys Author hath a pleasure to declare, bycause he vould affray all men from disloyaltie toward their Soueraigne.

The greatest seruice that men can doe, is to saue theyr Countrey from daunger. The *Romanes* gaue him a crowne that saued one Citizen. Then hovv many crownes deserueth he, that helpeth to saue a number.

They vsed to make a coyne for hys commendation, vvhith thys inscription: *The Senate and people of Rome for Citizens* sanct.

*Chere* vvas called, Father of the Countrey, bycause hee

A.ij,

kept

## THE EPISTLE.

kept it from decay. All they that in theyr consultations, doe seeke the like benefite to their Countrey, doe deserue the like reuyard and prayse, and in the testimonie of good mens hearts, they are sure to haue it.

Then seeing this Authours onely purpose is, to extoll the princely rule, and to procure the safetie of the people, I haue presumed to make a presente of hym to your Honour, that you being in case to do the like good, may receyue the same triumph of your desert.

How vvorthy the VVryter is to be redde, I referre it to the vvitnessse of one vvorthy \*Prelate of this lāde, vvho (as he sayd of *Plato*) shal suffice for a multitude. Further, vvith the manner of the Authours vvriting I doe not meane to trouble you, himselfe shall tell your Honour, that such as be in your case, may bring to passe that he desireth, to the glory of God, the honour of the Prince, the benefite of the Countrey, and renoume of your selfe.

Your Honoures seruauunt  
most ductifully bounden :

H. DINNIMAN.

## The Preface of the Authour.



The Romaine people and the Senate, did many times contend, for making of Lawes, releasing of debts, deuision of landes, or electiō of officers, yet was there no tumult nor bypocry, but only discorde and debates in ciuill manner, and that was done with great reuerence one to another.

The people, on a time hauing bene at warre, and falling into like contentiō, did not abuse their armour presentlye, but kept aside vnto an hil, which therof was called : *Ioly*, where was no violence done, but a creation made of an officer of themselves, whom they called *Tribune of the people*, to be a restraint to the Consuls chosen by the Senate, that they shoulde not haue the only rule in the Common wealth. Of this great hatred and variance grew betwene these officers : the Senate and the people being deuised for them, and styred by ambition, sought the one to ouer-rule the other. *Martius Coriolanus*, in such a confētiō being vniustly banished, fled to the *Volscians*, and made warre against his countrey. This only seate of force, shoulde a man finde among the old strifes, which neuertheless was the act of an outlaw. But in their common meetings, was neuer weapon drawn, nor ciuill murder done, before *Tiberius Gracchus* Tribune of the people and a deuiser of the Lawes, did firste perishe in seditiō, and many moe with him taken in the Capitol, were slain about the Temple. Notwithstanding, discorde ceased not by this disgrace, every man being evidently bent against other, bringing many times their incapours, and now one officer, and then another (by this diuisiō) was dispatched, in the temples, in assemblies and in Courts, the Tribunes, Pretors, or Consuls, epyther prouoking to it, or working this occasion of it. Uncomely contumely of

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every

\**Capitolan* Hil vvhere vvvas the chiefe palace and temple, so called of a mans heade that vvvas founde it vvvas begonne of *Tarquinus Priscus*, & finished by *Tarquinus Superbus*, but not dedicated. In the foundation *Tarquinus* spent xl. M. li. vvvaight of siluer. *M. Horatius* the secōde consul in *Trutius* place did dedicate it, it vvvas burned in *Sylla* his time, and builded againe, and dedicated by *Catullus*, *Sylla* being deade. Then vvvas it burned in *Pitellus* time and restored by *Vespasian* : and also after his death it vvvas burned againe and his sonne *Domician* builded it, and dedicated it, and made it so sumptuous in goulding and trimming of it, as he spent aboue xij. M. talentes vpon it, nor for no great holynesse, but for his pleasure, for his Galleries and his banquetting houses passed thys.

Four causes of discorde among the Romanes. Holy Hill dedicated to Iupiter, three myles beyond Rome, ouer the river Aniene, now Tiberone. Creation of the Tribune of the people. Volscians people betwene Hostia and Circii.

*M. Coriolanus*, the first that rose against his countrey, his name vvvas *C. Marius*, because the Citie of *Corioli*, belonging to the *Volscians*, vvvas vvonne chiefly by his meane, he bare the name of the city. The Romanes had their proper names, as *Caius*, *Quintus*, or *Marcus*, the name of their house, as *Martius*, *Valerius*, *Tullius*, and of some fact or sig. re, as *Publius*, *Cladius*, *Coriolanus*, *Africanus*.

The reuerend father in God T. C. Bishop of Lincolne, in his booke entitled Thesaurus lingue Latinæ & Britannicæ.

every trifle, and soule contempt of law and right, did euer play a part. This euil growing great, manifest insurrections wer made against the State, mightie and fierce armies were rayfed against the countrey, banished me striving for restitution, or magistrates contending among them elues, for offices at home, or army abroad. Some there were, in power like princes, and as Monarkes, made leaders of seditious armies: some would not leaue the army that was deliuered them of the peo, le: some without authority, would leue strange souldiers against their enemies, striving whether of the should first get the Citie, in word against the contrary factio, but in deed against y countrey: for they invaded it, as an enemy. Cruell murders were vsed in some, in others proscriptions to deathe, banishments, confiscations, & torments intollerable, so as no kinde of cruetie was left vndone, till *Cornelius sylia*, one of the mightie Captaines of rebellion, fifty yeares after *Gracchus* healing euil with euil, made himselfe a Monarko for a tunc: the which kinde of officers, they called *Dictators*, vsed in most dangerous times, and commonly giuen ouer after fire monethes were ended. But *sylia*, being in deed *Dictator* by force, perpetuall, yet in speech pretending to be eleaced, when he had his fill of that rule alone, was the first man, (as I thinke) that durst freely giue ouer a Tiranicall power, affirming he would answer for his doings, if any would accuse him: and in the sighte of all sortes, as a priuate man, many times he went to the common place, and returned home againe without hurte. Suche a feare was there of his authoritie, in them that behelde him, or an astonishment, of the resigning of it, or a reuerence, that he offered to answer for his doings, or some other courteous and consideration, acknowledging his Tyranny to haue bene profitable to the countrey.

Thus a while sedition ceased with *sylia*, and there was a remedie of the euils that *sylia* had done: but after hym it began againe, til *Caesar*, by election sent to gouerne *France*, & after a long time being commaunded by the Senate to giue ouer, he answered, that it was *Pompey* his enemy, leading an army in *Italy*, & repuning

*Dictator*, was he that ruled alone, yet at the battell he might not be on halfe backe.

*Caesar*, conspired *France*, pulled the flower *Rome*, and rayled into *England*.

repuning at his authoritie in *France*, that sought to remoue him, & not the Senate. Yet notwithstanding, he propounded conditions.

That eyther both of them should reteyne their armies, to a void suspicion of perill:

Or that *Pompey* also, should leaue his power, and liue a priuate life according to the lawes.

Obteynning neyther of these, he marched out of *France* against *Pompey* and his countrey, the which he invaded, and hym, being stridde, he pursued into *Thessalie*, and overcame him verie victoriously in a valiant battayle, whom fleeing from thence, he followed into *Egypt*, where he was slaine of that countrey men. And when he hadde tarried and set a stay among the princes of *Egypt*, and ouerthrow his greatest enemy, who for his worthynesse in the warres, was surnamed Great, no man now being bolde to do any thing against him, he returned to *Rome*, and was chosen the second *Dictator* perpetuall after *sylia*. When al sedition ceased out of hande, tyll *Brutus* and *Cassius*, eyther for enuy of his greatnesse, or for zeale of their countrey, kyllled him in the Senate house, being most accepted to the people, and most expert in gouernement. The people, of all other, most lamented hym, & required his strykers to be punished: they burned his body in the common place, where they erected a temple, and sacrificed vnto him as to a God. When discorde renewed and increased so farre, as slaughter, banishment, attendures, both of Senate men and Gentlemen followed confusedlye, the seditious of both sides seeking to sequester his enemy, he cared not howe, not sparing friends nor brethren. So much he desired of debate, or uerwhelming al natural friendship and allyance. For they went so farre, as three men, & is to say, *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and he that first was called *Octavius*, (who being of *Caesar*'s blood, and his son by adoption, toke of him the name of *Caesar*) did deuide the Romaine Empire, as a priuate possession, after the whiche deuision, falling sone out, as was none other lyke, *Octavius Caesar* exceeding them both in wysedome and experience, fyrste berefte *Lepidus* of *Lisbia*, which fell vnto him by lette, and then ouerthrew *Antony* at \* *Actio*, and toke fro him al y rule he had

*Caesar* offered conditions.

The place was called *Tharsilla*, from the which *Pompey* fled into *Egypt*, where he was killed of the young Kings Countellers.

*Pompey*, for his valiantnesse, had the name of Magnus, that is Great, giuen vnto him.

*Brutus*, *Cassius*.

These attendures, the *Pomane* called proscriptions, when a decree was written to condemn a man without any feare, and kill him without lavy.

*Lepidus*, *Antony*.

*Octavius*.

\* *Actio* a place in *Egyp*.

The Gulle of *Lisbia* whom *Caesar* brought to *Mont Cengere*, the rest is called the Gulle of *Pompey*.

B. y.

from

from *Syna* to the Duke of *Loma*: after these most mightie ages, wherewith all men were amased, with hys nauy he wanne *Egypt*, the gretest kingdome and of longest continuance, after *Alexanders* reigne, and only leste to make the Romaine state as it is, by the which, being yet aliue, he was of the people of Rome called *Augustus*, and the firste that so had that title. He shewed himselfe to be another *Caesar*, yea more mightie than *Caesar* was, as wel touching the subiection of his owne countrey, as of all other nations, not needing any election, or forme of creation, to be a pretence to his doings. In continuance of time, being settled in his state, and in all things happy and beloved, he left behind him a succession, and a lynage to raigne likewise after him. Thus the Common welth of the Romaines, after diuerse debates, came to vnitie, and the rule of one. Now these things were done, I haue written, gathering the most notable matter, that they that lyfte, may see the vnsatiable ambition of men in greedy desire of kingdome, toynd with intollerable paynes, and innumerable kindes of calamities. The which I haue the rather take in hand, because dealing with the Historie of *Egypt*, and al these things going before and ending there, I was compelled to make rehearsal of the. For by this occasion was *Egypt* also conquered, when *Cleopatra* toke parte with *Antony*. Now because of the multitude of matters, I haue deuised them thus. The first shall shewe the thyngs done from *Sempronius Gracchus*, to *Cornelius Sylla*. The seconde shall confaine al the actes from that time vnto the death of *Caesar*. The threest shall declare all the dissention that was betwene the threemen, one against an other, and the Citizens of Rome and them, untill the last and greatest feate of Ciuill force, in the whiche *Augustus* overcame *Antonie* and *Cleopatra* at *Actio*, from the which time the Chronicle of *Egypt* shall take his beginning.

The order of the story, which is left out in the Italian translation.

V When *Caesar* Octavian had overcome *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, & made *Egypt* a province to the Empire of Rome, he made one *Cornelius Gallus* lieutenent there, and in token of the Conquering of that countrey firste by him, hee bestowed a money, in the which was the picture of a Crocodile, which is there only so, hee scene in the flood *Nilus*, chayned to a palm tree, & trees of Palmes I madeouer him, with an inscription. *Col. Rom. that is, Colligit Nemo*, signifying that hee triumphed of *Egypt*, sprinkling it with dew in stead of rayne, of which there is none.

The

# The Historie of *Appianus Alexandri-* *nus* of the Ciuil dissentions of the Romaines.

The first booke.



When the Romaines first conquered *Italy*, whych they did by little & little, they toke part of the land, and buylded new Cities, or sent of their owne people to inhabite the old, that by this meane, they might be sure of the countrey. The groundes that was tilled, epher they distributed, or sold it, or let it to ferme to the inhabitants.

The wast, which by reason of the warre was very much, not hauing euer leysure to make diuision of it, they proclaymed in this sort, to them that would manure it.

For the yearely increase of seede grounde, they required the tenth part.

For the places planted with trees and woode, they would haue a fifth part.

For Cattell epher great or small, they appointed a tribute accordingly.

Thys they did, for the maintenaunce of the *Italian* nation, whom they accounted to be men of best seruice, that they might alwayes, in the wars, haue the vse of that were their owne: but it came some other wise to passe, for y rich me, hauing got y greater part of the vndeuided lande, presumed vpon long prescription of time, that no man would molest them, and the poore mens small portions, lying nigh them, either they boughte for a little by perswasion, or they encroched to them by very violence and oppression, so as now, in steade of spanour places, they had as it were whole countreies: & because they would not haue their husbandmen called anye time awaye to the warres, they bought the

23. ill.

Bynes

It was 600. yeares before the Romaines could conquere *Italy*.

This manner of inhabitants they called Colonies, which were taken by lot, as the Greeke word expresseth, which is *κλήρουχία*.

The Romaines order for inhabiting the ground

The Romaines make account of the *Italian* nation.

**Hynes and Herdes**, to labour the grounds, and would not sette their countrymen to any worke at all: by reason whereof, they gaue was incredible, as well for the yearely profit of their possessions, as for the multitude of encrease of those slaues, whiche were neuer called to y warre. Thus the great n<sup>e</sup> grew exceeding riche, and euery place was full of seruile generation: but the *Italians* fell into decaye and wante of men, and were also oppressed with pouerty, by occasion of their continuall preying to the war, and dayly exactions put vpon them. And if at any time they were eased of these, they felt a further incōueniēce, for where they had no land of their owne, the rich mē being Lōds of al, and they vsing the labour of bondmen in steade of free men, the *Italians* were utterly corrupted with rest & idleness. The people of Rome was much offended herewith, because they could not haue such seruice of the *Italians*, as they had before, and whensoever they made any expedition abroad, they were not without danger, for the great multitude of bondmen at home: they could not tel how to remedy this matter, for it was not easy, nor altogether equal, to thrust them out of possession, that had had so long continuance in their landes and houses, which they had so wel planted and prouided. At length wyth much adoe, the Tribunes toke the matter in hand and ordeyned,

That no man should keepe aboue five hundred Acres of lande.

That no man should seeke aboue one hundred greate cattel.

That no man should seeke aboue five hundred little cattel.

And for the better obseruation hereof, they appointed a number of frāmen, to marke what was done, and to make declaration of the same from time to time.

The law was allowed the penaltie assigned, and the commissioners were sworne, supposing that by this meane, some lande would be lefte, that for a small price, might be awarded to the poore. But regarde was there none, neyther of Lawe nor of the othe, and if some did seeme for manners sake, to obey the lawe, and make a counterfeyte deuision to theyr neighbours, the moste parte ydly utterly contemne the lawe, till *Tiberius Sempronius*

Increase of  
slaves,  
Decay of  
Italians.

This was called  
Lex Licinia.

An Acre was  
so much ground  
as a payre of  
Oxen could drie  
in a day, the  
measure whereof  
was 240. foote in  
length & 120.  
in breadth.  
The measure of  
a foor was 4.  
handes, and one  
hand was foure  
fingers, and the  
measure of a  
finger, according  
to Geometry,  
was three barley  
cornes. This  
was called the  
first measure.

**Tiberius Gracchus** a goodly noble man, honourable and eloquent, wherby he was more notable than al the other Tribunes, made a solemne oration, in the prayse of the *Italian* people, lamenting that so warlike a nation, and of the Romaines a haunce, should shortly be dispeopled and brought to penurie without all hope of remedie. He sturged against the race of Slaues, as unfitte for the warre, and vntrusty to their Lōdes: he called to remembrance, a fresh addition in *Cicilie*, by slauiſh seruantes against their masters, the which had their increase also, by being v<sup>se</sup>d in countrie businesse, whom the Romaines could not subdue, without long and sharpe warre, full of variable and dangerous successe: and hauing spoken to this effecte, hee renewed the law.

That no man should haue more than five hundred Acres.

That their children should haue halfe so much: which he added to the old lawe.

That three men chosen and changeable euery yeare, should make diuision to the poore.

The riche men toke this matter verie grieuouſly. For now they coulde not illude the Lawe, as they dyd before, because of them that were appointed for the deuision, nor purchase theyr Landes, that hadde theyr partes assigned, for *Gracchus* hadde prouided for that, forbidding all manner of sale. They assembled together in seuerall companies, finding faulte wyth the Lawe. They were in a marueylous disdaine and grieſe, that the poore should possess their ancient inheritance, their plantings & buildings, and that they should forgoe the purchase of the lands that they had payd for to some of their neighbours. Others repnyed at the losse of their fathers' Sepulchres, conſeyned within their groundes, and the partitions of theyr portions, leſt of theyr parentes.

Some obiected theyr wyues marriage money, and

B. iiii.

consumed

it, and that he might seeme to do that by the will of God, he held a nutte in his mouth stuffed wyth Sulphure, and fire, the which when he spake, did cast forth flames.

The olde Romaines did bury in their possessions and it was long after Christ, ere mē were buried in sacred places.

*Thys Gracchus*  
was sent P<sup>re</sup>tor  
to *Numidia*,  
where the *Cō-*  
*sul Minucius*  
was ouer-  
throwne, and  
seeking for peace  
the *Numidians*  
would graunt  
none, excepte  
*Gracchus* were  
sent to the, which  
being done,  
a peace was  
made, the which  
the Senate  
did not approue,  
though xx. M.  
Citizens were  
saued thereby,  
beside the slaues  
and rascals,  
in so much as  
the consul was  
sent thither as  
game naked &  
bounde, but  
*Gracchus*, the  
people prayſed  
that had saued  
so many Citizens  
vpon which  
occasion he be-  
came an enemye  
to the Senate,  
and a friend to  
the people.

\* A Syrian slave  
in *Sicilie* after  
a mad sorte  
raging with a  
desire to make  
rebellion,  
pretended a  
religion of do-  
ing honor to the  
goddesse of  
*Syrus*, and called  
bondmen to  
liberty and ar-

consumed vpon the same, or the lande of inheritance to theyr children: and some declared what debt they were fallen into, by reason of interest, so as there was great disorder, quarrelling, and indignation among them.

The poore  
offended.

The poore men on the contrary side, complained that they were brought from good wealth, to extreme want, and thereby to decay of continuance, not being able to bring vp their children. They shewed how many tymes they had bin a warfare to winne this land, and myght not beare to be bereft their publike portio. They rayled on the riche, that in the steade of freemen, Citizens, and souldiers, they had chosen bonde seruantes, a generation euer vnfaithfull and stubborne, therfore not fitte for the warre. Thus the one reuiling and vpbidding the other, the multitude, that either were of the Romaine foundation, or of their owne gouernement, and al other, that any wayes were partakers of the lande, fearing the losse therof, resorted together, and were deuided wth the one or the other, and so being embolded by number, they waxed fierce, stirring rebellion, and abiding til the law should be discussed: the one by no mean to suffer it to preuaile: the other, that it might take place to the uttermost. Both sides were ambitious: bent for the sequels of it, and against the appointed day prepared themselves. *Gracchus* minde stode vpon a resolution, not to further aboundance of riches, but the encrease of men, in procuring of the which commoditie, he muche magnified himselfe, as in a trauell that to *Italie* could not be of more honor nor importance, the difficultye wherof he did not conceiue. When the day of making Lawes was come, he made a long plausible Preface, and asked of them, If it wer right y publike things shold be deuided in common: and if a citizen were to be preferred befoze a seruant: and if a souldier were more profitable, than he that was vnapt for the war, and a partaker of publike profit more wel willing? Not taryng long in this comparison, as needesse, he straight turned his tale to bitter the hopes and feares of his countrey, that where they had by the warre wonne so muche lande of their enemies, and had good hope to get the rest of the earth, they woulde now put al in hazarde, whether to conquer al that remainned, by

The Latin  
translation of  
P. Caninius and  
the Italian disfe-  
reth from the  
Greeke.

*Gracchus* talke.

encrease of sptte me, or to lose this through want of their owne, and enue of their enemies. He set forth the glory and wealth of the one, and the daunger and doubt of the other. He exhorted the rich to regard, if it were not more for their profite to gratifie the people with land to bring vp their children, in hope of the wealth to come, than to strine for trifling matters, and to neglect the greater things, they hauing sufficient recompence of their charges bestowed, by possession of five hundred acres of choyce, free, and certen land, and to euery of their children (if they had any) halfe so much. After this sort *Gracchus* speaking much, kindling the poore, and other to, that stode vpon reason, rather than desire of possession, he commaunded the Clarke to pronounce the law. But *Marcus Ollanius* the other Tribune, whome the possessors had made to resist, and with the Romaines being euer more able to forbidde, commaunded the Clarke to silence. When *Gracchus* greatly blaming him, deferred the Court till the next day, when, hauing prepared a sufficient force to compell *Ollanius*, commaunded the Clarke with threates to propound the lawe to the people: but *Ollanius* forbade him againe, and put him to silence. When the Tribunes fell to chafing one with an other, so as the lawe could take no place for the tumult, wherefore the great men required to committe their difference to the Senate, *Gracchus* took holde of that offer, thinking euery reasonable man to be willing with the lawe, & ranne into y Senate house, where being reproued of the rich, as among the few chiefe men in a straight, he ranne agayne into the common place, and sayd he woulde deferre the tryall, till this next dayes assemble, both for the law, and for the authoritie of *Ollanius*, and whether by order, a Tribune resisting the law, might receyue his office: and so he did, at whiche time *Ollanius* nothing abashed, made resistance againe. Wherefore *Gracchus* put the matter firste to the voyces, and when one company had giuen against *Ollanius*, *Gracchus* turned to him, and prayed him to leaue his purpose, but he cared not for it, and so they proceeded. There was fife and thirtie companies, whereof f. . . . . had giuen against him with great furie, and where y . . . . . should haue determined the matter, *Gracchus* againe

*M. Ollanius* res.  
with the lawe.

*Gracchus* to the  
Senate.

\* The word st.  
gnifyeth the  
great men, or a  
straight.

Five and thirtie  
companies in  
Rome.

Gracchus excuseth himselfe of the deprivation of his fellow.

Offanius deprivied,  
Quintus Mummus chosen,  
Lavy of landes.  
Officers for the  
lavy.  
Appius Claudius

Gracchus labours the people.

in the sighte of the people, lamentably desired him, that being in that daunger, he woulde not hynder so profitable and honozable an ade to all *Italy*: noz to withstande so greate desire of the people whyche he ought to further, beeing a Tribune: noz to suffer the disgrace of losing hys office. Thus he spake, and called God to witnesse, that agaynst hys wyll hys fellowe was deposed. But when no perswasion woulde serue, he made the decre: *Offanius* beeing deprivied, he secretly conveyed hymselfe away, *Quintus Mummus* was chosen Tribune in his place. The lawe of landes was pronounced, and the firste officers appoynted to see it executed, was *Gracchus* hymselfe the lawmaker, and a brother of hys name, and *Appius Claudius* hys father in lawe. So muche byd the people feare, that all the laboure of the lawe shoulde be lost, unlesse *Gracchus* and all hys familie hadde the execution of it. *Gracchus* was marvellously magnified for this lawe, and accompanied of the people to his house as a preserver, not of one Citty or Countrey, but of all the nations of *Italy*. This beeing done, they that had the day, returned to the landes in the Countrey from whence they came for that purpose, but they that lost the day, remayned discontented, and talked that *Gracchus* shoulde not escape blame when he shoulde be out of office, that durst violate a Magistrate of so greate authority, and give occasion of so manifest sedition in *Italy*. So was it Sommer, and the tyme of choosing Tribunes at hande. It seemed that the ryche woulde so laboure, as the office shoulde be given to some of *Gracchus* greatest enemies. The tryall beeing at hande, and hee afrayde that hee shoulde not be elected Tribune for the yere to come, called people out of the Countrey, to give voyce in the election, but they beeing occupied in Sommer busynesse, and the daye drawing nigh, hee was compelled to make the people of the Citty hys refuge, and wente aboute to every one aparte, to desire them to make hym Tribune agayne, beeing in daunger for theyr sakes. When the daye was come, the two firste companies chose *Gracchus*, but the ryche men cryed, that it was not lawfull for one to be Tribune twyce together. *Rubius* a Tribune, to whose turne it came

came to be chiefe of the election, doubted of the matter. *Mum-* Doubt in the election.  
*mius* successor to *Offanius*, prayed hys fellowes to committe the order of the election to hym, whyche hee dyd, but the other Tribunes affirmed, that this must be tryed by lotte, for where *Rubius* hadde hys turne, the appoyntmente byd apperteyne to them all.

The contention beeing greate, and *Gracchus* hauing the worse, he deferred the discussing tyll the nexte daye, and beeing utterly discouraged, although yet in office, he remayned the rest of the whole daye in the common place, beseeching euery man to be hys helpe, as though he shoulde feare to haue bin destroyed of hys enemies. The poore men were moued with compassion, and considering that they were not vsed indifferently as Citizens, but rather as slaues to the lust of the ryche, and fearyng for *Gracchus* state, who suffered for theyr sake with lamentation, they all brought hym to hys house at nyghte, and bade hym be of good cheere agaynst the nexte daye. *Gracchus* beeing thus encouraged, assembled hys parte in the nyghte, and gaue them a watchworde to syghte it out if neede required. When hee went to the Temple of the Capitoll, where the election shoulde be, and when the assemblee was come togyther, and hee in the myddest of them, some of the Tribunes and the ryche men woulde not suffer the election to procede for hym: wherefore hee gaue hys watche worde, they that were pryncie to it made a greate shoute, and begonne the fray, some stode aboute *Gracchus* to garde hys person, some toze the seates, some wyang the rodde and maces out of the Sergeantes handes, some rente asunder euery thyng, and bet the ryche menne out of the place, with suche a tumulte and terroure, as all the Tribunes ranne awaye, and the Priestes shutte the Temple doores. The flying and running was confused, and the speeche not well vnderstanded. Some thoughte that *Gracchus* hadde deposed an other Tribune, for syng none of them there, it was lyke to be so. Some thoughte hee hadde made hym selfe Tribune agayne withoute anye Election.

Tumult by  
*Gracchus*.

C. f.

In

Temple of  
Jyth.

Dictator.

Chiefe Bishop.  
F. Scipio Nafica.

Superstition.

The fray.

Gracchus slayne,  
who was a  
gentle courte-  
ous man, sober  
and eloquent,  
with modestie.First Sedition.  
\* Ar. Ronie? was  
a bafe sonne to  
Fumenus, by a  
vench of Iphar-  
sa, that was a  
Mondrels  
daughter.  
At this sonne to  
Fumenus, made  
his Testament  
after this sorte,  
Populus Romanus  
honorum meorum  
hanc esto.The Romaines  
slayed the province of Pergamo. Ar. Ronie, as he yre to his father invaded it, and killed Licinius Gracchus  
that was sent against him. Then M. Perperna overthrew him at Senonice, and was killed in prison by  
the Senates commandement.

In the meane time the Senate assembled in the Temple of  
Faith. Surely I marvell, that where the office of one ruler had  
many times before preserved the state in like troubles, that now  
they dyd not chose a Dictator. In former times it was founde  
mozt necessarie, but nowe neyther in memorie, nor after cared  
for. When the Senate, as wel as they could, had resolved what  
was to be done, they went by to the Capitoll, and Cornelius Scipio  
Nafica, by the name of chiefe Bishop led the way, and spake with  
a loude voice that they should follow him that would haue their  
Countrey safe. When he pulled the skirte of his gowne over his  
head, eyther to give a token by his garmet, that the moze might  
followe him, or for a signe to them that sawe it, that he would  
fight, or for that he would as it were hide from the Gods what  
he meant to do. Being come to the Temple, and thrusting in a-  
mong Gracchus route, they gaue place vnto him, as to a mozt  
worthy man, whome they sawe all the Senate follow: then dyd  
his company wryng the weapons out of the others handes, and  
gathered the peeces of the broken seates, with any other things  
that they could get in the place, and bet Gracchus part so violent-  
ly, as they dyone them to the brinke of the hill, in the whyche tu-  
multe Gracchus was slayne, and many with him at the Temple  
dozes, before the Images of the Kings. Thus Gracchus, beeyng  
sonne of that Gracchus that had bin twice Consul, whose moether  
was Cornelia daughter to scipio that conquered Affrica, meaning  
well to his Countrey, but going aboute it vnbiscretely, was  
slayne in the Capitoll, being yet Tribune.

As this was the firste mischief that was done in the place of  
election, so did it not cease till many moze were done from tyme  
to tyme. The Citie was deuided into two and io for Gracchus  
death, some lamented for themselves as well as for him, that the  
present state was no moze a common wealth, but rather a Co-  
quest and crueltie. Other reioyced at that was done, whereby  
they had obteyned their purpose. This was done, wher  
contended with the Romaines for the Lordship of Asia. Gracchus

being

being thus slayne, and Appian Claudius dead, the next day Fulur  
us Flaccus, Papirius Carbo, and Gracchus the yonger, took vpon  
them the defence of the law, and where the possessioners denyed  
their lands to be surueyed, they made Proclamation, that the  
uerseers should accuse them, of the whiche grew a multitude of  
difficult matter, for all the lande adioyning together, whither it  
was solde or deuided to their companions in warre, came to be  
examined how it was sold, and how it was diuided. Every man  
had not his conueyance, nor the portions appoynted them, and  
they that had, were found doubtfull. And where lande should be  
diuided agayne according to the order, some of the owners must  
be put from their groundes and manors, to barren seede, and  
from frutesfull and well planted places, to steriles and warryth  
groundes. And where at the beginning of the lands conquered,  
there was no great certentie kept, & now that by decre all land  
diuisible must be laboured, many had entred vpo their neighbors  
boundes, whereby the forme of the places were confounded, and  
time hadde so altered the rest, as it was hard to find the way  
that the rich had done, although it were great: so was there no  
thing but confusion, every one changing & chopping into others  
right. The Italians were very much greued at this sharpe bea-  
ring of the commissioners, and made sute to Cornelius Scipio that  
ouercame Carthage, to be their defence against these injuries,  
who for that he had had there good seruice in the warres, was  
much greued they should be misused, wherefore he came into  
the Senate house, where he did not directly speake agaynst  
Gracchus lawe, but shewed the difficultie of the matter, and wis-  
shed it should not be determined of them that had the dealing of  
it, by cause of suspition, but of some other that might be thought  
indifferent, the which he quickly obtayned as a thing reasonable.  
Tuditanus the Consul was appointed to be the iudge, but he en-  
tering into the cause, and finding it so intricate, toke in hande a  
voyage agaynst the Illirians, seeking that occasion to be ridde of  
this. They that were first appointed for the diuision, by cause no  
man required iustice of them, did nothing in the same. Whereof  
an hatred and grudge of the people did growe agaynst Scipio,

F. Flaccus.  
P. Carbo.

Proclamation.

The Italians  
sute to Scipio.

Scipio.

Tuditanus.

The Illirians,  
now Slauonian.

C. 14.

that

The people of  
Rome against  
Scipio.

Sempronia and  
Cornelia suspect  
Aed of Scipios  
death.  
This yvear Scipio  
Junior, Africanus  
nephew to Scipio,  
Africanus  
that, overthrew  
Anniball.  
Servauntes con-  
fession.

Ingratitude.

Freedome of  
the Citie.

Fulvius Flaccus.

Caius Gracchus  
the seconde  
Tribune.

that he woulde haue moze care of the nations of *Italie*, than of the people of *Rome*, whyche for his sake had dyuers tymes gotten the displeasure of the greates men, and twice made him Con-  
sull befoze he might so be by the lawe. This being knowen, his enemies spake manifestly agaynst hym, assyning that he went aboute utterly to breake *Gracchus* lawe by force and violence, whyche when the people hearde, they were asfayde, tyll *Scipio* in an euening, takyng a payze of Tables to note what he woulde say the next day, was founde dead without any wound, epyther by the practise of *Cornelia* mother to *Gracchus*, that his lawe shoulde not be fordone, and by the helpe of *Sempronia* his daughter, who was married vnto *Scipio*, whome she loued not, no; he hir, for that she was foule and barren, or rather (as some thynke) that hee kyllled hymselfe, bycause he could not fulfill his promise. Some saye, that his seruauntes beynge racked, confessed, that certayne straunge men vnknewen to them, were lette in at the backe doze, and that they did choke their maister, and bycause they sawe the people angry with him, and to be glad of his deathe, they durst not helpe pay it. Thus dyed *Scipio*, and was not thoughte woorthy a publike funerall, although he had done so great serulce to his Countrey. So muche could present displeasure preuaile ouer benefytes passed. This happe gaue courage to *Gracchus* faction, although the diuision of landes was diuerslie deserted by the possessioners, wherof some thought good that all companions in warre shoulde be called to the freedome of the Citie, to make the benefyte the moze common, and so leaue the contention for land. The *Italians* accepted this very gladly, and preferred the freedome of the Citie, befoze the lande in the Countrey. *Fulvius Flaccus* being Consull, and a diuider of land, was a great doer in this matter, but the Senate did not allowe, that they that were their inferiours, shoulde now become their fellows: so this deuice toke no place, and the people that was in hope of the diuision, was utterly discouraged, till *Caius Gracchus*, brother to him that made the lawe of landes, was thoughte the most mete man to be a Tribune, who since his brothers deathe had liued in rest: and though many of the Senate

nate enuyed hym, yet he gotte for the offit, and obteyned it with great glory. He deuised to deceyue the Senate, by making a lawe that the people shoulde haue a distribution of a monethes Coyne of the common store, whiche thing was neuer seene befoze, wherby streight he wanne the peoples heartes, and *Fulvius* being his friende, he was declared Tribune for the yeaere to come: for now there was a lawe made, that if a Tribune hadde neede of furtherance to perfoyme his promise, the people afore all other should make choyce of hym, and so *Caius Gracchus* was chosen Tribune the seconde time. Hauling thus allured the people by his largesse, he wanne also the Gentlemen by an other deuice. They being in dignitie next the Senators, in the middes betwene them and the people, he turned the iudgements diffamed by corruption from the Senators to the Gentlemen, obteyning agaynst them things lately committed, that *Cornelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *Manius Acilius*, who subued *Asia*, being openly condemned of bethery, were released by the Judges, when the Embassadors were present, going about, and crying out vpon them with great clamour, wherof the Senate being ashamed, gaue place to the lawe, the people proclaymed it. Thus were these iudgements translated from the Senators to the Gentlemen. When this law was made, *Gracchus* (as they report) said, he woulde dispatch the Senate quickly, which saying was founde true by that folloowed therof: for wher the Gentlemen had the iudgements of corruption, banishment and diffamation, whyche they vsed extreamely ouer the *Romaines* and the *Italians*, yea the Senators themselves, all the Gentlemen were like poynres extolled, and the Senators like fowles decayed, beside forth the Gentlemen torying with the Tribunes in elections, to gratifye them againe in every thing they woulde. The Senators were fallen into so grent a feare, as though the state woulde streight haue bin changed, they only hauing the name, and the Gentlemen the authoritie, who in processe of time, did not only ouerrule the Senators, but did them open spight agaynst all lawe. They dealte with matters of corruption, and sette so of continuall gayne, as they vsed theyr authoritie moze rigorously

Distribution.

A lawe for the  
tribunes be-  
nefit.

Gentlemen,  
Equites,  
The next day,  
gree to the  
Senators after  
the order of the  
Athenians,  
when they  
were able to  
find an horse.  
Iudgements of  
corruption.  
Cornelius Cotta,  
Salinator made  
the toll of salt.  
Manius Acilius  
overcame And  
riodius.  
Corruption,  
Translation  
of Iudgements.

Cruelty of the  
Gentlemen.

C. iiij.

and

Gracchus maketh  
new wayes.

Gracchus giueth  
voyce in ele-  
ctions.

Linus Drusus.

The Senates  
deuice to ouer-  
throw the  
lawes.

Gracchus sayleth  
into Africa.

Colonic.

An inhabitan-  
ce where Car-  
thage was.

And moderately. They brought in priuie accusours against the rich, and by their faction and force ouerthrew the lawes of cor-  
ruption, so as the custome of triall of iudgements was utterly  
ouerthrowne, and a new disturbance concerning lawes of Iud-  
ges stirred vp, as like so long to continue as the former. So too  
was Gracchus making of long high wayes in Italy, seeking there-  
by to help the multitudes of the labouring men, to haue them  
ready in any enterprise at his commaundement. He also placed  
diuers newe inhabitancess, and furthermore stirred the Latine  
nation to require the freedome of the Romaines, as a thing to pro-  
cure hate to the Senate, if they should denie it to that nation that  
was so nigh allied unto them. He also gaue authoritie to other  
confederates of Rome, to giue voyces in elections, whiche might  
not so do by auncient manner, that he might haue the more helpe  
to procure lawes at his pleasure, for the which the Senate was  
much troubled, and commaunded the Consuls to make procla-  
mation, that no man, vntill he had a right in elections, should re-  
sist into the Citie, or approach within the mules of the same, dur-  
ing the time of assembling for the lawes. They perswaded Linus  
Drusus the other Tribune, to resist Gracchus lawes, not making  
the people acquainted with it, and it was graunted, that who so  
would resist, should not neede to shew cause thereof. And to win  
the common heartes, they decreed twelue new inhabitancess to  
be made, wherewith the people was so wonne, as they cared  
not for the lawes. Gracchus being thus deceyued of the peoples  
fauour, sayled into Africa with Fulvius Flaccus, who was Tri-  
bune with Gracchus after he had bin Consul, where an inhabi-  
tance was appoynted, by reason of the plenty of the soyle, whych  
was done of purpose, that by the absence of the people, the Se-  
nate might haue some rest from these stirres. This inhabi-  
tance was appoynted where Carthage was, little regarding that  
Scipi. the winner of it, did vowe it for euer to be a place of pa-  
cific. Some thousand was assigned, which by law ought to haue  
bin less, that they might the rather please the people. They re-  
turned to Rome, and gathered the six thousand out of all Italy, but  
when it was written out of Africa, that the Volues had de-  
stroyed

destroyed the plat of the citie, which Gracchus and Fulvius had layd,  
the Southsayers affirmed, that the inhabitantes should be vn-  
lucky, wherefore the Senate called a counsell, that the lawe of  
inhabitancess might be reuoked. Gracchus and Fulvius being decey-  
ued of this hope also, like mad men, sayd the Senate did lye, tou-  
ching the token of the Volues. The vnruly sorte of the commons  
fauouring them, came with their weapons to the Capitoll, where  
the assemblie should be for this inhabitancess. While the people  
was assembled, and Fulvius beganne to speake, Gracchus came by  
to the Capitoll, guarded with them that were priuie of his pur-  
pose, but being resisted of them that vnderstode he would make  
new businesse, he leste the way to the Capitoll, and toke a lowe  
Gallerie, there wayting to deceyue his aduersaries. One Atti-  
lius, a man of the common sort, seeing him in these turmoyles, and  
making sacrifice in that gallerie, came and toke hym by the  
hand, eyther to perswade him, or suspecting him, or otherwise to  
talke with him, prayed him he would spare his Countrey: he  
was more troubled, as fearing to be apprehended, & looked an-  
gerly vpon him, whereat one of his people, without any comma-  
ndement or token giuen, but only by colature of Gracchus grimme  
looke, thought it now to be time to please his Captayne, if he be-  
gan the fray, drew his sword, & ranne Attilius through. A greate  
shoute being made, and the dead body scene among them, euery  
man fledde out of the Temple with feare of lyke displeasure.  
Gracchus wente to the common place, minding to say somewhat  
to the people touching this fact, but no man would harken to  
him, euery man detesting it as a wicked fact. Gracchus and Flaccus  
were out of hope, hauing lost this occasion, which they thoughte  
to haue prevented, and ranne home to their houses, accompan-  
ied with their companions. The rest of the people, as in time of  
daunger, about midnight toke the common place, and by breake  
of day, Opimius the Consul had appoynted men in armour to  
keepe the Capitoll, and called the Senate together by publike of-  
ficers, himselfe in the meane time abiding in the Temple of Iu-  
piter's children, to prouide for the necessitie. This being thus or-  
dered, the Senate sent for Gracchus and Fulvius to answer for  
them.

Inhabitan-  
ces reuoked.

Attilius.

Attilius killed.

Gracchus & Flaccus  
detested.

L. Opimius.

themselves in the Countsell house, but they in armour wente to the hill called *Aventine*, hoping by the strength of the place to bring the Senate to some composition, and offer libertye to bondmen that would repaie unto them: but no man made anye accompt of them, wherefore they took the Temple of *Liana*, and fortified it. Then they sent *Quintus*, sonne to *Flaccus* unto the Senate, requesting a pause with a truce of concord. The Senate willed them to leaue their armour, and come to say what they could for themselves, or else to leaue no more: neuerthelesse he came agayne, and *Optimus* the Consull not taking him for a messenger bycause of their disobedience, caused him to be deteyned, and sent souldiours against *Gracchus*, and he fledde ouer the wooden bridge, unto the other side of the floude into a groue, with one man, to whome when he saw he shoulde be taken, he offered his throte to be cutte. *Flaccus* fledde into a shoppe of one of his acquaintance. They that followed him, threatned to burne the whole stræte, vntill they deliuered him. His friend being ashamed to betray him in his calamitie, bade an other do it, and so was *Flaccus* taken and killed, and both their heads were brought to the Consull *Optimus*, who gaue the waight of gold for reward, and the people spoyled their houses. The Consull took their companions, & committed them, till they were executed. To *Quintus* he granted to choose what manner of death he would: then he purged the Citie of bloudshed, & by the Senates sentence, created the Temple of concord in y<sup>e</sup> common place. This was y<sup>e</sup> ende of *Gracchus* y<sup>e</sup> second his seditiō. Not long after a lawe was made, that anye man might sel the land y<sup>e</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> conqueror, the which the former *Gracchus* had forbidden, whereby the riche men agayne byd buy the poore mens parts, or thrust them out by violence, till *Spurius Postumus* the Tribune did deuise a law, y<sup>e</sup> land shuld be no more deuided, but remaine with the owners, & a tribute to be rayased of it for the people, the money whereof shoulde be distributed, whereby the poore had some reliefe, but to the increase of mē it was no help at al. Thus was *Gracchus* lawe abrogated by a sleight, which might haue bin very good and profitable, if it had bin vsed accordingly. Not long after, by an other Tribune, the distribution also

was

was take away, so as the people was utterly destitute of al help, whereof followed wante of Citizens and souldiers, renewelue of lande, of stipende, and of lawes, the space of fiftene yeares after *Gracchus* lawe, with a more quietnesse. In this meane tyme *Scipio* the Consull threw downe a Theatre that *Lucius Cassius* had begun and almost ended, eyther as an occasion of new sedition, or for that he woulde not haue the Romaine people acquainted with the Greekes pastimes. *Q. Metellus* a maister of maners, minded to haue remoued *Glancius* that had bin Consul, and *Apuleius* hauing bin Tribune, from their dignitie, for their euill life, but he coulde not do it, bycause his fellowe was againste it. A little while after to be reuenged of *Metellus*, *Apuleius* laboured to be Tribune againe, bycause *Glancius* was Pretor, & shoulde be chiefe in the election: but *Nonius* a noble mā, vsing free speech agaynst him, & reprouing *Glancius*, was chosen Tribune. They fearyng that he being in authoritie, would punish them, sent a band of his fellowes as he went from the election, and killed him, entring into a shoppe to saue himselfe. This murder being committed, they of *Glancius* faction, before the people could assemble agayne, chose *Apuleius* Tribune early in the morning, & by this meane was the death of *Nonius* not followed, men being afrayde of the Tribune. *Metellus* was banished by y<sup>e</sup> help of *C. Marius* now five times Consull, who bearing secrete hate againste him, conspired with his enemies. *Apuleius* did make a lawe to deuide certayne landes of the *Frenche*, wonne by the *Cymbriens*, whome *Marius* hadde byuen away, as nowe no longer of the *Frenche*, but belonging to the Romaines, and therefore might be deuided. It was promised that if the people woulde allow the lawe, the Senate shoulde confirme it the fifth day by an oth, and he that refused to sweare to it, shoulde be remoued fro the Senate, and be condemned to the people in twenty Talents. This was a deuice to be reuenged of *Metellus*, who for his grauntie woulde not sweare vnto it. The lawe being in this forwardnesse, *Apuleius* appointed y<sup>e</sup> day, and in the meane time sent into y<sup>e</sup> Countrey for such as had serued *Marius* in y<sup>e</sup> warres, to haue their help, but bycause y<sup>e</sup> Italianes shoulde be more aduanced by this lawe than the Romaines,

D.ij.

the

Seconded by

The wooden bridge was at that part of Tiber that goeth to the hill *Laniculo*.

*Gracchus* and *Fulvia* Rayne. This *Gracchus* was very eloquent, but so vehement, as he would moue vp and downe, and cast his Gowne off his shoulders. Purgation of the Citie. Temple of Concord. Lawe to sell lande. Division by money. *Spurius*.

A Theatre was a place of playes to be seen of the people, and it was round standing in one place. An Amphitheatre was round euery where. Sometime the Theatres were for the people to learne Orators. *Q. Metellus* Centor. This *Nonius*, of other is called *Memmius* and *Nonius*. *Nonius* killed. In this matter this Author seemeth to varie from other.

*Metellus*. *C. Marius* was an enemye to the nobilitie, and a laborer sonne, voyde of learning, and rude in manners, yet so good a Souldier, as when *Scipio* vnder whom he serued in Spayne, was asked whom hee thought meete to be generall after him, hee clapped *Marius* on the shoulder and sayd, peradventure thou wilt

Obiection a-  
gainst the lawe.

Thunder stop-  
per any pro-  
ceeding in e-  
lections and  
assemblies.  
The Citizens  
against the  
Countrymen.  
The lawe  
vonne by  
force.  
Marins dissent  
birth.

A device of Mar-  
tius to illude  
the lawe.  
The words be,  
Μηχανισμ  
and σοφισμα  
comment on  
Sextus.

Metellus re-  
feth the oth

the people was not content with it. So discorde arose in the time of the morning. *Apuleius* did put backe from the higher place all that were against the law. The people of the Citie cryed that it thundered, which when it hapned, it was not lawfull for the *Romaines* to conclude any thing in their consultations. Nevertheless *Apuleius* bande used violence still, wherefore the Citizens girded their golunes, and took such weapons of woodde as they coulde get, and resisted the Countrey men. They agayne being encouraged by *Apuleius*, stucke to it, and with their staves and battes beate the Citizens so, as the lawe was wonne. *Marinus* the Consull forthwith propounded the oth, and because he knew *Metellus* a constant and sound man in his purposes, he firste shewed his owne opinion, affirming he would not sweare, and all to deceyve *Metellus* who sayd the same, wherefore both of them beyng commended of others, *Marinus* brake up the house. The fifth daye after, which was the time appoynted for the oth, the Consull assembled the Senate on a suddaine about tenne of the clocke, and sayde, he was afrayd of the people that fauored the lawe so feruently, yet he had deuised a shift and a subtiltie for it, and that was this, that a man might sweare to the words of the lawe so farre forthe as it was lawfull, and so for the time the Countrey people mighte be sente home, and after it might be well proued that it was no law, which by violence and by the thundering of *Iupiter* was made contrary to the order of the Countrey. While he had sayd thus, euery man was silent for feare of entrapping, and the suddaynesse of the tyme: wherefore he arose and went to the Temple of *Saturne*, where the common treasurers shoulde sweare. Himselfe sware first, and so did his friends: other Senators did the like for feare. Only *Metellus* would not sweare, continuing in his former sentence without dread. *Apuleius* the nexte day sent a Sergeant to pull him out of the Courte, but the Tribunes defended him. Then *Apuleius* and *Claudius* ranne to the Countrey multitude, affirming that they neither coulde haue lād, nor law take place, vntil *Metellus* were banished: wherefore a decree of his banishment was made, and a Proclamation from the Consull, that no man should succoure *Metellus*, neyther wth

fyre

fyre nor water: and one only day was giuen him for deliberation of the matter. The people of the Citie were offended, and wente aboute *Metellus* with their weapons: he thanked them for their good will, but said, his Countrey shoulde not be brought into trouble for him. So *Apuleius* pronounced the decree of his exile, and *Marinus* confirmed it. Thus was the most worthy man of the Citie banished, after the which *Apuleius* was Tribune the third time, and for his fellow, one *Gracchus* a runnagate was appoynted, reporting that he was sonne to old *Gracchus*, the people fauouring him for the names sake. The election of the Consuls being at hand, *Marcius Antonius* was chosen for the one, without any bickering: for the other, *Glancius* and *Memmius* contended. *Memmius* was of more estimation in the Citie: *Glancius* and *Apuleius* feared themselves, and sente certayne men with letters into the assembly, whiche layde vpon *Memmius*, and killed him. Thus was the solempne assembly disturbed, no regarde being had now of law or iustice, nor reuerence of God or man. The people was grieved at it, and the nexte day gathered together to dispatche *Apuleius*, but he got the company of his new multitude of Countrey men, with *Glancius* and *C. Sappeius* a treasurer, and took the Capitoll. The Senate commaunded they shoulde be taken and dispatched, but *Marinus* vnwilling to it, did for a shew arme men very slowly. Some there were that did cutte away the water that wente into the Temple, wherefore *Sappeius* that coulde not abide the lacke of water, perswaded the to set the Temple a fyre, but *Glancius* and *Apuleius* yielded themselves first, and after so did *Sappeius*. And where euery man called vpon their execution, *Marinus* shutteth in the Senate house, as to deale with them more according to lawe. But the people perceiving this to be a delay, pulled the staves of y rose of the Temple, and neuer left throwing vpon them, till they had killed all thre, whereof one was a Questor, an other a Tribune, and the third a Pretor, and all at that tyme clad with the robes of their office. With them also was slayne a greate number of the people, entangled with their sedition, and in it the other Tribune, that was thought to be sonne to *Gracchus*, the first day of the entreing

W. it.

into

The moderate  
of Metellus.

Metellus ban-  
ished.

Gracchus the  
runnagate, vvh  
was aduanced  
by Marins.

Memmius killed.

Sappeius, Glancius  
and Apuleius  
killed.

into his Tribuneship, for now neither libertie nor dignitie, neyther law nor office was able to relieue any man, whē as the Tribunes office, created for the repelling of wrongs, and defence of the people, as a sanctuary and holy thing, was wāren a worker of iniuries, and had iniurie done against it selfe. After *Apuleius* and the rest were killed, the Senate and the people decreede to call home *Metellus*, but *P. Furius* Tribune, not borne of a free man to his father, but in the free of a bond man, boldly did resist them, and reiected his former *Metellus*, beseeching him with teares vpon his knees in the sight of all the people, which pong man for that pitifull aite, was euer after called *Metellus* the dutifull. *Caius Caninius* Tribune the next yeire, did accuse *Furius*, and the people that would not lārie to haue him tried by iudgement, did teare him in peeces. This euer one mischiefe or other was committed in the common place. *Metellus* was called home, and (as they say) a daye did not suffice for them that came to welcome him home at the gates of the Citie. This the thirde sedition, after the two former, made of the two *Gracchi*, begonne by *Apuleius*, and working much trouble to the *Romaines*, was ended. In the meane tyme kindled a stre called the fellowes warre, which as it was todaye, so it shortly grew verie great, and caused dissention to cease at home, for feare of trouble abroad, and when it was ended, it raysed newe tymoyles and workers of discorde, not for making of Cities, or creating of officers among the people, but with myghty armies seeking one anothers destruction, the whyche I thought good to ioyne with this bystorie, because it proceeded of ciuill dissention, and increased to a farre greater tumulte, the beginning whereof was this. *Fulcius Flaccus* being Consul, was the fyrste that openly encouraged the *Italians* to aske the freedome of *Rome*, that of subiectes they mighte bee coequall in authoritie. And because hee was so earnest in the cause, the Senatoures sente him to a forrayne warre, where hee laboured to bee Tribune. When his office shoulde ende, and broughte to passe that hee was chosen Tribune with *Gracchus* the yonger, both the whyche going aboute to make lawes in the fauoure of the *Italians*, were slayne

Furius

Metellus the dutifull.

Furius torne in peeces.

Metellus reuoked.

The thirde sedition.

Fellowes warre, and the cause of it.

Flaccus sent into Thracia.

(as

(as ye haue heard) where by the *Italians* were the more sharply sette, taking it grieuously, that they were rather vnder yoke than fellowes, and that *Fulcius* and *Gracchus* for theyr sakes were so destroyed, after whome, *Titus Drusus* a noble man and Tribune, hadde prouoked the *Italians* to make a lawe in thoyr fauoure, touching the serpoyne of the Citie, whereof they were verie desirous, as the onely meane, of seruantes to bee made superiours. To gratifie the people of *Rome*, the Tribune ledde newe inhabitances, as well in to *Italy* as *Sicily*, determining howe, but tell that tyme deferred. Hee also took in hande to make pacification betwene the Senatoures and the Gentlemen, whyche were fallen out for authoritie of iudiciall matters, and when hee sawe hee coulde not dispalpe restore the Senate to theyr former iurisdiction, he used a policie with thom both, for where the Senate by reason of sedition, were scarcely the number of thre hundred, hee desired that so many more shoulde be chosen of the Gentlemen, and of them selfe, Iudges to be chosen in tyme to come, to heare matters of corruption, whyche was nowe no more regarded, for men were wāren so shamelesse, as it was thought no fault; but this policie hadde contrarie success, for the Senate was grieved that so many Gentlemen shoulde so suddanelly be made theyr fellows, being bylyche that they in lyke authoritie shoulde agree with them. The Gentlemen were afrayde that the whole order of iudgements shoulde be in the Senate, the which thing, now hauing tasted of great gaine, with much authoritie they began, (not without cause) to suspect beforesyth an emulation grew among themselves, which of the shoulde be thought worthier than other, to be chosen to the thre C. and he that was, was sure to be enuied; but nothing did more trouble them, than that the triall of corruption shoulde be called agayne to the ordinary court, the which was now out of vse, and in this, the Senate and the Gentlemen, though they agreed not among themselves, yet they both conspired agaynst *Drusus*. The people was pleased with theyr newe habitationes. But the *Italians*, for whose sakes the Tribune hadde begonne

Titus Drusus

Increase of Senators.

Drusus said there was nothing now left to be desired, but earth or ayre;

all

It should seeme  
by some that he  
would have  
recooked cer-  
tain inhabi-  
tants.  
Inhabites he  
now Ducato di  
Ascoli.

Drusus layne.

Valerius.

Valerius exiles  
himselfe.  
Consuillingly  
exiled.

Valerius exiled  
who ouer-  
threw Corne-  
lius and there-  
of was called  
Valerius, by cause  
it should be in  
Ascoli.

all these things, could not alway with the placing of newe habi-  
tations, for if the diuision of common land should cease, the rich  
men, some by force and some by fraude would winne it, and  
straight get it from them, and be euill neighbours to them that  
would with-holde them. The *Tuscanes* and the *Umbrians* hauing  
the like affection, were brought of the *Consull* in pretence to dis-  
patche *Drusus*, but in very deed to resist the lawe, against the  
which they openly cryed and expected the day of determination.  
When the *Tribune* heard of this, he came not abroade, but  
gave audience at home in a darke gallerie, and in an euening  
dismissing the people, it hapned so that he cryed, I am hurt, and  
with y word he fell downe dead, & it was found y he was stricke  
with a *Shomdkers* knife in y flanke. Thus *Drusus* y *Tribune*  
was slayne. The Gentlemen of this determination toke occasi-  
on to picke quarels against their enemies, and induced *Valerius*  
the *Tribune* to take vpon him to accuse all them that eyther  
pruilly or apertly had furthered the *Italians* in the publique mat-  
ters, hoping thereby the great men should haue bin brought in-  
to slanders and diffamation, and they be their Judges, wherby  
being ridde away, they shoulde yet haue greater power in the  
common wealth. And whereds other *Tribunes* did refuse to  
propound the lawe, the Gentlemen with swords in hand, did co-  
passe the place, and caused the lawe to be made, which as some as  
they had obteyned, they brought in *sculcers* against the *Sen-  
tors*, whereof one *Bellius* would not obey, but wente into vo-  
luntarie banishment, as he that would not giue himselfe into the  
hands of his enemies. *Cotta* appeared in iudgement, and when he  
had very boldly declared his seruice for the common wealth, and  
reprehended the Gentlemen, before he shoulde be cast out by de-  
ree, he wente away willingly. *Nummius* that ouercame *Greece*,  
being promised of the Gentlemen to be released, was deceyued,  
and forced with shame to see iudgement, and to leade his lyfe in  
the Ile of *Delos*. The people began to be grieved at this disor-  
der increasing daily against the best men, lamenting that so ma-  
ny and so good Citie should be so suddenly taken from them.  
The *Italians* hearing of *Drusus* death, and the cause of so many  
mens

mens exile, thinking no longer to be suffered, that such a sort of  
their chiefe patrones should be thus vsed, and not hoping any o-  
ther way to obteyne the freedom of the Citie, determined to  
leauie the *Romaines*, and to make warre vpon them. At the begyn-  
ning of this confederacie, they secretly gaue hostages for assu-  
rance of their faith, which thing was long hidde to the *Romaines*,  
by cause of their dissention and iudiciall causes, but when it was  
percepued, they sente diuers abroade to vnderstand the thyng  
closely, one of the whiche, marking that a yong man of the Citie  
of *Ascoli* was deliuered to another citie as pledge, he did utter  
it to *Seruilus* the President of that prouince: for at that time, it  
should seeme, that the *Romaines* had presidents in diuers partes of  
*Italy*, whiche manner *Hadrian* when he was Emperoure desir-  
ed to renew, but it continued not long after his time. *Seruilus* came  
in great anger to *Ascoli* at a feast, and sharply rebuked them,  
wherupon they killed him, by cause they were discovered  
by hym. They killed also *Fonteius* y was his legate. They had y  
name of Legates among the *Romaines*, that were sent in commis-  
sion to the Presidents of the Countrey. After these two were  
slayne, there was as little courtesie shewed to the rest of the *Ro-  
mains*, for they were all killed, and their goods set to spoyl. The  
conspiracie being now opened, all the neighbours about *As-  
coli* wente to armes. The *Marsians*, the *Malinians*, the *Vestinians*,  
the *Marcians*, and beside them the *Picentines*, the *Ferentines*, the  
*Hirfians*, the *Pompeyans*, the *Venusians*, the *Lapigianes*, and the *Sam-  
nites*, whiche people before had euery bin enemies, and hurtfull to  
the *Romaines*. All other nations from the floud *Lario*, which flo-  
weth, as I take it at *Linterne*, to y Gulfe of *Ionia*, did send theyr  
Embassadors to the *Romaines*, complayning, that where the *Se-  
nate* had vsed their seruice and trauell, alwayes in getting theyr  
great Empire, they made no regard of it, nor for all their paines  
thought them worthy to be partaker of their Citie. To whome  
the Senate sharply answered, that if they repented theyr former  
doings, they shoulde send Embassadors, if not they shoulde send  
none. They as men desperate, prepared for the warre, and made  
a common army of all the Cities, one of footemen, and an other  
of

\* *Ascoli*, Thys  
Citie is in that  
part that is cal-  
led *Fraxo*, neere to the  
territorie of  
*Ascoli*, apper-  
teyning to the  
Pope.  
There is ano-  
ther of thys  
name in *Ascoli*,  
called *Ascoli di  
Suziano* for a  
difference.  
President.  
*Hadrian* the  
Emperoure.  
Proconssules.  
*Seruilus* killed  
at *Ascoli*.  
*Fonteius* killed.  
*Marsians* in *Campo  
paua di Roma*.  
*Malinians* in *Campo  
paua felici*.  
*Vestinians* in  
*Abruzzo*.  
*Marsians* in  
*Abruzzo*.  
*Picentines* in  
*Campania di Lavoro*.  
*Ferentines* in  
*Cano*.  
*Hirfians* in *Abruzzo*.  
*Pompeyans* in  
*terrad. Lavoro*.  
*Venusians* in *As-  
coli*.  
*Lapigianes* in *As-  
coli*.  
*Samnites* in  
*Abruzzo*.  
All these natione  
be beynd Rome.  
\* The floud *Lario*  
Lario, now *Glas-  
iano* in *Camp-  
nia*.  
\* *Linterne* was a  
Citie in *Camp-  
nia*, where *Seis-  
pio* chose to end  
his life, after he  
had found the  
people of Rome  
vnthankfull.

The army of  
the Italians.

See Julius Caesar,  
F. Rutilius Con-  
sules.

Assistants to  
the Consules.

of Horsemen, to the number of one hundred thousande. The *Romaines* made power as greate against them, partly of their owne, and partlie of the Confederate Cities that yet remained in league. *Sextus Julius Caesar*, and *Publius Rutilius Lupus*, then Consules, were leaders both, as in a warre at hande, and dangerous. The rest remained at home to defende the gates and the walles, and because mens mindes were entangled thus waye and that waye, by reason of the newe lawe, they appoynted assistants to the Consules, whome they called Legates, meane of the best sorte. To *Rutilius*, was Ioynd *Cneus Pompeyus*, father to *Pompey* that was surnamed Greate, *Quintus Cæpio*, *Caius Perpenna*, and *Valerius Messala*. To *Sextus Caesar P. Lentulus*, brother of the sayde *Caesar*, *Titus Didius*, *Licinius Crassus*, and *Cornelius Sylla*. And beside these, *Marcus Marcellus*. These many appoynted to the Consuls, serued as Lieutenantes in severall places, and the Consuls wente over all, to whome and to the other the *Romaines* sente euer newe supplies, as in a trouble of greate danger.

The *Italians* hadde theyr Captaynes out of euerye Citty, besyde the whyche, as in a generall cause, these were the Generalles, *T. Asinius*, *C. Pontilius*, *Marius Ignatius*, *Quintus Pompeius*, *C. Papius*, *M. Lampronius*, *C. Iudacilius*, *Hirius Asinius*, and *Petius Cato*. These deuidyng theyr armies together, wente agaynst the *Romayne* Captaynes many tymes with the aduantage, and many tymes with the losse, the chiefe of both the whyche valente to declare, were these: *Petius Cato* putte to flight, *Sextus Julius* kylled two thousande of his menne, and droue him to *Asernia*, a Citty of the *Romayne* deuotion, where standing to theyr defence, *L. Scipio* and *L. Acilius* in shauers apparell fledde awaye, and the enimies with tyne and hunger consumed them. *Marius Ignatius* toke *Venafro* by treason, and kylled two companies of the *Romaines*.

*P. Presentinus* dyd utterthowse *Perpenna* a leader of tenne thousande, kylled foure thousande, and toke the armoure from the most

Generalles of  
the Italians.

See Julius  
Caesar.

Penafro lost.  
It is nere the  
floud *Pulturno*.  
Presentinus over-  
throwne and  
discharged.

moste parte of the rest. Wherefore *Rutilius* the Consull discharged *Perpenna* of his leading, and conuyncted the remnaunte of the Armye to *C. Marius*. *M. Lampronius* slewe eyght hundred of them that were with *Licinius Crassus*, and chased the other to the Citty of *Grumento*. *C. Papius* gotte *Nola* by treacherie, and made Proclamation to two thousande *Romaines* that were there, to come and serue, whyche they dyd, and hee accepted them: but the Captaynes that refused to obey his Proclamation, hee toke, and furnished them to death. He wanne also *Castabuli*, *Minturno*, and *Salerno*, that were habitations of Rome, and caused all the prisoners and Captiues to serue in his Campe. He burned all aboute the compasse of *Nuceria*, whyche caused the nexte Citty to yelde for feare. Hee resquyng an armye of them, they sente hym tenne thousande menne, and one thousande horse, with the whyche hee besieged *Acerre*. *Sextus Caesar* with tenne thousande frenche footemen, and manye *Numidian* Horsemenne, approached to *Acerre*.

*Papius* broughte out of *Venusio*, *Oxinthus*, sonne to *Iugurthe* sometyne King of *Numidia*, where hee was kepte of the *Romaines*, and claddyn hym with purple, shewed hym manye tymes to the *Numidians* that were with *Caesar*, of the whyche manye fledde thynke vnto hym as to theyr kyng. Wherefore *Caesar* sente awaye the rest as suspected into theyr Countrey, after the whiche, *Papius* came vpon hym with contempt, and bette downe parte of his trench. Hee sente his Horsemenne aboute, whyche kylled fyre thousande of *Papius* his souldoyours, whiche done, *Caesar* remoued the Campe from *Acerre*.

To *Iudacilius* in *Iapigia*, the *Canusians*, *Venusians*, and manye other Cyties dyd yelde, some that woulde not hee overcome, and as manye noble menne of the *Romaines* as he founde, hee slewe, the Commons and the slaues hee used in his Host.

*Rutilius* the Consull, and *C. Marius* made Brydges, not farre asunder, to passe over the Riuer of *Liris*. *Petius Cato* camped

C.g.

nigh

Grumento.  
Li. Crassus lost.  
Nola by treachery,  
a Citty not farre  
from Naples.

Castabuli in Campania, Minturno in Campania, vnder Marius hidde himselfe.  
Salerno beyonde Naples.  
Nuceria besieged, thirtie miles from Naples.  
Acerre a Citty in Campania, vnder the Anniball burned, the people beeyng escaped.  
Oxinthus sonne to Iugurth.  
Venusio in Apulia.  
Numidians.

Papius lost.

The Consull  
killed.  
Marins.

Heauineſſe at  
Rome for the  
death of the  
Consull.

Pompeius de-  
ceyeth Capio.

Capio ſlayne.

Sextus Caſar  
Meeth.

Theano in the  
end of Apulia.

nigh the byldge of *Marins* and layde an ambuſhe ouer agaynſte the Conſuls byldge. In the morning he ſuffered him to paſſe o- uer, and ſet vpon him with that ſleyght, and many of his people he killed on the lande, many alſo he drowned in the ſtound. The Conſull in this conſlit was hurt in the head, and dyed ſhortly after. *Marins* being at the other byldge, and perceyving by chance by the bodies that were brought by the ſtreame, paſſed the ſtound with great ſpede, and ſet vpon *Capio* Camp, kept off a ſew, and made him lodge the nighte where he had wonne the day, from whence for lacke of victuall he was compelled to depart. *Furilius* corſpe, and many other Gentlemen, being ſent to Rome to be bur- ned, it was an heauie ſight to ſee the Conſull and ſo many other deſtroyed, and cauſe of many daies mourning: wherefore the Se- nate decreede, that they that dyed in the warre ſhould be buried there, leaſt the other by the ſight ſhould be made aſtraide to goe to the ſield. No ſuccellor was made to *Rutilius* that yeare, by cauſe *Sextus Caſar* had no leſure to goe to the election, but bys hoſt, the Senate appointed *Caius Marins* and *Q. Capio* to rule. *Pompeius* lying againſt *Capio*, fledde as a runagate, and brought two ſlanes as pledges, cladde in purple as his ſonnes: and to haue the moze credite, he broughte certayne wedges of leade, layde ouer with ſiluer and golde. He exhorted him to ſet vpon his men being without a Captayne eaſie to be ouerthrowen. *Capio* was ſo light of belicfe, as he wente with him. When *Pompeius* was nigh the place of embuſhment, he ranne vp to an hill as to eſpie the enimie, to whome when he had giuen his token, they appeared, and ouerthrew *Capio*, and many moe with him. The Senate committed the reſt of his army to *Marins*. *Sextus Caſar* marching with thirtie thouſand footemen, and ſiue thouſand hor- ſes, among hilles and rocky ſtreightes, *Marins* Ignatius ſell ſid- daynely vpon him, and compaſſed him in the ſame. He fledde a- way in a liſter (by cauſe he loas ſicke) to a riuer, where was but one byldge to paſſe, there he loſt the greater part of his armye, the other theye alway their armoure, with whome he hardly eſ- caped to *Theano*, then he turned agayne as well as he could, and with an other multitude that came vnto him by land ouer head, he approached

approched to *Acherre*, which *Papius* had beſieged. Their Campes lay hard together, yet for feare durſt not prouoke one the other. *Cornelius Sylla*, and *C. Marins* did followe valiantly the *Marſians* that lay againſt them, vnto the hedges of the Vineyardes. The *Marſians* with much adoe got through the hedges, in the whiche *Marins* and *Sylla* thought not good to purſue them, but *Sylla* way- ting with his Camp on the other ſide of the Vineyardes, encoun- tred them as they would haue eſcaped out, and killed manye of them, ſo as the ſlaughter of that day was aboue ſixe thouſande, and the harnelle that the *Romaines* toke, was a great deale moze. By this chaunce the *Marſians* like madde men were the moze fierce, and armed themſelues againe, and went on to prouoke the *Romaines*, who durſt not come to hand with them, nor begin the fight, for they be a nation moſt warlike, and through this chance this only triumph was made of them, where before (as the ſay- ing is) neyther was there triumph of them, nor without them. About the mount of *Falerno*, *Iudacilius*, *Titus Afranius*, and *P. V- tidius* together, did ouerthrowe *C. Pompeius*, and broue him to the Citie of *Firmo*. They wente their way, and leſte *Afranius* to be- ſiege *Pompey*, who armed his men ſpedely, but would not come to fight, yet by the cunning of an other army, he ſente *Sulpitius* about to be on the backe of *Afranius*, and he came forth on the ſace. The fight being doubtful on both ſides, *Sulpitius* ſet the eni- mies Camp on fire, which when they ſawe, they fledde to *Aſcoli* without order by obedience, where *Afranius* was killed continu- ing in the fight. *Pompeius* proceeded to the winning of *Aſcoli*. *Iu- dacilius* was bozne at *Aſcoli*, and fearing the loſſe thereof, hee toke eyght companies and went toward according to the *Aſcu- lians* before that he ſawe any ſay him aſſure off, they ſhould yſue vpon the enimies, that they might be ſtrapped by both ſides: but they would none be it. *Pompeius* ſtanding *Iudacilius* en- tred through the Camp with as many as he could, and reproued his Countrey men for unfaithfulneſſe, and cowardineſſe, but ha- uing no hope to ſaue the Citie, ſeeke he killed all his ancient e- nimies, then thoſe that of late had cauſed the multitude to diſo- bey him at this inſtant. What done, he prepared a ſpye in the

Marſia valiant  
people in Latio,  
noy Camp. viii.

Falerio in Cam-  
pania vvhether the  
good vine  
is prayſed.  
Firmo a towne  
in the march of  
Ancona.

Afranius killed.

Iudacilius.

Crueltie of  
Iudacilius.

C. iij.

Temple.

Temple, and sette a bedde vppon it, then he did banquet with  
hys friends, and after he hadde made merrie with them, he  
dranke off hys popson, and layde hym downe on the strawe,  
and bade them sette it on fyre. Thus *Indacilius* desirous to  
dye honourable for hys Countrey, made hys ende. *Sextus Ca-*  
*far*, the tyme of hys office beyng expyred, was made *Triceon*  
full of the Senate. He sette vppon twentie thousande as  
they remoued theyr Campe, and killed eyghte thousande of  
them, and binarmed many more, lying long at the siege at  
*Ascoli*, he dyed of a discaise, and appoynted *C. Cebius* to serue  
in his place. These were the things done in *Italy*, aboute the *Io-*  
*nian* sea.

The *Hetrurians* and *Vmbrians* on the other syde of *Rome*  
hearyng of this, they and other Countreys theyr neyghe-  
bours were dysposed to rebell. The Senate beinge afrayde,  
least the enemie beinge rounde aboute them, they shoulde  
bee vndefended, sente garrisons of fre made menne to all  
the coast betwene the Citty and *Cuma*. This was the  
firste tyme that they were admytted to serue in warre for  
wante of fre menne. Those *Italians* that remayned in god  
saith, they made free of the Citty, of the whyche all were  
desirous. Thys benefyte they sente also to the *Hetruri-*  
*ans*, who receyued that freidome verie frendelye. The  
Senate by thys curtesie made theyr welwylers the more  
wyllyng, putte them oute of doubt that were in feare,  
and caused the enemie (for hope of the lyke) to bee the  
more remisse. The *Romaines* dyd not receyue these newe Ci-  
tizens into the fyue and thirtie compaynes (for so many  
they were) least that they beinge more than the olde, shoulde  
preuaile in elections, but broughte them into newe com-  
paynes, decyded by sortes. Whereby they were last in  
the elections, and many tymes theyr voyces were in vayne,  
bycause the olde fyue and thirtie were firste called, and more  
than halfe. Whether thys was not knowen at the firste,  
or that the *Italians* were contente with it, afterwarde  
it was cause of newe contention. They aboute the *Io-*

Indacilius death.

S. Cesar dyeth.

Cuma in Campania felix.  
Freemaden sent to vvarre.Hetrurians now  
Iuscanes.The Italians  
made Citizens  
of Rome.

*nian* Sea, not hearyng of the *Hetrurians* repentaunce,  
sente fiftene thousande menne in ayde to *Hetruria*, with  
long and laborious iourneys. *C. Pompeius* nowe Con-  
sull, mette wyth them, and killed fyue thousande of them,  
the rest returnyng home by waylesse places, wharpe sea-  
son of Wynter, and by eatyng of Acornes, were the halfe de-  
stroyed.

That same Wynter, *Cato*, *Pompeius* fellowe, made warre  
vppon the *Marsianes*, and was slayne. *Sylla* laye in Campe at  
Mount *Pimpey*. *L. Ignatius* wyth grente besyghte, encamp-  
ped wyth hys halfe ample of hym, *Sylla* coulde not abyde thys  
contumelie, but sette vppon hym, not tarryng for hys for-  
ragiers, and was dysuen to sle, but when hys forragiers  
were come, he sette vppon hym agayne and putte hym to  
flyght. He then Camped farther off, hauing a supplye of  
frenchmen. He agayne placed hys Campe nere to *Sylla*. The  
armyes beinge thus nigh together, a frenchman of migh-  
ty stature came forth alone, and challenged anye of the Ro-  
maynes to fyghte wyth hym: a little *Marsian* answered  
hym, and killed hym, wyth the whyche the frenchmenne  
were so discouraged, as they fode theyr way, whereby the  
Campe beinge troubled, no compayne of *Cluentius* woulde far-  
rie, but wyth confusion fledde to *Nola*. *Sylla* pursued, and  
killed thirtie thousande in the chase. And whereas the *Ne-*  
*lans* receyued them but at one gate, for feare the enemie  
shoulde also enter, he slewe aboute the walles twentye thou-  
sande, among whome *Cluentius* manfullye fyghtyng, was also  
slayne.

*Sylla* wente agaynst the *Hirpinians*, and beseged *AE-*  
*quilano*. They looking for the *Lucanes* ayde that daye, desired  
respite to consider: he perceyuing theyr craft, gaue  
them one houre, and in the meane tyme sette ladders  
to the walles, whyche were made of wodde, and at the  
ende of the houre sette them on fyre. They beinge a-  
frayde yelde, yet he spoyled it, bycause they yelde not of  
good

Sylla sleeth.

Sylla putteth to  
flyght.A Combate.  
A Numidian.

Cluentius slayne.

Hirpinians the  
Italians.  
Lucanes be they  
that now be of  
Policata.Aquilano taken  
Citic in Brutus.

good will, but of necessitie. Other that yielded he receyued, till he had subdued all the *Hypian* nation. Then he wente againste the *Samnites*, not that way which *Mutius* their Captaine kepte, but an other unknowen by a compasse, and came vpon them suddenly, and killed many of them, and the other ranne hither and thither, and *Mutius* was hurt, and with a few slede to *Asernia*. *Sylla* went against the *Briens*, where the common counsell of the factions were kept. This Citie had thre foxtresses, and whyles the *Briens* rane wholly against *Sylla*, he sente aboute certayne, whome he willed to take any of the foxtresses that they coulde, and to signifie it by a smoke, whiche being done, he gaue a hote assault on the front thre houres together, and got the Towne. These things that Sommer were happily done of *Sylla*, and toward winter he went to *Rome* to stand for the Consulship. *C. Pompeius* subdued the *Hydruntians*, *Mariusians*, and the *Rebusians*. *C. Cossinius* a Lieutenant did burne *Salapia*, and took *Canus*. By the coming of the *Samnites*, with whome he fought valiantly, till many dyed on both sides. He was fayne to leaue the siege of *Canus*, and goe to *Canus*. *Trebatius* the Captaine of the *Samnites*, sente vnto *Cossinius*, that eether he should come ouer the riuer that deuided their enemies, to fight, or goe backe, that he might come to him the next daye, and when *Trebatius* was coming ouer, *Cossinius* set vpon him, and had the better in the fight, and as he would haue slede ouer againe, he killed fiftene thousande of *Trebatius* men, who with them that were left, slede to *Canus*. *Cossinius* hauing spoiled the landes of the *Lupians*, *Penutians*, and *Asculans*, inuaded the *Peucetians*, whome he wanne in two dayes. *Cecilius Metellus* became his successor to his army, who went against the *Aspignans*, and overthrew them by battayle; in the which *Pompeius* one of the Generallies of the reuolted people was killed, the rest fled by heapes to *Cecilius*. This was the sharpe contention in *Italy*, called the fellowes warre, till all the same were receyued into the ciuitie of *Rome*. Except the *Lucanes* and *Samnites*, the whyche (as it should seme) were after receyued also, and were appointed to their severall companies as the former, least being ioynd with the olde, they should, being more in number, haue the vpper hand

Mutius over-  
thrown.

Asernia in Frigia.

Francia novve  
in the name of  
Sylla.

Salapia Citie of  
Apulia, where  
Sylla was  
caught in love.  
Canus novve  
Perlett.  
Canus a citie in  
Apulia, where  
is the best vvol  
in Italy, novv  
Cossini.  
The Riuer  
Anfilo.  
Trebatius is dis-  
comfited by  
Cossinius.

Lupians &  
people of As-  
pignans  
Peucetians in  
Calabria.

Pompeius killed.

Italians receyued  
to the freedome  
of Rome.

hand in elections.

Now beganne the *Usurers* to contende one against another *Usurie*.  
in the Citie, bycause some had bought debtes with the interest,  
being forbidden to take *usurie* vpon *usuries* by an olde law, and  
a payne appoynted to him that so would vse his *usuries*. It  
should seme that the olde *Romaines* detested *usurie* as muche as  
the *Greekes*, as a matter intolerable to the poore, and cause of de- *Romaines,*  
bate and euill will. The *Persians* also by their custom did accompte *Grecians, and*  
it full of fraude and leasing, but while being confirmed by cu- *Persians, hate*  
stome and time, they required it accordingly. The other allea- *Usurie.*  
ged cause of delay through warre and sedition, and some thre caried  
the *usurers* with the statute. *Asellus* a Judge, to whome that in- *Asellus*  
risdication belonged, sought to ayle them, but coulde not, where-  
fore he gaue them leaue to trie the controuersie by lawe, putting  
the Judges in remembrance, as well of the custome, as of the  
law, as a thing doubtfull. When the *usurers* hearde *Asellus*  
make mention of the olde law, they were grieved, and tolled him  
after this manner: It was his turne to make oblation in the  
common place to *Iupiters* children, the multitude standing about  
the sacrifice, one of the *usurers* threw a stone at him, and hit him,  
wherefore he sang downe the vessel of sacrifice, and ranne to-  
ward the Temple of *Vesta*, where being presented and embraced,  
he slede into a shoppe, and there they slew him. Many that went  
after him thinking he had bin slede among the *Virgins*, ranne  
into places where it was not lawfull for men to come. Thus  
*Asellus* a Judge, sacrificing and cladded with an holy vesture of  
golde, as in such solemnities is wont, was killed the second hote  
among the Temples in the midst of the common place. The Se-  
nate made proclamation, that who so euer would beioyay the  
killer, if he were a freema, he should haue his life: if he were vnto,  
he should haue freedom: if he were priue to it, he should haue  
pardon: but no man would do it, for the *usurers* kept it secrete.  
These murders and ciuill dissensions hapned yet now and then,  
but afterward Captaynes of sedition with great armies contem-  
ded together by law of warre, their Countrey standing as a pray  
to them that could catch it, the beginning & proceeding wherof  
after

Romaines,  
Grecians, and  
Persians, hate  
Usurie.

Asellus.

Sacrifice to  
Iupiters childer.

Vesta the God-  
desse of Virg-  
nities.

Disorder.

Asellus killed.

after the fellowes warre was this.

Beginning of  
Ciuill warres.

Marius.

Sulpitius.

Vacation.

Sulpitius against  
the vacation.

Vacation re-  
soked.

When *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and other nations hadde invaded *Bithinia*, *Phrigia*, and *Asia*, continuing to the same (as I haue shewed in my Booke of that matter,) it was by lotte assigned to *Sylla* the Consull, being yet in *Rome*, to gouerne the armie in *Asia*, in that warre of *Mithridates*. But *Marius*, who thoughte this warre woulde be easie to dispatch, and very muche worthie desirous also of the Generall's comie, attempted *P. Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, with manie promises, to be his friende. And he putte the newe Citizens of *Italy* in good hope, that were inferioure in elections, to be distributed thorough all the Companies, not shewing that hee wente aboute any matter of his owne, that hee myghte vse them as faithfull ministers in all affaires. *Sulpitius* straightway propounded a law for it, which if it had taken place, *Marius* and *Sulpitius* shoulde haue had their willes in all, because the new Citizens did so farre excede the olde, which thing the auncients perceiuing, did stoutely resist the new, and both sides vsed stoncs and flaes in their defence. This euill growing still greater, and the Consuls fearing the passing of the law that was at hand, did proclaime a vacation for many dayes, as in festiuall tymes was wont to be done, that some intermission mighte be hadde of this lawe and inconuenience. *Sulpitius* coulde not abyde this vacation, and therefore willed his faction to come to the common place with weapons hidde, and do as shoulde fall out, not sparing the very Consuls if made were. Thys done, he spake agaynst the vacation, as a thing contrarie to the lawe, and bad the Consules, *Sylla*, and *Q. Pompey* forthwith to reuoke it, that he mighte procede to the approbation of the lawe. A tumulte began, and they being prepared, drew their daggers, and threatned to kyll the Consules if they spake agaynst them: wherefore *Pompey* secretly fledde, and *Sylla* went asyde, as to take aduice: But *Pompey's* sonne, being sonne in lawe to *Sylla*, was kyled of *Sulpitius* faction, because hee spake somewhat liberally agaynst them. When *Sylla* returned, and reuoked the vacation, and wente to *Capua*, to the army which was to passe into *Asia*, for the war

of *Mithridates*, not knowing any thing yet what was meante agaynst hym. The vacation being dissolved, and *Sylla* gone out of the Citie, *Sulpitius* propounded the lawe; and to *C. Marius* for whome he had done all this, he assigned the rule of the warre agaynst *Mithridates* in *Sylla's* place. *Sylla* hearing of it, and determining to trye it by fight, called his *Souldiours* together, whiche were desirous to goe this iourney for the gayne thereof, and knewe that *Marius* woulde vse other *Souldiours* in it, and declared vnto them what spyghte *Sulpitius* and *Marius* hadde done hym, not shewing playnely his meaning, for hee durst not yet make mention of any suche warre, but only exhorted them to be readye, as occasion shoulde requyre. They vnderstanding his intente, and afrayde to be preuented of this warfare, opened *Sylla's* cogitation, and hadde hym boldly leade thence to *Rome*. Hee being gladde thereof, marched with fyre Legions. All the officers of his Campe, but one Tresourer, posted to *Rome*, and coulde not abyde to goe agaynst the Countrey.

Embassadours came to hym by the way, and asked hym why with armes hee dyd invade his Countrey: he answered, to deliuer it from Tyrantes. Hee made this answer twice or thrice to severall Embassadours, and withall required, that the Senate with *Marius* and *Sulpitius* myghte meete hym in the felde of *Mars*, and there hee woulde doe, as by counsell shoulde seeme good.

When hee was come nygh, *Pompey's* his fellowe resorted to hym, allowing and praying his sayings, and ioyning with hym in all thynges. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* not prepared for so shorte a distaunce, sente other Embassadours, as directed from the Senate, wellyng hym not to come nygher than fyue myles to the Citie, till they hadde consulted of the presente state. *Sylla* and *Pompey* well vnderstandyng they meaning, promised so to doe, yet followed as sone as they were gone. When *Sylla* toke the gate called *Celimoniana*, and the wall nexte it, with one Legion, and *Pompey* toke *Collina* Gate with an other. The thyrde hee placed

*Capua* the chiefe  
Cittie of *Campania*.

The warre of  
*Mithridates*  
appointed to  
*Marius*.  
*Sylla* to his  
Souldiours.

*Sylla* returneth  
to *Rome* in  
Armes.

Officers of  
good conscience.

Answer of  
*Sylla*.

*Celimoniana*  
Gate.  
*Collina* Gate.

F. f.

at

Sylla entrath the  
Cittie with  
armies.

At *Esquilis* was  
the lull in Rome,  
vpon the  
which *Tullus*  
*Hostilius* kept  
his Souldiours.  
First night of  
the armies in  
Rome.  
The hot line of  
of *Sylla*.

*Subura*, in the  
old vnting  
*Succurra*, a  
streete in Rome,  
where Sould-  
yers were  
placed, to re-  
leeue them of  
*Esquilis*.

*Marius* fleeth.

*Holy* way in  
Rome so named  
of the peace  
that *Romulus*  
made with  
*Tatius*.

*Sylla* remeth  
olde lawes.  
Comet *Ceterius*  
where the best  
men gaue  
voyces.  
King *Tullus*.

at the bylge of *inoppe*, the fourth he left as a warde vnder the  
walles, with the rest he entred the Cittie with eniemies mind and  
dæde; wherefore the dwellers aboute did stoppe him, by casting  
vpon him from aboue. He threatned to burne their houses, and  
then they fledde. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* came against him in the  
plaine of *Esquily*, with as many, as of the suddayne they coulde  
bring armed. This was the first fight that euer was in Rome of  
suche eniemies, not now for any pretence of dissention, but by  
plaine force, with Trumpet and ensignes, as in lawe of warre.  
So such inconueniences were they now come by nourishing of  
dissentions, *Sylla* bys souldiours gaue backe, wherefore he toke  
the standerd, and towe to it with daunger, so as the reuerence of  
their Generall, and the feare of dishonor that come to them that  
forsake their ensigne, did stay them straichte from fleeing. *Sylla*  
called freche souldiours from the Campe without, and sente o-  
thers to the streete called *subura*, to compass the eniemies on  
the backehalfe. *Marius* company made but faint resistance against  
these new men, and feare to be compassed on euery side, called  
to the Citizens that fought yet in their houses, and proclaymed  
libertie, to seruantes if they would come to help: but none com-  
ming faith, and they in bitter despayre, fledde out of the Cittie,  
and so did euery noble man that was of their faction. *Sylla* passed  
to the way called *Holy*, and such as made any spoyle, he punished  
in the sight of all men. He also set garrisons in the Cittie, and  
both he and *Pompey* watched, going aboute euery where, that no  
hurt should be done, eyther of them that had lost, or of them that  
had wonne. Day being come, they called the people to a counsel,  
they lamented that the state was betrayed of certayne trouble-  
some men, and that they were constrained by necessitie to doe  
that they had done. Further they affirmed, that nothing of im-  
portance should be propounded to the people, but that were be-  
fore debated of the Senate, renuing an auisient lawe, now of  
long time out of vse, and that the elections shoulde not be of the  
ordinarie companies of wardes, but of the generall assemble  
by the rate of substance, according to the institution of King  
*Tullus*, supposing by these two things, that if no lawe were pro-  
pounded

pounded to the people before the Senate, and that elections shoulde  
not consist in the poore and bolde sorte, in stee of the wise and  
substantiall men, there shoulde not be suche occasion of sedition.  
Many other things they spake of the Tribunes, in writing a-  
gainste that power as Tyrannicall, whereby the Senate was  
growen into contempt by so vnkyt men: therefore they chose to-  
gether three hundred of the best sorte, and whatsoeuer had bin  
done by *sulpitius* after the vacacion of the Consuls, they reuoked  
it as vnlawfull. Thus sedition from strife and contention, dyd  
growe to murder, and from murders to very warre, and this  
was the first army of Citizens that invaded the Countrey as e-  
niemies. Yet sedition ceased not by this trial of armes, for conti-  
nuall inuasions were made against Rome, the walles were bea-  
ten downe, and all other extremities of warre done, no reuerence  
eyther of lawe, common wealthe, or Countrey, being able to re-  
frayne the violent mindes. When was banished *sulpitius* the  
Tribune, and with him *Marius*, five times Consul, and his sonne  
*P. Cethegus*, *Iunius Brutus*, *C. & Q. Gramus*, *P. Albinus*, *M. Lel-  
lius*, and other, to the number of twelue Senators, as stirrers  
of tumult, rebellious to the Consuls, prouokers of slaues to re-  
uolt, by offering them libertie, for the whiche they were proclay-  
med eniemies to the Romaine state, and that it shoulde be lawfull  
to kill them without punishment, or bring them to the Consuls.  
Their goddes were confiscate, and serchers ranne aboute to  
catch the, who founde *sulpitius*, and slew him. *Marius* alone with  
out seruant or fellow fledde to *Minturne*, the rulers of that Cittie  
for feare of the Proclamation; keeping him in a close house, that  
hadde bin five times Consul, and done so many notable feates,  
would not be auctours of his death, but sente a Frenchman that  
was there by chance, with a sword to kill him. The Frenchman  
(as they say) wente in to him lying on the strawe in the darke  
house, and was asfayde, for he thought that his eyes dyd cast  
for the beames and flames of fire, and that he dyd rise from his  
couch, and cryed with a loude voyce, darrest thou kill *Caius Marius*.  
The Frenchman fledde as fast as he could out of the house like  
a gladdeman, crying, I can not kill *Marius*, whereby the Rulers

*Marius* &c. pro-  
claymed Tray-  
tors.

*Sulpitius* slayne.

*Minturne* in  
Campania be-  
twene Formia  
and Simeffa,  
*Marius* fleeth to  
*Minturne*.

A Frenchman  
appointed to kill  
*Marius*, can not  
do it.

*Marius* escapeth.

kill.

that

Token of Marius  
his honor.

Hard happe of  
Marius in el-  
caping.

that doubtfully hadde determined this, were stricken with a diuine feare, and a faine spoken from his childehode, that the man shoulde be seauen times Consull, for they say, when he was a childe, seuen yong Eagles fell into his lappe, whiche the Southsayers did shewe, that he shoulde seauen times haue the greatest honor. The Magistrates of Minturne remembryng this, and thinking the Frenchman was feared by Gods operation, they conueyd *Marius* out of their Citie, to saue himselfe as well as he could. He knowing that he was sought for of *Sylla*, and followed of the Horsemen, went toward the Sea by unbeate wayes, and chancing vpon a Cotage, stayed there, and covered his body with leaues, he hearde a noyse, and lay still covered with his leaues, but hearing it more and more, he leapt into an old Fishermans bote, and toke it away spight of his teeth: a tempest arose, and he cutte the Cable, and boysted the saile, and committed himselfe to fortune, and so he came to an Island, where he founde a Shippe of his friends, with whome he sayled into *Lybia*, but being reiecte from thence by *Sextus* the Presidente, as an enimie, he liued all that Winter in the Sea, vnder the Mountaynes of *Numidia*. Being thus againe a seaborde and knowen, of his friends, there sayled to him *Citheygus*, *Granius*, *Albenohannus*, *Lehorius*, and others, and his sonne, all the whiche being valiant men, fledde from Rome to a *Numidian* Prince, and being afraide of Treason, departed from thence. These had good will to set vpon *Sylla*, whome they thought violently to vse their Countrey, but lacking army, they tarried till occasion might serue. *Sylla* being the first that euer entred the Citie with armes, and able to haue made himselfe in Rome equall with a Monarch, after he was auenged of his enimie, he did willingly refrayne from violence. He sent his army to *Capua*, and ruled agayne as a Consull. The faction of the banished, chiefly the riche menne and women that were full of money, being deliuered of feare of the army, were earnest for the returne of their men, and omitted neyther care nor cost, laying wayte for the Consullles bodies, because if they were well, their matter were dashed. Nowe when *Sylla* shoulde leaue his office, the army that was appoynted him against *Mithridates*

*Mithridates* should be his defence. *Pompey* the other Consull, the people pityng his case, appoynted him the gouernemente of *Italy*, with the army that was vnder *C. Pompeius*. When *Cneus* heard of this, he toke it euill, yet he receiued *Quintus* into the Campe, who the next day doing his office, *Cneus* wente aside as a private man, till a number pretending to heare the Consull, enclosed him and killed him, other fleeing away. *Cneus* returned as though he had bin maruellous angry that the Consull should be so vnlawfully slayne, but angry as he was, he straight toke the rule vpon him agayne. When the newes of the Consulls deathe was brought to the Citie, *Sylla* was afraide of himselfe, and straight carried his friends with him wheresoeuer he wente, and in the night had them about him also, and so not tarryng long, he went to *Capua* to his army, and fro thence sayled into *Asia*. The friends of the fledde men had great confidence in *Cinna* that was Consull after *Sylla*, and stirred the new Citizens to the deuises of *Marius*, and thought it mete that they shoulde be mixt with the olde companies, least being last of all, their romes shoulde be lost. This was the plat, for *Marius* and his friends returne. The olde Citizens stode stiffely against it. *Cinna* stode with the newe Citizens, corrupted (as it is thought) with thre hundred Talentes. *Octavius* the other Consull defended the olde. *Cinna* his companie, closely armed, toke the comon place, & cryed to be mixed with the *copantes*. The other multitude better minded, resorted to *Octavius* with their weapons also, to whome tarryng at home to take aduise, worde was brought, that the most part of the Tribunes did resist these doings, & that there was a tumult of the new Citizens, with weapons drawne in the way against the Tribunes of the contrary side, rushing into the comon place. When *Octavius* heard of this, he wet the way called *Holy*, with a great company, & thysing through the myddest of the contrary side, got to the comon place & stayed there. When he had thus afraide the, he went into the Temple of *Iupiters* childe to auoide *Cinna*, but they that were with him, without any commaundement, came vpon the newe Citizens, and killed manye of them, and chased the other fleeing to the Gates. *Cinna* hauyng his trust in the newe Citizens,

*Pompey* the  
Consull killed.

*Cinna*

*Octavius*

VVay Holy

Tumult in the  
which the new  
Citizens are  
killed.

and

and thinking to haue done all by force, and now contrarie to his opinion, seeing the boldnesse of a few to haue ouercome, he went aboute the Citie, and called slaues to libertie, but when none came, he ranne to the nexte Cities, whiche not long before were made free of Rome, that is, *Fibur*, *Præneste*, and other as farre as *Nola*, and stirred them to sedition, and gathered money for the warre. *Cinna* being thus occupied and deuising, some Senators of his kinde fledde vnto him, as *C. Melpius*, *Quintus Sertorius*, and the other *C. Marim*. The Senate did decree, that *Cinna* should no more be taken as Consul nor Citizen, because being Consul, he left the Citie in tumulte, and called bondmen to libertie, and in his place they appoynted *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* Prieste. They saye that this holie Prieste only mighte euer weare the wand of his batte alway, where as other might not doo it, but in sacrifices only. *Cinna* went to *Capua*, where was an other armye of the *Romaines*. He did make sute to the Rulers of it, and to as many Senators as were there. He went in the middlest as Consul. He threwe away his maces, and like a private man wepte, and sayde. If you (O Citizens) receyued I this dignitie, the people gaue it me, and the Senate haue taken it from me without you, and as I suffer in mine owne cause, so am I grieved, for your sakes: why should we now desire fauour at the countenances in our elections? What neede haue we of you? how shal you be any longer Lords of elections, of assemblies, or of chiefe officers, if you cannot mainteyne that you haue giuen, and take away when you see cause? When he had spoken thus to stirre them, and lamenting muche his owne cause, he rente his garment, and ranne from the Chaire, and fell flatte among the, and still lay downe, till they for pitties sake toke him vp, and set him againe in his Chaire, and toke him the bundelles of authoritie, and bade him hope well, as became a Consul, and to vse them as occasion should require. The officers of the Campe by this meane did relent, and swore to *Cinna* the oath of a Souldiour, and so did all the rest. This done, he wente boldly to the confederate Cities, and stirred them, as for whose sakes he suffered this calamitie. They releued him with money, & many of the other great

There were twelve miles from Rome. Præneste was in Campania of Rome. N. twelve miles from Nylus. Cinna deposed.

The thing was called *lupus*, which was a very wild beast about with wood in the height of his haire. *Iupiters* Priest. Com to the Souldiers.

*Cinna* restored to his dignitie.

great men of the Citie came vnto him, whiche did not like the quiet state of the common wealth. Thus *Cinna* did. *Octavius* and *Merula* the Consuls, fortified the Citie with rampiers, and preparation of engines of warre. They sente for Souldiours to the Cities that remayned obediende, and into Fraunce their next neyghboure. They also called home *Cneius Pompeius* the Proconsull, leading an armye at the coast of the *Ionian* Sea, to come with all speede to serue his Countrey. He so dyd, and planted his host at the Gate called *Collina*. *Cinna* came also, and encamped by him.

*Caius Marim* hearing of this, passed the Sea to *Hetruria* with his fellowes banished, and seruantes, and there came to him aboute foure hundred of his friendes of Rome: he with vile apparel and long heare to moue pittie wente to the Cities, shewing his victories and honours agaynst the *Germanes*, and his tyme Consulshippe, and (that whiche pleased them best) promised to doe for them in the lawe of elections: and so he gathered foure thousande *Toscans*, and came with them to *Cinna*, who gladly receyued hym into the societie of his doings.

Being mette together, they ordered their army at the *Source* *Tiber*, and deuided it into thre partes, *Cinna* and *Carbo* ouer agaynst the Citie, *Sertorius* about it, and *Marim* towarde the Sea.

They made Bridges ouer the Riuer, that they myghte keepe victuals from the Citie. *Marim* toke *Ostia* and spoyled it. *Cinna* sente to take *Arimino*, that no army shoulde come out of nyghe Fraunce. The Consuls were asrayde, hauing neede of an other army, and because they coulde not call home *Sylla* being entred into *Asia*, they commaunded *Cecilius Metellus* that was aboute the remnant of the fellowes warre agaynst the *Samnites*, that he shoulde dispatche it as honestly as he coulde, and come to helpe his Countrey that was inuaded. He stode too muche vpon termes with the *Samnites*, whiche when *Marim* heard, he graunted them all they demaundes, and so the *Samnites* ioynd with *Marim*. *Appius Claudius* a Captayne, and

The Consuls prepare for defence.

*Collina* a gate in Rome, now *Salina*.

*Marim* returneth.

The *Germanes* were called *Cimbrians*, now thought to be *Danes*.

*Ostia* spoyled, being at the mouth of *Tiber*, about twelue miles from Rome.

*Arimino* is in that part that now is called *Romania*, next to *Lombardie*, and was the division of old Italy at the flood *Rubicon*. *Cecilius Metellus* is too precise, and giueth occasion of aduantage to his enimie.

*Marim* entreats Rome. *Appius Claudius* receyue *Marim* into the Citie.

keeper of the hyll *Ianicula*, and the walles there, hauing receiued a good turne, and myndfull of the benefyte, opened the gate by breake of day, and so *Marius* entred, and *Uinna* followed, but they were soone repulsd by *Oppidius* and *Rompey*, that came agaynst them.

It chanced so, that there was greate lyghtnings that fell vpon Pompeys armye, whereby he and manys noble menne were destroyed. *Marius* kepte all victuals from the Citie that came from the Sea, or aboue from the freshe water, and hee rode to the nigh Cities, where anye Corne was layde for the *Romayne* floze, and by sabbayne coming to *Antio*, *Arria*, and *Lanuisio*, hee tooke them all, and some other Cities by Treason. And thus keepinge alwaye victuals by lande also, hee appoched towarde Rome boldly, by the way called *Appia*, before any victualles coude bee broughte from anye other place, and wpth *Cinia*, *Carbo*, and *Sertorius*, Camped twelue myles from Rome, *Octavius*, *Craffus*, and *Metellus* dyd lye agaynst them at *Mount Albano*, and considering for the tyme to come, although they were superioure in strength and number, yet hadde they a compassion to putte theyr Countrey in hazarde by any battayle.

*Cinna* sente Trumpettes aboute the Citie, proclaiming libertie to Seruautes, whereby a multitude of fugitiues came vnto him. The Senate was afrayde thereby, and doubting of the people, bycause of the want of things in the Citie, chaunged theyr mynde, and sente Embassadors to *Cinna* for reconciliation. He asked them firste, whether they came to him as a Consull, or as a private person. They doubted what to answer, and returned to *Rome*.

Some many of the freemen came vnto him, some for faction, and some for feare of famine, and to see the sequale of it: and some proudly he approached the walles, and Camped within an arrowe shotte. They that were with *him* were in feare and doubt, and slowe to fight, because of the runnawayes, and ofte sendyng betwene, the Schate was greatly amazed.

Ther

They thoughte it vniust to depose *Lucius Merula*, *Impiers*  
*Præste*, that was chosen in *Cinna*s place, and hadde not offend-  
 ed, but beeyng oppressed with the greate myseries, they  
 sente to *Cinna* as Consull, and as they looked for no greate  
 good thereby, so they requyred *Cinna* to sweare, that hee woulde  
 committe no murther. hys refused to sweare, but promi-  
 sed that willingly hee woulde be no cause of manslaughter.  
 hie wylled also, that *Octavius* that came in at the other gates,  
 shoulde gette hym away, least some displeasure mighte be done  
 hym agaynst hys wyll. Thys he aunswered from an hygh  
 Throne as Consull, to the Embassadours of the Citie. *Marcus*  
*Antony* standyng nexte the Senate, was silente, but by hys cruell  
 countenance, it was perceyued that he was bent to mur-  
 ther.

The Senate accepted this, and willed *Cinna* and *Marcius* to enter, well knowing that *Marcius* dyd all, and *Cinna* assented to it. *Marcius* spake in testyng wyse, that it was not lawfull for a banished manne to enter, wherefoze the Tribunes dyd reuoke the banishment, and dissolue the decree made againste hym by *Sylla*. When they entred the Citie wylth the feare of all that receyued them. They made spoyle of the contrarie parte, wylthoute stoppe. *Cinna* and *Marcius* sente thep othes to *Othanius*, but the Southsayers and Diuiners badde hym not trust them, and hys friendes counselled hym to fle, but hee protesting neuer to leaue the Citie, whyles hee was Consul, wente among them to *Ianiculo*, with the noble men, and parte of the armye, where hee remayned, and late downe in the seate, cladde with his robe of rule, being wayted hyon wylth the rodde and ares, as Consulles were wont. *Censorinus* came agaynst hym with certayne horsemenne, hys friendes perswadyng hym to fle wylth hys armye, and bzing hym on horse, he woulde not allowe of it, nor once rylse, but abode the death. *Censorinus* cutte off hys heade, and broughte it to *Cinna*, and was the fyrste Consulles head that was sette vpp in the common place: but after hym, the heads of the other that were slayne were set vp also, and this mischiefe

The Senate  
tendeth to Con-  
sult,  
Doubtfull  
anywhere.

• *Marino Cornetti*

The banishment of *Marius* revoked.  
*Marius* and *Cinna* imagine their  
 oath for *Officiaries*.  
 He is counselled to flee.

2 The constancy  
of Oisander.

Confortinus comes  
metho to kill  
Oclanus con-  
trary to the  
oth,

Oilman Con-  
sult headed,

beginning with *Offitium*, continued still in such murders of them that were counted enemies. Searchers ranne straighte aboute for to fynde their foes, and there was no regarde of Senator or Gentleman, nor no difference made. All the heads of the Senators were put up in the common place. There was neyther reverence of the Gods, nor respect of men, or anye matter made of murther, but all bent to cruell actes, and from actes to horrible sightes, killing, crueltie, and cutting off the heads of them that were kylled, to the feare & astonishment of the beholders, making thereof most miserable shewe. *C. & Lucius, Julius, Brathzen, Antilius, Eranius, P. Lentulus, G. Numitorius*, and *M. Bibulus* were slayne, beeyng mette in the way. *Crassus* fledde wyth his sonne, and prevented them in killing him, then himselfe was killed of the pursuers. *Marcus Antonius* an orator fledde into a fferme house, the keeper whereof receyved him gentlye, and hydde hym, and sendyng a servaunte for *Wylne* to a Hauerne oftner than hee was wonte, the Hauerner asked hym why hee boughte *Wylne* so ofte, he tolde hym secretly in his eare, then the Wintner sente one straighte to *Marius*, and opened the matter, whereof hee was so glad, as he mynded to haue gone and kylled hym himselfe, but beeyng stayed of his friendes, a Captayne of a bande was appoynted to it, who sente hys shouldeyours into the house, whome *Antonius*, beeyng so singular an Orator, byd deteyne wyth swete speeches, dyuers wayes mouyng them to pitie. The Captayne maruelling at the matter, wente into the house, and founde them attentiuely hearkeyng to hys tale, wherefore hymselfe kylled hym, as he was yet eloquente in speakyng, and sente hys head to *Marius*. *Cornelius* lying hydde in a Cotage, hys membe carefullye kepte hym. They founde a dead bodye, whychethey threwe into a fyre that they hadde made, and when the searchers came, they sayde it was theyr maisters bodye, whome they hadde fyrte strangled. Thus was hee saued by hys seruantes.

*Ancharius* wayted when *Marius* shoulde make Sacrifice in the Capitoll, trustyng in the tyme of Sacrifice to fynde hym the more mercifull. When he hadde begunne the Sacrifice,

crifice, and saue *Ancharius* comyng vnto hym, he commaunded hym to be killed there, so hys head, *Antonius*, and other Consules and Senators were sette vp in the common place. None of theyr bodies thus slayne, were thoughte worthy to be buried, but the carcasses of so many noble men, were throwne downe to be deuoured of Dogges and foule. Many other horrible actes were done vpon them, expulsion from their possessions, publication of their goodes, depriuation of their dignities, & reuocation of all things that *Sylla* had done, whose friends and kinsfolke were killed, his house pulled downe, his goodes confiscated, and he proclaymed enemye to his countrie, his wife and his daughter with great daunger escaped: finally, there was all sort of mieries and mischiefs that could be inuented, and for a shewe of law and authoritie, after so many murders without law, accusers were broughte in against *Merula* Iupiters priest, for anger of his office, whiche he toke without any displeasure to *Cinna*, and against *Catulus* *Lucretius* who was selow with *Marius*, in the warre against the *Gimbrians*, and once saued by *Marius*, but now thought vnthankfull, for that he was soe against him after he was banished. They were kept in close prison till the court day, and then called to iudgement, & where they must be foure times cited by certon distaunce of houses, *Merula* in the meane time cut hys baynes, and by a wytyng made by him, did testifie, that he had layde of his priestly attyre when he cut his baynes, for it was not lawfull for a priest to die with that vpon him. *Catulus* choked himself in a chamber now made and moyst with a smoke, and thus they two died. The bondmen that came to *Cinna* by proclamation were all made free, and seruyng him as soldours they did not onely runne aboute and spoyle euery house, but also slew whome soeuer they mette, not sparyng their olde masters. *Cinna* many times bid monishe the, but they were neuer the better, wherefore in the night when they were at rest, he sent 2 French bandes, and killed them euery one. Thus these slaues receyued worthy punishment, for theyr vnfaithfulnesse against their masters. The yeare folowyng, *Cinna*, the seconde tyme, and *Marius* the thirde tyme were cholen Consuls, to whom

*Ancharius* killed in the Temple.

*Sylla* proclaymed rebell.

Accusers, *Merula*.

*Catulus* *Lucretius*.

*Merula* dieth.

*Catulus* dieth.

*Cinna* killeth the free made.

Marius dyeth.

He was in Marius  
place, dyed  
in Asia.Ages of Sylla  
in Asia.Sylla verghteth  
to the Senate.

after his banishment, and proclamation that any man might kill him, the token of seuerall Eagles appeared, agayne vnto him. He being bent to all extremitie agaynst *Sylla*, died the firste moneth of his seneth Consulship, *Cinna* took *Falerius Flaccus* in his place, and sente him vnto *Asia*, who being dead also, he chose *Carbo* to be his fellow in office.

*Sylla* thinking long to returne agaynst his enemies, made shorte ende with *Mithridates*, and, as we haue sayde before, in thre yeaeres, and them not complete, he destroyed one hundred and threescore thousande menne. He restored to the Romaine Empire, *Gracia*, *Macedonia*, *Asia* and *Ionia*, with other nations that *Mithridates* had oppressed. He took from him his name, & shutte him within the compasse of his fathers kyngdome: he returned with an armie mightie, obedient, experte, and courageous in theyr doyngs past, he brought also a multitude of shippes, money and furniture of all thyngs fitte, whereby he was feared of his enemies. *Cinna* and *Carbo* being perplexed, sente diuerse ouer all *Italia* to prouide money, menne and victuals, the ryche menne with theyr substance they made sure, the Citties they spred, especially the newe made Citizens, as for whose sake they were now in daunger. They prepared a navy with great speed, they called home the shippes of *Cicilie*, they kepte the coaste sure, & omitted nothing that might be done, with speedy care and diligence. *Sylla* with haughty harte wrote to the Senate of himselfe, shewing what he had done in *Lybia*, when he was Treasourer, agaynst *Iugurth* kyng of *Numidia*, what agaynst the *Cimbrius*, what in *Cicilie*, when he was Admirall, and what in the felowes warge, when he was Consul: but the late assayes done agaynst *Mithridates*, he chiefly extolled, rehearsing at large the infinite sorte of nations that he had taken from him and made subiecte to the Romaines, notwithstanding all the whiche, because he had receyued certayne afflicted Gentlemen of *Rome* banished by *Cinna*, and comforted them in calamitie, he was of his enemies proclaymed rebell to his countrey, his house was pulled downe, his friends were slayne, his wyfe and children coulde scarcely saue themselves and

and fle vnto hym. But now he woulde come and be auenged of them and the whole Cittie for theyr doyngs, as for the other Citizens, and them that were newe made he woulde not blame any of them. These letters being redde, every man was afraide, they sent Embassadors, to treat of attonement with his aduersaries, and if he requyzed any assurance, that the Senate woulde fulfill it, and commaunded *Cinna* his officers to leaue gathering of men, till *Sylla* answers were heard. They promised so to do, but when the Embassadors were gone, they made themselves Consuls for the nexte yeaere, because they woulde not returne of the sabbayne, for the elections, and wente aboute *Italy*, gathering men, whiche they sente into *Lyburnia*, as they were ready, there intending to sette vpon *Sylla*. The firste that wente had prosperous iourney, the nexte were beaten with tempest, so as when they came to land, they returned every man to theyr Countrey, as though they woulde not willingly serue agaynst the Citties. The other hearing of this, refused to sayle into *Lyburnia*. *Cinna* was displeased, and warned them to assemble, mynding to compell them: they with anger wente, thinking to be reuenged. One of the Sergeantes making way for *Cinna*, and hitting one of the Souldyers ouer the legges, an other of the army stroke the Sergeant agayne. *Cinna* commaunding him to be taken, they all made a great shoute, and fell to thowsing of stones. They that were next him drew their swordes, and kyled him. Thus *Cinna* being Consul, was murdered. *Carbo* called fro *Lyburnia* them y sayled thither, and being afraid of these doyngs, woulde not returne to *Rome*, albeit y Tribunes did earnestly requyre him to come to y election of a new fellow in office; at length threatening him y they woulde make him priuate, he came & propounded y electio of a new Consul. The day being unlucky, he appointed an other. That daye into lightnings falling vpon the Temple of the *Monie*, & Goddess of *Corne*, y maiesters of *Ceremonies* did differre y election, till after y standing high of y *Sommer Sunne*, & so *Carbo* was Consul alone. In the meane time *Sylla* made this answer to the that came to him fro the Senate, that he could not be friend to them, that had deale so outrageously

Dalmatia is  
now part of  
Slauonia.The Souldyers  
refused to goe  
against their  
Countrymen,Cinna killed,  
Carbo afraide to  
goe to Rome.Lightnings  
vpon the Temple  
of the Moone  
and Ceres.The answers  
of Sylla.

by

by him, but with the Citie, that desired his preservation, he had no quarrell; yet he said they should be most sure, that would trust to him, whome to defend, he had a wellwilling armye. By this word it was chiefly understood, that he would not dissolve his army, but intended to play the Tyrante. He requyred his dignitie, his substance, his wealth, and any other office he had, to be restored unto him, without exception, and with the Embassadors he sente certayne of his, to require the same, the whiche hearing that Cinna was slayne, and the Citie troubled, returned from Brundise to Sylla, doing nothing: then Sylla with five Legions of Italians, six thousand Horse, and certaine other of Peloponneso and Macedonia, marched, having in the whole forty thousand, from Pireo to Patra, and from Patra to Brundise, with thirty hundred Shippes: The Brundisians receyved him willingly, wherefore he gave them privileges which they yet holde. From thence he removed his army and went forward, Metellus summoned the duetifull, that was left to finish the fellows warre, and for Cinna and Marius came not into the citie, but remained in Liguria to see what would happe, came unto him called, as fellows in the warre, and he accepted his societie as yet Dictator, so they that he once chosen, do continue till they returne to Rome. After Metellus, Cn. Pompeius, that not long after was called greatesonne to him that was killed with the lightning, as we sayde before, came unto him with a legion of the Picenes, who for the glory of his father, might doe muche with that people, and to avoid suspition, not thought to be Syllas friende, and shortly after brought two legions more, and was the moste forward man in the aunouncement of Sylla, wherefore Sylla had him in greatesonour, and as they say, would onely rise to him when he came, though he was but very yong: and this warre ceasing, he sente him into Libya to breake Carbos friends there, and to restore Hiempsall, whome the Numidians had expelled, for the whiche Sylla granted him the triumph of the Numidians being yet yong, and but a gentleman. By this meane, Pompey growing greatesonne, he was sente into Spayne against Sertorius, and after into Perus against Mithridates, Cethegus also came

Peloponneso novv  
Macedonia.  
Pireo was the  
porte of Athens  
novv there lieth  
Patra in Achaea  
Sylla giveth privi-  
leges to Brundi-  
se.

Metellus the duet-  
ifull cometh  
to Sylla.

Pompeius com-  
meth.

Pompey honored  
of Sylla.

Hiempsall restor-  
ed by Pompey.

Cethegus.

came to Sylla, that was his most earnest enemy, with Cinna and Marius, and with them put out of the Citie. He humbled himselfe unto him, and promised to do what service he would have him. Thus having a very greates army, and many noble friends, he used them as Lieutenants, but he and Metellus were yet Dictators, and had the highest place: for it was thought that Sylla being Dictator in the warre against Mithridates, was not yet discharged of it, though he were judged a Rebel of Marius. The hate he bare to his enemies, was grievous and close, who being in the Citie, and well conjecturing of his nature by his last invasion thereof, having the taking of the same yet in their eyes, and their deedes made against him still in memorie, his house overthrowne in their sight, his goods confiscated, his friends killed, and his familie hardly escaped, were in marvellous feare, and thinking no meane to be betwene his life and utter destruction, did with feare conspire with the Consuls against him. They sente aboute Italy, they gathered men and money, leaving off nothing in this extremitie, either of foresight or diligence. Caius Norbanus, Lucius Scipio, both Consuls, and with them Carbo, who the yeare before was excommunicate, having all like hate against Sylla with feare and conscience of they had done, against him more than other, gathered in the Citie as great an army as they could, and an other out of Italy, and went severally against Sylla with two hundred bands of fiftie men at the firste, but after with more than these, for the favour of most men enclined toward the Consuls: for the doings of Sylla coming against his countrey, had the shewe of an enemy, but that the Consuls and their friends dyd, had a pretence of the State. The common sort knowing their former offenses, joynd with them, as partakers of their deead, for they perceived certainly that Sylla did not minde the correction, a frayling, or punishment of a sowe, but the destruction, slaughter, and utter undoing generally of all, whiche opinion was not vayne, for this warre consumed all in the which, ten thousand, & twentie thousand did many times fall in one fight, and about the Citie fiftie thousand of both sides was slayne, and to the rest Sylla left no kinde of crueltie to done, neither to private men, nor to whole

The prepara-  
tion of Syllas  
enemies.

C. Norbanus,  
L. Scipio,  
Carbo.

The Consuls  
against Sylla.  
Twenty thou-  
sand men.

Sylla seemeth as  
an enemy to his  
Countrey.  
Consuls carry  
an horritie.

Prophecies.

Monstrous  
tokens.Capitoll burn-  
ed.The sharpnesse  
of this warre.Three yeares  
lasted this  
warre.The battayle  
at Cerasus.  
This is the  
place called  
Cerasus, where  
Antiochus gave  
the Romans  
their great  
overthrowe.  
Another of  
that name Cera-  
sus.  
Theano in As-  
sia.

whole Cities, till he had made himselfe a Monarke of the Ro-  
maine Empire, and brought all to his will and pleasure. All this  
was (as it were) by inspiration shewed before vnto them, for  
fearefull things againste reason did bere all men priuately and  
publicly ouer all Italy, and the cleue prophesies most fearefull  
were called to memorie, and manye Monsters were dayly scene.  
A Hule did bring forth. A Woman deliuered a Child for a  
child. God with earthquakes shaked the Citie, and ouerthrew  
many Temples: and that that most grieved the Romaines, the Ca-  
pitoll that before from the Kings had continued foure hundred  
yeares, was sette afire, and no man coulde tell the cause, all the  
which did foreshew the multitude of men to be killed, the ouer-  
throwe of Italy, the Captiuitie of Rome and hir Citizens, and the  
change of the common wealth. This warre beganne when Sylla  
arrived at Brundise the 443 Olympiad. The length of it  
is not so great, as the sharpnesse of the extremities, euerye man  
his priuate meanes was followed, because the vehemencie of  
their affections caused in short time the more and sharper effects  
to followe. Thye peares it continued in Italy: till Sylla gotte the  
principalltie. In spayne it continued longer, but the battayles,  
the skirmishes, the expugnation of fortres, the sieges, and all the  
foynes of warres in Italy, both of the whole armies, and of part  
of them, by their severall Captaynes were many, and al notable:  
The greatest and most worthy of the whiche to speake brieftly  
were these. The first was at Canusium by the Proconsuls against  
Norbanus, where Norbanus lost vs. 30. men, and Sylla lxx. but many  
more were wounded. Norbanus fledde to Capua. Sylla and Metellus  
being at Theano, Lucius Scipio came with an other armye verpe  
faintly, and desired peace might be made. They that were wyth  
Sylla sent to Scipio to agree vpon articles, not so much hoping so to  
do any good, as because they thought his armye woulde rather re-  
uolt, by reason of their discouragemēt: yet they met, & Scipio took  
hostages for the agreēmēt, & went, & came into the field. Thye of  
eyther side did conferre, so as it was not knownen what they dyd.  
Scipio thought good to send Sertorius to Norbanus his felow, to signi-  
fie what was spoken of, both armies remaining in quiet looking  
for

for answer. Sertorius in his toumey took Sweffa, that was a colone  
of Sylla. Sylla sent a messenger to complaine with Scipio. He either  
priuie to the fact, or doubting of the answer; as a thing not fitte  
for Sertorius, sent the hostages against Sylla. His army being of-  
fended at this deed of Sertorius in a time of treaty, and at the sen-  
ding againe of the hostages, not being required, layde al the blame  
vpon the Consuls, & priuily compacted to reuolt to Sylla if he woul-  
d draw nere, which he doing, they al wet vnto him, leauing Scipio  
the Consull, & Lucius his sonne in the tente, & were taken of Sylla.  
We thinke it is a strange thing, farre vnfitte for a Captayne, to  
be ignorant of such a practise of his whole army. Whē Sylla could  
not persuaide Scipio, he did let him & his sonne goe without hurte,  
& sent other mē to Norbanus to treat of conditions, eyther because  
he was afraid of the force of Italy & conspired with the Consuls, or  
he went about to deceiue him as he had done Scipio, but no man  
coming with answer (because it seemeth Norbanus feared the like  
blame of his army) Sylla marched toward him, wasting al things  
as an enimie. Norbanus did the like, but took other wayes. Carbo  
made hast to the Citie, & proclaimed Metellus, & other that were  
gone to Sylla, Rebels. At this time the Capitoll was on fire, & some  
say it was Carboes woike of the Consuls, some say Sylla sente to  
do it, but the certētie is unknowen, & I could neuer learne which  
way it came. Sertorius being before those Pyretos of Iberia, after he  
had detested Sweffa, he fled into his prouince, and the former Pyre-  
tos not receiuing him, it caused the Romaines to haue much to do.  
The army of the Consuls encreased euery day fro the more part of  
Italy, & from the hitther side of France, aboute Eridanus the Riuer. Sylla  
was not idle, but sente some of his into euery place of Italy.  
He gotte many for loue, some for feare, some for money, and some  
for hope, and thus was the rest of that Sommer consumed. The  
yeare folowing, Papirius, Carbo agayne, and Marius, nephew to the  
mighty Marius, being xxvij. yeares old, were chosen Consuls, the  
winter & the cold continuing long, did deuide the asunder. At the  
beginning of the spring, about the floud Aesis, fro morning tyl  
midday, was a greate battaille fought, betwixt Metellus and Ca-  
rinna, one of Carbo's Pyretos; at the which Carinna losing manye,

Sweffa taken in  
the time of  
treatie by Ser-  
torius, a Citie in  
Campūnia nigh  
Monte Mafico.Scipio the Con-  
sull betrayd of  
his army.Iupiter Temple  
in the Capitoll  
on fire.Sertorius fleeth  
into Spayne.

Riuer of Poo.

Aesis noue  
hundred be-  
twixt Spoletū  
and Anconū.  
The fight be-  
twixt Metel-  
lus and Car-  
inna.

H. H.

fled

fled alsoy, all y<sup>e</sup> Countrey y<sup>e</sup>lded to Metellus, & forsooke the Cor-  
 sulis. Carbo came bp<sup>o</sup> Metellus & beseged him, til he heard y<sup>e</sup> Marius  
 the other Consul had a great ouerthrow at Preneeste. Then he re-  
 moued his Camp toward Ariminio, y<sup>e</sup> cerebward wherof was set on  
 of Pompeius, and greatly distressed. Sylla toke Setia, & Marim who  
 was lodged nigh him, withorew by little & little, til he was come  
 to the place called Holy Port, there he set his mē in order, and gaue  
 Sylla a battel, in y<sup>e</sup> which he fought very fearcelly, til his left wing  
 began to giue backe, of the which five bands of footemen, & two of  
 Hozsemē, not loking for any other turne, threw downe their en-  
 signes, & fled to Sylla, & this was the cause of Marim's ruine, for af-  
 ter many were slayne, y<sup>e</sup> rest fled to Preneeste, whom Sylla followed  
 in chace. The Preneestines did receyue them y<sup>e</sup> came first, but when  
 they saw Sylla at hand, they shut the gates, & toke in Marim with  
 ropes. The other about y<sup>e</sup> walles were all slayne & taken, wherof  
 many being Samnites, Sylla comanded to be killed, as ancient eni-  
 mies to the Romaines. At this tyme also, the residue of Carbo's army  
 was overcome of Metellus five bands, whiles they fought, reuol-  
 ting vnto him. Pompeius ouerthrew Marim at Sena, & sacked the  
 Citie. Sylla hauing Marim shut in Preneeste, made a trech about the  
 Citie, & a great wall a good way off, appointing Lucretia Offella to  
 y<sup>e</sup> charge, not otherwise meaning to deale with Marim, but with  
 famine. Marim not loking for any help, would needs kill his pri-  
 uate enimies, and sent to Brutus, the Dictor of y<sup>e</sup> Citie to assemble  
 the for another purpose, & to his Pub. Ant. Sura, & the other Papirius  
 Carbo, Lucius Domitius, & Lucius Scenola, the great Bishop of the Ro-  
 maines. These two were slayne in comfellowshipp Marim comanded,  
 Domitius fleeing, was stricke adhis going out, & Scenola was slaine  
 a little before y<sup>e</sup> Senate house. Their bodies were ent into y<sup>e</sup> Ro-  
 ner, for now it was out of use to burie the that were killed. Sylla  
 sent his army severally by diuers wayes to Roma, & willed the to  
 take the gates of the Citie, & as they were repulsed, to retyre to  
 offa. The Citie's rectored the as they came, with great feare, and  
 opened their Gates whith they would come in, and whith they came  
 to the Citie it selfe, they opened the Gates, for being pined with  
 hunger, and oppressed with desperation of present cills, they  
 were

Preneeste  
 sent from Roma  
 Ariminio  
 in Preneeste  
 Setia not farre  
 from Terracina  
 The battayle  
 betweene  
 Sylla and yong  
 Marim.

Part of yong  
 Marim's Souldi-  
 ers reuolter to  
 Sylla.  
 Samnites killed.

Sena a Citie in  
 Tuscanie, an hun-  
 dred miles ouer  
 this side Roma.

Crackie of  
 yong Marim  
 against Rome  
 Citizens.  
 P. Antyllus,  
 Pap. Carbo,  
 L. Domitius,  
 and L. Scenola  
 slayne.

were to be to suffer the mightier power, whiche Sylla when he  
 knew, came forward with his Camp, and planted it in the fildes  
 of Mars before the gates, and entred. All the contrarie faction  
 fleeing out of the Citie, their goodes he made common, or caused  
 them to be sold by Trumphet. He called the people to a Counsell,  
 and lamenting the present tyme, badde them be of a good chere,  
 for he would set all in quiet, and bying the common wealth to  
 better estate, and whatsoeuer he should ordeyne, all should be for  
 the best. Hauling thus disposed his matters, leauing certayne of  
 his friends to garde the Citie, he went to Clusio, where the rem-  
 nant of the warre was. In the meane tyme, certayne Spanishe  
 Hozsemen sente from the Captaynes of Iberia, came to the Con-  
 sulis, with whome Sylla making a fight on Hozsebacke, he killed  
 fiftie of them at the fildes Clunus, and two hundred and 70. Redde  
 vnto him, the residue Carbo destroyed, cyther hating the subdaine  
 reuolting of that natio, or fearing the like losse by them. At that  
 tyme with the other part of his army, Sylla ouercame his eni-  
 mies about Saturnia, and Metellus coming to Rauenna by shippe,  
 did winne the region of the Pritanes, abounding with grasse and  
 Cozne. Certayne other of Sylla's people entring Naples by treason  
 in the night, slew all that were there, sauing a few that fledde,  
 and toke away the Gallies of the Citie. Betweene Carbo & Sylla  
 was a sore fight at Clusium, till the Sunne wente downe, & when  
 they had fought with like courage on both sides, night did ende  
 the fight. In the fildes of Spelero, Pompeius and Crassus, both Lieute-  
 nants to Sylla, did kill thre thousand of Carbo's Souldiers, and be-  
 sieged Carina that was Camped ouer against them. Carbo with-  
 ded to reldue Carina with his other host, whith Sylla vnderstan-  
 ding, placed an embusment, and as they were passing, destroyed  
 two thousand of them. Carina in the darke night, full of rhyno-  
 and holwers, although his charrs were perced, but cared not for  
 it, for the soule tempt he fledde away. Carbo vnderstanding that  
 Marim his fellowe was distressed with hunger at Preneeste, com-  
 manded Marim to goe further witheright regions, against  
 whome Pompeius lying in a wayte in a straighte, put them from  
 their journey, and hauing killed many, held the other as besieged

Sylla entreth  
 Roma.

Sylla to the  
 people.

Clusio is vnder  
 the dominion of  
 Sena, where  
 Porcena the king  
 of Tuscanie helde  
 his Court.  
 Spanishe Hozse-  
 men.  
 Clunus, Clunus not  
 farre fro Naples,  
 at the Citie  
 of Acerra.

Saturnia in  
 Campania.  
 Pritanes not  
 farre from  
 Otranto, but  
 farre from Ra-  
 uenna.  
 Naples.

The battell be-  
 tweene Carbo  
 and Sylla.  
 Fight at Clusio.  
 Fight at Spelero  
 an ancient  
 Citie, the vyche  
 che valiantly  
 droge away  
 Anniball after  
 his victorie at  
 the lake of  
 Pergusa, and  
 stucke continu-  
 ally to the Ro-  
 maines.  
 Carina fleeth.  
 Marim goeth to  
 reldue Marim.

The may re-  
uolte from  
Marinus.

M. Lamponius,  
Pont. Telinus,  
G. A. Capuani  
come to releue  
Marinus.

Marinus is seth  
vpon Lucetius.

Placentia is in  
Lombardy, vnder  
Ambull ouer-  
threw the Ro-  
manes.  
A fight of Carbo  
and Norbanus  
against Metellus.

Arretio one of  
the twelve Ci-  
ties of Tuscanie,  
about thirtie  
miles from Flo-  
rence.  
Albinomanus.

Fimbria killed  
himselfe in  
Asia, not to be  
taken of Sylla.  
Albinomanus kil-  
led his friends,  
and fleeth to  
Sylla.

The ende of  
Norbanus at  
Rhodes.

upon an hill, wherebpon *Marinus* without any companion, the  
siers being still kept, fledde away. The army laying the blame of  
the decepte vpon him, fell to diuision, and one whole legion bre-  
der their ensignes without anye commaundement, marched to  
*Ariminum*, the other wente euery man to his Countrey, so as  
there remainned but seauen bandes with the Captayne. *Martius*  
with this infelicitie came to *Carbo*. *Marcus Lamponius* from *Luca-*  
*nia*, *Pontius Telisius* from the *Samnites*, and *Capuani G. A.* leading  
seauenty thousande men, came to deliuer *Marinus* from the seige.  
*Sylla* vnderstanding of it, kepte them backe at a streight where  
they must needs passe. *Marinus* being utterly voyde of all helpe  
without, made a fozte in the playne that was large betwene  
both hostes, into the which he brought his army and ensignes to  
fozte *Lucetius*, with the which attempting manye warres in  
wayne, he retzyed againe into *Preneste*. At this time, *Carbo* and  
*Norbanus* in *Placentia* came on the sabbayne in the euening to the  
place where *Metellus* lay, and being within one houre of y night  
amidg the vineyards, fondly and furiously set vpon him, thinking  
by their suddaine assault to ouerthrow *Metellus*, but being quere  
come by the iniquitie of the time and place, entangled among  
the vines, tenn thousand were slayne, vij. thousand yelded to the  
enimie, the rest ranne away, and but one thousande departed in  
order to *Arretio*. Another Legion of *Lucanes*, led by *Albinomanus*,  
hearing of this losse, fledde to *Metellus* for aughte he coulde doe.  
*Albinomanus* in greate rage came to *Norbanus*, but shortly after  
making a secret compact with *Sylla* to be assured as he should do  
a notable seruice, he invited *Norbanus* and his chiefe Captaynes  
to a banquet, as *Gaius Antipatrus*, *Flavius Fimbria* his brother y in  
Asia had killed himselfe, & al other his officers presēt of y Camp.  
All the which being come (except *Norbanus*) who onely was ab-  
sent, he slew them in his tent, and fledde to *Sylla*. *Norbanus* hearing  
of the losse at *Ariminum*, and that diuers of their armyes were  
fledde to *Sylla*, supposing now no more trust to be in friendship  
(as in aduersitie it hapneth) took a private little boate, and sa-  
led to y *Rhodes*, in the which place, being required after of *Syl-*  
*la*, and y *Rhodianes* doubting what to do, he killed himselfe in the  
middest

middest of their common place. *Carbo* commaunded *Damasippus* at  
*Preneste* to take two Legions, and to deliuer *Marinus* fro the seige,  
but he could not do it, because the streightes were kepte of *Sylla*.  
All the Frenchmen that from *Rauenna* owelte to the *Alpes*, vnder  
reualte to *Metellus*. *Lucullus* did ouercome another part of *Carbo*.  
his host at *Placentia*, which when *Carbo* heard, hauing yet thirtie  
thousande souldyers at *Clusie*, two Legions of *Damasippus*, and  
many other with *Carinna*, and *Martius*, and a greate number of  
*Samnites*, who refused no payne in passing the streights, being  
out of al hope, cowardly sayled into *Lybia* with his friends, being  
yet in opinion to turne *Lybia* against *Italy*. They that remainned  
at *Clusie*, came to a fight with *Pompey* before that Citie, and lost  
about twenty thousand of their men, which losse had, the rest  
returned to their owne Countreys.

*Carinna*, *Martius*, and *Damasippus*, with the *Samnites*, met at the  
streights, to passe by very force, which when they could not do,  
they marched toward *Rome*, thinking (as voids of men & strength,  
and for lacke of victual) to take it. They encamped at *Albano*,  
tenne miles off. *Sylla*, fearing that their coming might mo-  
leste the Citie, sente his horsemen with all diligence to en-  
counter them by the way, and himselfe with his mighty army  
came at midday, and lay at *Porte Collina*, a little from *Venus*  
Temple.

The enimies encamping also at the Gates of the Citie, a  
great fight beganne a little before the sunne set. In the ryght  
wing *Sylla* had the better, the left wing hauing the worse, fledde  
to the Gates. The olde men that were there, seeing the enimies  
also coming among the other, let downe the Portcullise, and  
killed many, whereof some were Senatours, and some Gentle-  
men. The other of force and necessitie turned to their enimies,  
and fought all night with a great slaughter.

In this battell was slayne *Telestinus* and *Albinus*, both *Port-*  
*toys*, and theyr Campes taken, *Lamponius*, *Lucanus*, *Martius*, *Ca-*  
*rinna*, and other Captaynes of *Carbo*s faction fledde. Greate  
was the slaughter at this fight, for it is saide, there was slayne  
about fiftie thousand, and aboue epght thousand takē prisoners,

and

France on this  
side the Alpes.  
*Lucullus*.  
*Placentia* now  
Paxencia in Lom-  
bardy.

*Carbo* quayleth.

The battayle  
at *Clusio*.

A fight before  
*Rome*.  
Part of *Sylla*s  
army fleeth.  
The Portcullise  
let downe,  
cause of slaugh-  
ter.

Fiftie thousande  
slayne before  
the gates of  
*Rome*.

and because the greater part of them were *Samnites*, *Sylla* caused them all to be shotte to death. The next day *Martius* and *Carinna* were brought captiue unto him, whome he did not pardon after the *Romaine* manner, but put them to death, and sent their heads to *Lucretius*, to haue them on the wall at *Preneſte*, which when the *Preneſtines* saw, and hearing that all *Carbo's* armies were deſtroyd, and *Norbanus* fledde out of *Italy*, and that the rest of *Italy* with the Citie of *Rome*, were for *Sylla*, they did yeelde the Citie to *Lucretius*. *Martius* hidde himſelfe in a Cave, and ſhortly after killed himſelfe. *Lucretius* cutte off his head, and ſente it to *Sylla*, who hanged it vp in the common place, giuing him this taunt for his yong yeares to be a Conſull, A man muſt firſt be a Mariner before he can be a Maſter. When *Lucretius* had receyued *Preneſte*, he kyled part of the *Senatoures* that were for *Martius*, and part he putte in priſon, all the which, *Sylla* at his coming put to death, and commaunding all the *Preneſtines* to come without armour into his Campe, he choſe of them ſuche as he thoughte had done hym ſeruite, whiche were but few. The other he deuided into three parties, *Romaines*, *Samnites*, and *Preneſtines*. He pardoned the *Romaines*, although as he tolde them, they had deſerued death, both the other he commaunded to be done to death with darts. The women and the children he ſuffered to goe away free. The Citie he ſacked, whiche was very riche, and thus was *Preneſte* taken. *Norba* an other Citie did ſtill ſtoutely reſiſt him, till *A. Brilius Lepidus* gotte into the Citie by policie in the night, whiche thing the Citizens perceyuing, and being in deſperation, part killed one an other, part killed themſelues, part hung themſelues, part ſet their doores, and part ſet their houſes a fire, whiche by the wiſde greiſe ſo great, as the Citie was burned, and no man had the ſpoule. Thus they manfully died.

*Italy* being thus afflicted with fire, ſmoke, and ſlaughter, the Captaynes of *Sylla* went to every place, ſetting garrisons where ſuſpect was, and *Pompeius* went into *Eghia* and *Sirilia* againſt *Norbanus* and his partakers. *Sylla* called the *Romaines* to a Counſell, ſpeaking verie magnifically of himſelfe, and verie horribly for them, making this concluſion, that he would reduce the *Romaine* people

*Sylla* cruelle  
and the  
conqueror  
and  
conqueror  
to  
death.

*Martius* killeth  
himſelfe.

*Sylla* taunteth.

The taking of  
*Preneſte*, and  
cruell handling  
of it.

*Preneſtines*  
plaged.

*Norba*.

The miſerable  
end of the Ci-  
tizens of *Norba*.  
There is ano-  
ther Citie of  
this name in  
*Spayne* called  
*Norba*, *Augusti*,  
now *Alcantara*.

*Sylla* to the  
*Romaines*.

people to better ſtate if they obeyed him, but he purpoſed not to ſpare one of his enimies, but extremely to puniſh them, were they *Pretors*, *Queltors*, *Tribunes*, or any other that had conſpired with his foes, ſince the daye that *Scipio* brake promiſe with him: which being ſayd, he proſcribed to death ſome *Senatoures*, and a thouſand five hundred Gentlemen of the *Romaines*, he is the firſt that was ſinde, did proſcribe himſelfe to dye. He appointed rewards for the killers, and the beſowments of the offendours, and penalties for them that ſhould any of them. Shortly after he added moſe *Senatours* to the liſt, which ſuddaynly were kyled where they were ſounde. Some in the ſtreets: ſome in their houſes, and ſome in the Temples ſome were broughte vnto him in high, & then beſore his ſeate ſome were dragged, ſome were beaten, no man daring ſpeake one word at the pittifull ſight hereof, for feare of the ſmart: ſome were baniſhed, and their goods giue to other: ſome were ſought for that were fledde, who being ſcouted euery where, were miſerably done to death. Agaiſt the *Italians* alſo were many murders, many baniſhments, & many publicties of their goods, that had any way obeyed *Carbo*, *Norbanus*, or *Martius*, or any of their officers, for the which, ſharpe iudgement was giuen ouer all *Italy* many and diuers accuſations alſo were made vpon Captaynes and armies, and them that lent any money, or ſhelued other ſeruitce or counſell agaiſt *Sylla*. Hoſpitality alſo and curteſie done by the way in iourneys, or any other lyke friendſhip, as lending or borrowing of money, or keeping company, was puniſhed. The rich men were moſt ſharply handled in all theſe things, & when accuſations failed in particular men, *Sylla* turned to whole Cities, ſome he puniſhed by pulling downe their forts, ſome their walles he made equal with the ground, to ſome, he put a publike payne, or elſe a yearely tax, ſome he gaue in habitation to them that had ſerued him, among whome alſo he deuided the houſes and landes of the Citizens, whiche thing made them ſure to him all his life, and as men that were certain of nothing but by his weale and ſafette, they mainteyned his quarell after he was dead. This was now the ſtate of *Italy*. *Pompey* had intercepted *Carbo*, and ſuch noble men as were with him, flying

*Sylla* to the  
*Romaines*.

Proſcription is  
condemnation  
of death vnto  
our Iudgement.

Harrellle cru-  
eltye of *Sylla*.

Extremitye.

R.

from

Cosus an Island  
in the coast of  
Africa.  
Carbo put to  
death.

from Libya to Sicilia, and from Sicilia to Cysra, commanding all to be killed, before they came in his sight, except Carbo, who was brought bound vnto him, and layde before his feete, hauing bin thirco Consul. After a long rebuke, he condemned him to death, and sent his head to Sylla, who hauing all things as he would against his enemies, saving *Scerim*, who was farre off, and the only enemy remaining. He sente *Agrellus* to overthrow him in Iberia. All ciuill matters be used as he listed, lawes, creations by voyces, elections by lottes, was no more spoken of, every man fearing, eyther hiding themselves, or holding their peace, or conspyring by decree, as sure and irremorable, whatsoever he had done, eyther as Consul, or Proconsull. They set by his Image of golde on horsebacke, in the conyion Palace with this Witle,

Cornelius Sylla the happy Captayne,

For so did flatterers vse to call him in his fortunate fights against his foes, whiche name beginning of flattery, remained firme and stable. I haue seene in some writings, that he was called by decree Sylla the gracious, whiche thing is not incredible to me, because he was after named the Fortunate, which he names very nigh to lucky and gracious. There is also an Oracle of continuance when he searched for things to come:

*Credite me (O Romaine) Venus hath given great power,*

*Vnto Aeneas lasting line. But thou honour*

*Each of the Gods yearely, and do them not forget.*

*Thy giftes to Delphos send, and one, the Mount so great,*

*Of cloudy Taure, shall climbe, where Venus auncient race*

*At Carcs Citie dwell, and doth surname the place,*

*And offering there shine axe, shalt take the royall mace.*

The Romaines wrote the same vpon his image, whiche as I thinke, they did to taunt him, or to mollifie him: he sent a crowne of golde, and an are with this inscription,

*To thee (Venus) these giftes the Monarch Sylla sends,*

*According to his dreame that all to battell tends,*

*To Mars and martiall sects, his whole intente he bends.*

Being nowe a King or Tirante, not chosen but by force and violence, wanting an apparance to seeme to be chosen, he inuited

Penulus,  
Faustus.

Oracle.

V When he  
vviote to the  
Grecianer, he nam  
med himselfe  
Epiphrodus,  
that is, accep  
table to Venus.

ted this craft. In old time, Kings for their vertue did rule Rome, & when any of the bloodie, one Senate, after another bad rule ruled dayes, til the people had chosen an other to be King, & him & his led those due dayes, they called a King betwixt, for in that meane time, he was a King. The elections of & Consuls was euer done by them & ended that office, but if by chance there was no Consul present, the was there also a King betwixt made, til & Consuls were elected. Sylla following this custome, no man being Consul after the death of Carbo in Sicilia, & Marcius in Brachis, he went out of & Italia, & commanded the Senate & a King betwixt should be chosen, & so by the *Valerius Flaccus* was chosen, thinking he would haue proceeded to & Consuls elections: but Sylla secretly by his letters, willed Flaccus, he should propose to the people, that Sylla thought it expedient & one should be created the ruler in the Citie, & was named Dictator, now not used four C. yeares since, whomsoever they chose, they should persuade him not to giue it ouer at a time, but to continue it, til he had appeled Rome, Italy, & other kingdoms, now afflicted with sedition. Query man in his mind thought this was means of Sylla, & he did not much detest it, for in the end of his letters, he signified & he it was, if it should so seeme to the, & should be so profitable to the comon wealth. Thus he wrote. The Romaines & now could do nothing in lawful elections, nor had now any authoritie, embracing a shew of elections, as an Image & presence of a libertie, in want of all things did create Sylla an Epistat to rule as he would. The office of Dictator hauing some similitude of a Tyrant, in old time, was some times used, but now & first time, without any limitation it was made very tyrannic in deede. Only for the names sake of election, they chose him Dictator to make lawes, & vse the comon wealth as he thought good. Thus the Romaines hauing kings first, in the hundred olimpiads, & after being a popular state, with yearely Consuls, another hundred Greeke olimpiads being passed, they had kings againe, after the Elx olimpiads. In Greece, ther was now no more actually used in the olimps, but renning of the race, for & Champions & other sightes, Sylla had removed to Rome, as some recreated to the people after the warre with *Antibridates*, & the troubles of Italy, for he pretended that he

A duitt of  
Sylla to be cho  
sen Dictator.

Interregnum.

A King for the  
meane time.

Interrex.

Valerius Flaccus.

Dictator.

The office of a  
Dictator did  
ende in two  
monethes.

Kings.  
Consuls.  
Kings.

Olimpiads a kinde  
of sheeves vs  
sed in Greece  
very syue  
yeares, accord  
ding to the  
vehich, they  
made their ac  
comptes of  
yeares.

A. ff.

would

Some more  
M. Tullius and  
Corn. Dula. 22.  
Consuls chosen.  
Sylla Dictator.

Alteration of  
officers.

Tribuneship  
defaced.

Increase of  
Senatoures.

Servants made  
free, and named  
Cornelians.

Landsglens.

Lucretius killed.

Sylla to the  
people.

would refresh and comfort y<sup>e</sup> people after their long labours, & to  
shew a figure of a common wealth, he willed the to choose Consuls,  
so first were chosen *M. Tullius*, & *Quintus Delabellus*, and he lyke  
a King overlooked them, Being Dictator, foure and twenty  
ares were bozne before him, as was wont before the old kings.  
He had also a great gard aboute his body. Somelawes he made,  
and some he reuoked. He woulde haue none to be Dictator before,  
he were Questor, nor none Consull, before he were Dictator, and  
forbadde any man to haue that office twice, before tenne yeares  
distance. The Tribuneship of the people he so defaced and demis-  
nished, that no man cared greatly for it, for he ordeyned that hee  
that was once Tribune, should haue none other authoritie: where-  
fore all they that were renouned or noble, utterly refused that  
office, and I cannot affirme whether *Sylla* did translate it to the  
Senate, as it now is, or not: and because the Senate was con-  
firmed by warre and ciuill discorde, he chose thre hundred of the or-  
der of Gentlemen to be Senatoures, and haue voyce by compa-  
nies in elections. The seruants of them that were slayne, being  
young and lustie, he made free, to the number of tenne thousande,  
and declared them Citizens of Rome, and named them of himselfe,  
*Cornelians*: and by this meane he had of the commons tenne thou-  
sand to do his common seruente. He provided the same through-  
out Italy, and to the xxiiij. Legions that serued vnder him, he gaue  
much lands in diuers Cities (as I haue said) wherof parte was  
neuer denied, and part was forscyt, by gualtie. He was to be  
feared in al things, and so ready to anger, as he stode in the midd  
of the Pallace, *Lucretius Offella*, by whome he besieged *Marcius* in  
*Preneeste*, and wonne that Citie, and obtayned his grent victorie,  
because he desired to be Consull before he hadde bin Questor, or  
Dictator, being of the Gentlemen order. And after he had denied  
him, he not leauing his side, because he trusted in the greates sor-  
uice he had done, he made request to the Citizens, he called the  
people to a Counsel, and thus said. Friends, know you, and giue  
care to me, I haue killed *Lucretius*, because he was disobedient  
unto me, so the he shewed a reason, A certaine ploughman was  
bitten with a Lyce, and stayed his plough twice to picke them  
out

out of his cote, but when they hit him the thirde time, he threw his  
cote in the fire. So doe I aduise all, as I aduised, that they doe not  
proue the fire at the third time. Thus he astonished all men, &  
sing his authoritie at his pleasure, & triumphed of the warre a-  
gainst *Mithridates*. Some in a iest, called his rule, a negative  
kingdome, because only the name of a King was denied: but o-  
ther, turning it to the contrary in dedes, named it a playne Ty-  
rannie. So so great inconuenience had this warre brought both  
the Romaines, *Italians*, and all other nations, partly with *Pirates*,  
partly with *Mithridates*, and partly *Sylla* his inuasions, partly  
with consuming their treasure in sedition, and oppression of ex-  
treame exactions: all the nations and Kingdomes, all confede-  
rates and Citices, as wel tributaries as other, that by league and  
oth had ioyned themselves to the Romaine Empire, & for they  
societic in warre, and other seruice, liued with their owne lawes  
and were free: he caused all to pay and to obey him, and fro some,  
portes & prouinces granted by league, were take away. *Sylla* re-  
ceiued to his protection *Alexander* sonne of *Alexander* King of  
*Aegypt*, brought vp in the Ile of *Coo*, and of the deliuered to *Mi-*  
*thridates*, and from him fledde to *Sylla*, and by decree made hym  
king of *Alexandria*, being now destitute of a man King, because  
the women that were of the royall blood, wanted a man of their  
kinne, thinking to get great gayne of this rich Countrey, but the  
*Alexandrines* wher he had reigned nineteene dayes, sharply bea-  
ring himselfe of *Sylla*, brought him from the Court into the com-  
mon scholl, and there killed him. So they for the greatnes of their  
proper kingdome, and not feeling the smart that other had done,  
cared not for others power. The yeare following, *Sylla* vsing still  
the authoritie of Dictator, yet to shewe it a forme of populaire  
state, was chosen Consull, and with him *Metellus*, surnamed out-  
full, and by this example peradventure, they that be now Kings  
of Rome, doo think Consuls, & they themselves be Consuls some-  
time also, thinking it no dishonour to haue that office with a gre-  
ter authoritie. The yeare following, the people desired *Sylla* to be  
Consul againe, but he refused it, & appointed *Servilius* *Isauricus*, &  
*Claudius* *Pulcher* to that office, and he withoute any compulsion.

Denied King-  
dome.

All nations pla-  
ced by *Sylla*.

King of Egypt.  
This *Alexander*  
was left in Cou-  
sthis Grand-  
mother *Cleopatra*  
with great  
riches.

*Alexandrines*  
kill their king.

*Sylla* being Di-  
tator, is chosen  
Consull.  
*Metellus* *Pim-*  
The Empe-  
pours ouere  
Consuls.

*Sylla* refuseth  
the Consullship.  
*Servilius* called  
*Isauricus*, for  
*Isauria* a countrey  
in little Asia

Sylla giveth  
over his rule.

Sylla, Ptolemus,  
Antiochus,  
Seleucus, & others.

The rare reli-  
gion of Sylla  
authoritie.

Confidence of  
Sylla.

Sylla suffereth a  
young man to  
revile him.

The answer  
of Sylla.

Cesar follo-  
weth not the  
example of  
Sylla.  
Cicero a plea-  
sant place, not  
farre from  
Naples.

gave over the office of Dictatorship freely, being the highest di-  
gnitie of all other, and surely I marvel, that he, who was nowe  
chefe of all other, and alone in authoritie, would give over so  
noble a dignitie, not to his children, as *Ptolemus* in *Aegypt*, *Antiochus* in *Cappadocia*, and *Seleucus* in *Syria*, but to them that had  
suffered by his tirannie. It seemeth beyond reason, that he, who by  
violence, passing so many perils, hadde made himselfe a Prince,  
should so freely leaue it, & beyond all mens opinions, haue no feare  
of the alteration. After he had killed more than a hundred *pp. mē*  
in warre, slaine so many ciuill enemies, aboue nine *C. Senators*,  
*xxv. Consuls*, and *2600. Gentlemen*, and banished a great number  
more, some of the whiche he spoiled of their goodes, some their  
liues, not suffering them to be burped, that he was neither afraid  
of them at home nor abroad, nor of the Cities, of some of the  
whiche he had bet downe their fortres and walles, from some, take  
away their goodes and landes, and put tributes upon them, but  
would needs become a priuate man. So great a confidence and  
fortune had this man, that in the midst of the common place he  
durst say, & therefore he gave over his authoritie, that he mighte  
render an accompt of it if he were required. The robbers and the  
ares he layd away. The gard of his person he removed, and went  
alone with his friends in the midst of the people, the multitude  
beholding and amazed at the thing. Only once as he went home,  
a young man reviled him, and because no man did forbid him, he  
tooke courage to give him euill language, til he came to his house,  
so as he that before was so furious against the greatest men and  
Cities, coulde now patiently suffer this young man: only thus he  
said, entring his house, either by natural reason, or by a diuinitie  
of things to come: This young man will be the let that another  
man hauing such authoritie, wil not so giue it over, which thing  
shortly after happened to *Remains*, for *Cicero* *Cesar* would not so  
leaue his power. Surely *Sylla* appeareth to be in all things behe-  
ment, from a priuate man to make himselfe a Tyrant; and from  
that to be a priuate man againe. This done, he gave himselfe to  
quietnesse of *h* Countrey, & went to *Cuma*, a Citie of *Italy*, to buye  
otone landes, leading a quiet life at the sea side, and sometime bui-  
ding

ding in the field, not for any mistaking of the priuate life in the ci-  
tie, nor for want of power to enterprise any thing that he would,  
for, for his age, he was in good strength, and of body very sound.  
About *Italy* he had an hundred and twenty thousande men, that  
lately warred vnder him, which had receiued great gifts, & much  
land of him, and in the citie there were tenne thousand of *Corneli-  
ans*, and other multitudes of his factiōs; all friends faithfull to him,  
and fearefull to other, all the which had their whole trust in him,  
of that they had done, & in him reposed the suretie of all they had.  
Notwithstanding all this (as I thinke) he was weery of war, we-  
ry of conuision, & weery of the Citie, & therefore sought a vacation  
as it were, and quietnesse in the Countrey. After this, the Ro-  
maines being deliuered of tirannie, fel again to sedition: for whe  
they had created *Cicero*, *Catulus*, one of *Sylla*'s faction, and *Lepidus*, *Br-  
milius*, of the contrary, *Consuls*; enemies one to another, and re-  
dis to contend by any by, it was certaine that a new inconueni-  
ence would take beginning of these. They saye, that whiles *Sylla*  
lay in the Countrey, he had a vision that a God called him, the  
which in the morning he told to his friends, & with greatespēde  
made his testament, which being signed that day, in the euening  
a fittetooke him, and in the night he dyed, of the age of *lx. yeares*,  
a mā, in all things most happy to his end; & as he was surnamed,  
so was he fortunate in deede, if he be happy that can do what hee  
list. And there was a contention in *Rome* about him, some would  
haue his body brought with great pomp through *Italy* to *Rome*,  
& ther in the common place to be honozed with publike funeral.  
*Lepidus* and his friends were against it, but *Catulus* and other of  
*Sylla*'s side prevailed. So his body was brought through *Italy* in a  
litter of gold in roial manner, numbers of musitians, hoysenē, and  
other armed multitude followed. All his Captaines & Lieutenants  
that had serued vnder him, came to this pomp, fro euery place in  
armour, and as they came, so were they set in order. Other mul-  
titudes also repaired, as neuer had bin sene at any businesse. The  
ensignes and ares that he used in his dignitie, were boyn before,  
and when he was brought into the Citie, greates honoz, and ex-  
ceeding shewe didde encrease. Two thousande Crownes of  
Golde and more, were of purpose made, and presented.

The

The power of  
Sylla.

New occasion  
of sedition by  
the Consuls,  
*C. Catulus*, and  
*Lepidus*, *Brmilius*,  
Vision of Sylla.

Death of Sylla,  
Age of Sylla.  
Happy.

Contention for  
the buriall of  
Sylla.

Sylla's corpse in  
a litter of gold.

Funerall of  
Sylla.

The receiving  
of his body.

Praises of Sylla.

Affections of  
men.

Funerall Ora-  
tion.  
Faustus his sonne  
under age.  
In the field of  
Mars, none bur-  
ied but kings.

Contention.

The Consuls  
bound by oth.

Lepidus refuseth  
to returne to  
the election.

The gifts of Cities, of Legions that had serued him, and of e-  
uery private friend, were deliuered, other ornaments were added  
to his funeral, the sumptuousnesse whereof, no man can expresse,  
his body being brought in with the army, the religious people,  
both holy men, and sacred Virgines, did receiue and beare by  
course: the Senate and Magistrates, with all their tokens of of-  
fice, did the like: the troupes of Horsemen, the bands of footmen,  
decided in order, did attend: seuerall beneuolence was shewed,  
bringing banners of golde, wearing harnesse of silver, which yet  
be blessed triumphes. There was a great number of Trumpets,  
which in order did sound an heauie noyse. The Senate prayed  
him first, then the Gentlemen, after the army, and all the people,  
whereof some desired his life, some that feared him and his af-  
faires, did now no lesse maruell about his dead body: for rememb'ring  
in their mindes the noble seates he had done, and the manner of his  
death, they could not but be astonished, confessing him to be of al  
other, though their enimie, the most happie man, so as being  
dead, he was dreadfull vnto them. Being brought into the com-  
mon place before the Tribunal, where Orations were wonte  
to be made, the most eloquent man that then was aliue, made  
the funerall Oration, because Faustus his sonne was yet under  
age. The noblest of the Senate did take the litter, and beare it  
into the field of Mars, where none was wonte to be buried but  
kings. The Horsemen and the army marched aboute the body  
whiles his body was consumed. This was the end of Sylla.

The Consuls going from the funerall, did contende with  
wordes and spitefull speche, intending betwene them to make  
diuision of the rule that belonged to the Citty.

Lepidus to flatter the Italians, required they might be restored  
to the lands that Sylla had taken from them. The Senate fearing  
this falling out, did bind them both by oth, that they shoulde not  
contende by armes. Lepidus being appointed by lotte to the pro-  
uince of France beyond the Alpes, did not returne to the election,  
because he intended the next yeare to make warre vpon Syllas fa-  
ction, without respect of his oth, for it seemed he had fulfilled his  
promise, in keeping of it during his office.

This

This his purpose not being secrete, the Senate sent for him: <sup>Lepidus maketh</sup>  
he, not ignorant why he was called, came with all his army as <sup>vv arre.</sup>  
though he would haue entred Rome therewith, but being forbid-  
den, he proclaimed warre by a Trumpet.

Catalus of the other side did the like: not long after making a <sup>A Battell be-</sup>  
battell in the field of Mars, <sup>tweene the Con-</sup>  
Lepidus was overcome, and without a <sup>sule,</sup>  
ny great chace he fled into Sardinia, where being bered with a <sup>Lepidus over-</sup>  
consuming disease, he dyed. His army disturbed in sundry par- <sup>come and</sup>  
tes, was dissolved the greatest part of it, Perperna led into Spaine <sup>dyeth in Sar- / ula</sup>  
to Sertorius. <sup>in the sea of Ty-</sup>  
<sup>bya, called Sunda-</sup>  
<sup>liotis, by cause it</sup>  
<sup>is like the sole of</sup>  
<sup>a foote.</sup>  
<sup>Sertorius.</sup>

The laste worke left to Sylla was this warre of Sertorius, con-  
tinuing eght yeares with difficultie, not as Romaines agaynst  
Spaniards, but as one with another agaynst Sertorius, who ruled  
in Iberia. He, when Curio and Sylla were at warre, took the Citi-  
tie of Suesia by composition, as we haue said, and fled from thence  
to his office, leading with him an army of Italians, and gather-  
red more of the Celtiberians, with whome hee expelled the offi-  
cers that were there for Sylla, who would not admit him, and  
fought very valiantly with Norcellus, that was sent agaynst him  
of Sylla, and being courageous to any feate, elected a Senate of  
thre hundred of his present friends, which he called the Romaine  
Senate, in despite whereof hee wanted it, the chiefe Counsell. Sylla  
being dead, and after him Lepidus, Sertorius hauing another ar-  
my of Italians, which Perperna brought vnto him as a prey of  
Lepidus, he had an opinion to be able to make warre vpon Italy:  
which the Senate fearing, sente another armye and another  
prey, which was Pompey, to the army that was before in Ibe-  
ria, who being but a young Gentleman, was renowned for the  
service he had done vnder Sylla in Libya and in Italy. He passed the  
Alpes very boldly, not that way that Anniball did so notably,  
but by ake another way by the fountaines of Rodanus and Erida-  
nus, both the which fountaines, haue theyr springs not far asunder  
from the high Alpes. Rodanus runneth by the Frenchmen that  
be beyond the Alpes, into the Adrienne sea: the other within the  
Alpes belongeth to Italia and in the side of Eridanus is called Padus.  
Being come into Iberia, Sertorius straight did ouerthrowe one le-  
gion

Sertorius occis  
of nevy vane.

Sertorius maketh  
a Senate in  
Spayne.

Perperna.

Pompey into  
Spayne.

Rodanus Rofee in  
Fraunce.  
Eridanus Poo in  
Italy.

The gifts of Cities, of Legions that had serued him, and of e-  
uery private friend, were deliuered, other ornaments were added  
to his funeral, the sumptuousnesse whereof, no man can expresse,  
his body being brought in with the army, the religious people,  
both holy men, and sacred Virgines, did receiue and beare by  
course: the Senate and Magistrates, with all their tokens of of-  
fice, did the like: the troupes of Horsemen, the bands of footmen,  
decided in order, did attende: seuerall beneuolence was shewed,  
bringing banners of golde, wearing harnesse of silver, which yet  
be vsed by triumphes. There was a great number of Trumpets,  
which in order did sound an heauie noyse. The Senate prayesed  
him first, then the Gentlemen, after the army, and all the people,  
whereof some desired his life, some that feared him and his ar-  
my, did note no lesse maruell about his dead body: for rememb'ring  
in their minds the noble scates he had done, and the manner of his  
death, they could not but be astonished, confessing him to be of al  
other, though their enimie, the most happie man, so as being  
dead, he was dreadfull vnto them. Being brought into the com-  
mon place befoze the Tribunall, where Orations were wonte  
to be made, the most eloquent man that then was alliue, made  
the funerall Oration, bycause *Faustus* his sonne was yet under  
age. The noblest of the Senate did take the litter, and beare it  
into the field of *Mars*, where none was wonte to be buried but  
Kings. The Horsemen and the army marched aboute the syde  
whiles his body was consumed. This was the end of *silla*.

The Consuls going from the funerall, did contende w<sup>th</sup>  
wordes and spitefull speche, intending betwene them to make  
diuision of the rule that belonged to the C<sup>ite</sup>.

*Lepidus* to flatter the *Italians*, required they might be restored  
to the lands that *silla* had taken from them. The Senate fearing  
this falling out, did bind them both by oth, that they shoulde not  
contende by armes. *Lepidus* being appointed by lotte to the pro-  
uince of *France* beyond the *Alpes*, did not returne to the election,  
bycause he intended the next yeare to make warre vpon *silla*'s fa-  
ction, without respect of his oth, for it seemed he had fulfilled his  
promise, in keeping of it during his office.

This

This his purpose not being secrete, the Senate sent for him: *Lepidus* maketh  
he, not ignorant why he was called, came with al his army as  
though he would haue entred *Rome* therewith, but being forbid-  
den, he proclaimed warre by a Trumpet.

*Carulus* of the other side did the like: not long after making a  
battel in the field of *Mars*, *Lepidus* was overcome, and without a  
ny great chace he fled into *Sardinia*, where being vexed w<sup>th</sup> a  
consuming discaise, he dyed. His army disturbed in sundry par-  
tes, was dissolved the greatest part of it, *Perpenna* led into *spaine*  
to *Sertorius*.

The laste worke left to *silla* was this warre of *Sertorius*, con-  
tinuing eght yeares with difficultie, not as *Romaines* agaynst  
*spaniards*, but as one with another agaynst *Sertorius*, who ruled  
in *Iberia*. He, when *Curbo* and *silla* were at warre, took the Ci-  
tie of *Suessi* by composition, as we haue said, and fled from thence  
to his office, leading w<sup>th</sup> hym an army of *Italians*, and gather-  
red more of the *Celiberians*, w<sup>th</sup> whome hee repulseth the offi-  
cers that were there for *silla*, who woulde not admit hym, and  
fought very valiantly with *Metellus*, that was sent agaynst hym  
of *silla*, and being courageous to any seate, elected a Senate of  
thre hundred of his present friends, which he called the *Romaine*  
Senate, in despite of whome hee named it, the *Choice Counsell*. *silla*  
being dead, and after hym *Lepidus*, *Sertorius* halting another ar-  
my of *Italians*, which *Perpenna* brought vnto him as a prey of  
*Lepidus*, he had an opinion to be able to make warre vpon *Italy*:  
which the Senate fearing, sente another armye and another  
prey, which was *Pompey*, to the army that was befoze in *Ibe-  
ria*, who being but a young Gentleman, was renowned for the  
service he had done vnder *silla* in *Libya* and in *Italy*. He passed the  
*Alpes* very boldly, not that way that *Anniball* did so notable,  
but byake another way by the fountaines of *Rodanus* and *Erida-  
nus*, both the whiche floodes, haue thei springs not far asunder  
from the high *Alpes*. *Rodanus* runneth by the Frenchmen that  
be beyond the *Alpes*, into the *Adriane* sea: the other within the  
*Alpes* flowing to *Italia* and in the end of *Eridanus* is called *Padus*.  
Being come into *Iberia*, *Sertorius* straight did ouerthrowe one le-

A Battel be-  
tweene the Con-  
suls.

*Lepidus* over-  
come an I-  
dyota in *Sar-  
dina* in the ser-  
uice of *Im-  
perius*, called *Sonda-  
lion*, bycause it  
is like the sole of  
a foote.

*Sertorius*.

*Sertorius* occideth  
of new vvarre.

*Sertorius* maketh  
a Senate in  
*Spain*.

*Perpenna*.

*Pompey* into  
*Spain*.

*Rodanus* Rofre in  
*Fraunce*.

*Eridanus* Poo in  
*Italy*.

*Rodanus* Rofre in  
*Fraunce*.

*Eridanus* Poo in  
*Italy*.

*Rodanus* Rofre in  
*Fraunce*.

*Eridanus* Poo in  
*Italy*.

*Rodanus* Rofre in  
*Fraunce*.

*Eridanus* Poo in  
*Italy*.

The receiuing  
of his body.

Prayes of *silla*.

Affections of  
men.

Funerall Ora-  
tion.

*Faustus* his sonne  
under age.  
In the field of  
*Mars*, none but  
royed buckings.

Contention.

The Consuls  
bound by oth.

*Lepidus* refuseth  
to returne to  
the election.

gion goyng a foraging with their baggage and slaues. The Citie of *Laetone* in *Pompeius* fighte he spoiled and ouerthrew.

At this siege a woman being inlused of a souldioz, with courage beyonde nature of hir kinde, pulled out hys eyes. *Sertorius* hauing vnderstanding of the chaunce, putte to death the whole bā, being counted corrupted in like things, though it were al of the *Romaines*: then winter comming on, they rested. The Spring approaching, they came forth, *Metellus* and *Pompey* frō the mount *Pinus*, and *Sertorius* with *Perpenna* from *Lusitania*. They met at a Citie called *Sura*, where giuing battell, though an horrible thunder, in y clere aie, which is maruellous, & lightnings out of reason did flay upon thē, yet they as expert souldiozs without feare kept y fight, & made great murder one of another, til *Metellus* had ouerthrown *Perpenna*, and scattered his men, & *Sertorius* ouercome *Pompey*, who was hurt in y thigh with a dart, and escaped with much dāger. This was the end of the first battel. *Sertorius* had a white harte tame, & to him very louing, the which being losse, he toke it for an euill token, & woulde not come forth for griefe, thinking his hart had bin take of his enemies, who scorned him for it: but when y hart was sene again, & came running to him, by & by, as by y prouoked, he set vpon his enemies, & made bluer light fightes. Shortly after they fought a great battel about *Saguntia*, frō none till night, in y which he ouercame *Pompey* in the battel of horsme, & slew vi. 99. of his enemies, & lost halfe so many of his own. *Metellus* of y other side, killed v. 99. of *Perpennas* camp.

The next day *Sertorius* with an huge nūber of *Barbarians*, a litle before night set vpon *Metellus*, & had broke his campe, & *Pompey* had not approached, & made him leaue his bold enterpriso. These thinges being done in somer, they retired to their winter harborols. The yere folowing, being y. Clxxv. Olimp. 2. of y considered nations did fall to the *Romaines*. *Sythia* giuen by *Nicomedes*, & *Cyrene* by *Tolomeus* *Lagus*, called *Apion*, leauing it to thē by *Tellament*. On the other side, great enemies discouered against them, *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *Mithridates* in y East, rowers ouer al y sea, & in *Creta*; & a tumult of the ffece players of *Italy*, very sodain and sharp. The *Romains* diuiding their power for this purpose, set iij. legions into *Iberia*, which being come, *Metellus* & *Pompey* remoued from

frō their winterings at y mount *Pinus* into *Iberia*. *Sertorius* & *Perpenna* came frō *Lusitania*, at the which time, many fled frō *Sertorius* to *Metellus*, with the which *Sertorius* being grieved, he hadled many cruelly & barbarously, wherby he grew into hate of the army & the rather for y he venomed the *Romains* frō the custody of hys body, & put the *Caliberians* in their place. They could not abide to be reponed of vnfaithfulness, though they serued continually to *Rome*, but this thing chie fly grieved thē, that they were counted rebels to their cōtry, for his sake, & yet suspected of him, & that with him ther was no difference betwene a fugitive & a faithful. The *Caliberians* also used thē dispitely, & raunted them as vnfaithful: notwithstanding the *Romains* did not viterly forsake him, because of their comodities: for there was not a more valiant nor fortunate captaine than hee, in so muche as the *Caliberians* woulde call him *Aniball* for hys promptnesse, who was the moste politicke and forwarde Capitayne that they coulde rehearse. After this sort stode the army with *Sertorius*. *Metellus* pexploied daily molett the Cities, & compell many to folde vnto thē.

*Pompey* besieged *Palancia*, and *Annibal* had shode waye to scale the wall. *Sertorius* came to the relief, and reuolued the siege. *Pompey* burned hys timber worke, & destroyed the wall, and retired to *Metellus*. *Sertorius* repaired the Citie, and speedily wet toward *Calagurra*, where, enuoyring with thē y lly there, he killed 3000. of them. And these were y doings in the first yere.

The yere folowing, the *Romains* Capitaines with greater courage set vpon the Cities, & beleaged *Metellus* & *Sertorius* of the other they sought to get by policie, as they did, not vng they whole force at euery assault. But y yere folowing came a tōngit to the ffece, & did their thinges with more confidence. *Sertorius* began to decay, & da being nightfull by him, and doe anything the law & traualles of a captaine, giue himselfe to be still at home, and wome, feasting & drinkeing: for those causes he was shamy timē outworne, falling into ffece, & was for example, & suspected euery man. Therefore *Perpenna*, y frōm the faction of *Metellus*, came vnto him w a greet army, began to doubt of him, & conspired against him with ten together, the which being discouered, some were hanged, and some escaped, but *Perpenna* not beeyng named,

as

as

A whole harte  
put to death.

A whole harte  
put to death.

A whole harte  
put to death.

A whole harte  
put to death.

A whole harte  
put to death.

A whole harte  
put to death.

A whole harte  
put to death.

A whole harte  
put to death.

Sertorius remoued  
the *Pompey* from the  
guard of his  
person.

Griefe of the  
*Romains*.

*Aragon*.

*Sertorius* compared  
to *Aniball*.

*Sertorius* decayed.

*Perpenna*  
Conspiracie.

as was his marvellous good hap, persecuted the rather in his purpose, he desired *Sertorius* to a banquet, and although he neuer wente withoute his Guard, yet at the laste, little respect being had, and hee and all they overladen with wine, *Perpenna* cut off his heade in the place where he feasted. The armye wth great ire and tumulte rose againste *Perpenna*, chaunging theyr hate into loue of the Capitaine, for though before they hadde no greafe lpyng of hym, now that hee was deade, remembraunce of his vertue tourned their mindes to pittie. And in this present case, they contemned *Perpenna* as a priuate man: and thinking their only weale did consist in *Sertorius*, they could not abide *Perpenna*, & not only they, but the *Lusitanes* and other *Barbarians* thought as much, whome *Sertorius* chiefly bled in the warre, and when the tables of his Testament were vnsealed, and *Perpenna* founde to be his heyre, euery man hated hym the more, because hee was not onely a Traytour to his Capitaine, but to his friends and benefactor, and then hadde they not helpe theyr handes, but that *Perpenna* hysse hymselfe, and pleased some with gifts, and some with promise, some he made astrayde with feare, and some he sharply bled with the terroz of other. At the common sayte he humbled himselfe, and suche as were in payson by *Sertorius* he deliuered, and to the *Lusitanes* restoyred their pledges, wherfore they were content to take him as their Capitaine. His hono<sup>r</sup> had he after *Sertorius*, yet not without great difficultie, for beinge cruel, he was felle to sharpe punishing, and of the *Romaines* that came with hym, he killed thye of the noblest sorte, and his owne *Prophet*. Soe was *Metellus* gone to the other side of *Iberia*, thinking *Pompey* to be sufficient to ouerthrowe *Perpenna*, who a while spent the tyme in makinge skirmishes, not beinge for the their whole power. The tenth day, with all their battailes they came into a field, thinking with that one worke, to make an end. *Pompey* passed little of *Perpenna*'s experience. *Perpenna* distrustfull of his armies continuance in obedience, was rather willinge to try all at once. *Pompey* giuing the onset the more fiercely, & *Perpenna* not abiding as a Capitaine, and the armye boide of good will, was sone ouercome, & euery man flying, *Perpenna* hid him betwix

Death of  
*Sertorius*.Miserie causeth  
pittie.

Portugales.

Perpenna founde  
to be heyre to  
*Sertorius*.

Perpenna cruel.

Fight betwene  
*Pompey* and  
*Perpenna*.Overthrow of  
*Perpenna*.

a tuffe of bushes, fearing more his owne, than his enemies, & being taken of certaine horsemen, they dragged him to *Pompey*, & of his owne people hee was euil spoken of, for his offence againste *Sertorius*: he made great ado to be brought aliue to *Pompey*, to reueale vnto him great matter of the *Romaine* factiō, eyther to tel the truth or to saue himselfe, but *Pompey* sent to haue hym killed before he came in his sight, fearing leaste hee might haue uttered some strange matter, & might haue bin the beginning of a new stir in *Rome*, wher in *Pompey* seemed to do very well & wisely, & toan a great opinion therby. This was the end of the war in *Iberia*, and of *Sertorius* life, which if he had not bin dead, would not haue bin finished, neyther so sone, nor so easly.

Death of *Perpenna*.V Wise dome of  
*Pompey*.The warre of *Spartacus*.

In this time in *Italy*, a Sword-player that keppe in *Capua* for sheles, called *Spartacus* a *Thracian* bozne, had serued in war wth the *Romaines*, & now was as a slave in custodie for to shew his cunning in plaies: he perswaded lxx. more of his fellows, to aduēture for their libertie rather thā to be slaves for sheles, & with this forcing & keepinge, he ran away, & arminge such as he met with staves & swordes: he fled to the Mount *Pelicinus*, whither many slaves, & some freemen, flying to him from the Countries, he receiued the, & robbed the plaines adioyning, he appointed two officers, *Aenomaus* and *Crissus* other two Sword-players, & makinge equal diuision of his pray among them, in short tyme great multitudes came vnto hym. Whom to overcome *Varinius Glabrus* was first sent, & after hym *Publius Valerius*, not to an army of any regard, but such as for hast they could gather by way. For the *Romaines* did not think it shold need any other, nor looked for such effect at a Sword-players hand. But when it came to the battell, the *Romaines* were overcome: *Spartacus* killed *Varinius* horse, & it lacked but little, that the *Romaine* Capitaine was not take of a vile Sword-player, after this fight, more & more resoyted to *Spartacus*, and he had now an army of lxx. M. for whom, he made armes & al other provision. The *Romaines* sent the Consuls with two legions, against whome *Crissus* came wth lxx. M. and was overcome at Mount *Garinus*, losing two partes of his army and his life also.

Spartacus.

Towns of *Italy*.Aenomaus,  
Crissus, orVarinius Glaber,  
Publius were  
overcome of  
*Spartacus*.Firste the battell  
betwene *Spartacus*  
and the  
*Romaines*.Mount *Gargano*  
in *Apulia*  
nowe called  
Mount *S. Angelo*.

A. liij.

Spartacus

*Spartacus was  
conqueror of  
Crispus.*

*Sacrifice of men*

*Thurnus in Apulia  
which the Ro-  
mans made a  
colonic in I  
called it Capia.*

*Three yeares  
vvaire.*

*Pictus Crassus.*

*Crassus both  
execution.*

*Crassus overcame  
men.*

*Spartacus* passed ouer mount *Apennine* to go into France be-  
yond the *Alpes*: but one of the *Consuls* laye in the waye and  
stopped his passage, and the other followed him: he fought with  
them both and ouercame them in severall fightes: so as the *Cō-*  
suls retyped with tumult. *Spartacus* did sacrifice three hundred  
Romaines to his selowe *Crispus*, and with twentie thousand Ro-  
maine souldiers, he wente to Rome, burning all vnprofitable  
buildings, and killed all Captiues and the beastes of cariage, to  
march the faster. Many fugitiues comming vnto him, he would  
admitte none.

The *Consuls* encountred him at *Picene*, where was a notable  
fight, and many of the *Romaines* slayne, and losse the day. Yet  
durst he not go directly to Rome, because he did not thinke him-  
selfe equal with the Citizens in seates of warre, nor had an ar-  
my thoroughly instructed, for neither a Citie toke his part, but on-  
ly slaues and fugitiues, and a confused multitude following him:  
he turned to the mountaines at *Thurnus*, & besieged the towne: hee  
forbad any merchaunt to bring gold or siluer into his campe, or to  
be vsed: but bzaile & prou he admitted, paying twel for it, & did not  
hurt the that brought it. Therby hauing matter aboundant, hee  
made verpe sayre armour, and vsed to seeke play in the coun-  
trei, and fought with the *Romaines* againe, and had the victorie &  
went away with a great spoyle. Now were three yeares past,  
and this warre remayned horrible to the *Romaines*, which at the  
first they contemned, as a play of ffences. The election of þ new  
*Consuls* being come, such a terror was of him, as no mā desired  
the office, till *Licinius Crassus*, notable in Rome for his house and  
riches, toke it vpon him, and with sixe other legions wente a-  
gainst *Spartacus*: and being come nigh, he receyued the armies of  
the two *Cōsuls*, of the which he put to death euery tenth mā, as  
hapt by lot, because they had bin so oft ouercome. Some thinke  
otherwise, that they al fought and were ouercome, and the he so  
punished them by the tenth, & killed foure thousande, hauing no  
doubt of the multitude. But whither so euer he dyd, it auayled  
much to the overthrow of his enemies, for by and by he set vpon  
them ten thousand of *Spartacus* men that camped by the, whereof  
he

he killed two partes, and then with like courage so fiercely en-  
countering with *Spartacus*, he ouercame him with a notable fight,  
and chased him to the sea, where he thought to escape by ship in-  
to *Sicilie*, but he ouertoke him, and enclosed him in a trench, and  
when he had forced him to flee to the *Samnites*, *Crassus* killed fire  
thousand of them at the same rise, and as many at the same  
set, there only of the *Romaines* being killed, and seauen hurt, so  
great an alteration was there of victorie, after the execution of  
that punishment. *Spartacus* looking for horsemen to come vnto  
him, did not now come forth with all his men, but by tymes  
did much annoy the besiegers, sodaynely issuing vpon them &  
throwing firebrandes into their campe, burned their wall, and  
put them to much difficulties and trouble. A *Romaine* Captiue  
he hung vpon in the middell of his campe, shewing to his souldi-  
ours what they should suffer if they did not ouercome. The *Ro-*  
*maines* in the Citie seeing of this siege, and thinking it a dishonour  
to be so long holden with a sword-player, appointed *Pompey*, who  
was returned fra *Iberia* with his army, (waying the difficultie  
of the thing) to take the charge therof. *Crassus* seeing the glory of  
this warre should be taken from him by *Pompey*, made hast to trie it  
with *Spartacus*, and *Spartacus* thinking to p̄uent *Pompey*, would  
haue made agreement with *Crassus*, but being reiected he thought  
to proue the bittermost, and with his horsemen that were come,  
he issued out of the campe, with al his bands, and fled as fast as  
he coulde to *Brundise*, *Crassus* following him: but when he heard  
that *Lucullus* was come to *Brundise* with his army from the  
warre of *Mithridates*, then in desperation of all things he encoun-  
tered with *Crassus*. The fight being long and difficulte, as among  
so many souldiers driven by desperation, *Spartacus* was hurt  
in þ thigh with a dart, by þ which wounde falling on his knee,  
he defended himselfe with his shield, & foughte with the that  
came vpon him, many of the which he ouerthrew, till he & the co-  
panies about him were discomfited, the other multitude with-  
out order fled, and were killed without number: of the *Romaines*  
a thousand were slayne.

*The third bat-  
tel.  
Spartacus dyed  
toward Sicilie.*

*The fourth bat-  
tel.  
Samnites, now  
Alarix.*

*Spartacus holden  
in.*

*Pompey appoint-  
ed to this warre.*

*The last battel  
wherein Sparta-  
cus was slaine.*

*Spartacus*

*Spiracum* being dead was neuer founde, a great multitude frō the battaile went to the *Montaines*, agaynst whome *Crassus* followed. They dividing themselves into foure partes, fought it oute, till they were all slaine, save five thousande, which being taken, were hanged in the way betwene *Rome* and *Capua*.

This dyd *Crassus* in five moneths, contending with *Pompey* for gloye, and would not leaue his armye, bycause *Pompey* would not leaue his, and both of them sought to be *Consull*.

*Crassus* hauing bene *Pretor* according to *Syllas* law, *Pompey* neither hauing bin *Questor* nor *Pretor*, being yet xxiii. yeares of age, promised the *Tribunes* to reduce their office to y<sup>e</sup> antiēt authoritie: and being both chosen *Consuls*, neyther of them would leaue their army. *Pompey* sayde he would stay for *Metellum* to make his triumph of *Iberia*.

*Crassus* affirmed that *Pompey* ought first to giue ouer.

The people pecepying that disorde was readye to ryse, and two armies at hand, requested y<sup>e</sup> *Consuls* sitting in their places to come to reconciliation, which at the first they both denyed: but the southsayers declaring great and grievous calamities to follow, vnlesse they were agréde, the people agayne with lamentation did desire them, recording the miserable thine of *Sylla* and *Marins*: with the which things, *Crassus* being moued, rose firste from his seate, and came to take *Pompey* by the hand and to be reconciled. *Pompey* rose also in hast and came fast to hym, and one embraced another, gret thanks with sholutes, was gūnt vnto them, and the people would not let them depart, till they had determined the dissolution of their armies.

This contention, that by al mens opinions seemed, would haue growne very great, was happily ended the ix. yeare of the *Ciuel* warre from the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*.

The end of the first booke of  
Ciuel diffentions.

*Crassus* and *Pompey* contending for the office of *Consul*, *Crassus* beinge chosen *Consul*, *Pompey* after the manner of *Consuls*.

The people require reconciliation.

*Crassus* relenteth first.

## The second Booke of Appian an of Alexandria touching the ciuil discorde of the Romaines.



After the Monarchie of *Sylla*, and all that *Sylla* did in *Spain*, otherlike *Catell* business, fel among the *Romaines*, all *Caius Caesar* and *Pompey* the great, watted one vpon another. *Caesar* slue *Pompey*, and certaint in the Senate killed *Caesar*. How this was done, and how both *Pompey* and *Caesar* were destroyed, this second Booke of

### • Ciuil causes that declare.

*Pompey* had lately scoured the seas of *Rouers* whiche robbed in every place beyond all reason: and after them subdued *Archelaus* King of *Pontus*: and set order in his kingdome, and al nations as farr as the *Castle*. *Caesar* was yet a yong man, forwarde in warde and dede, bolde to any thing, and hoping of euery thing, inclined to ambition to beyond al measure, as beyng *Pretor* and *Edill*, he grew in great dette, to gette the good wyl of the people, whiche is euer wont to embrace them that be beautiful.

*Pretor* had the charge of the law. *Edills* of houses and provision.

*Caius Cateline* was also notable, for his great fame and noble bloude, a very rather man, thinking it once good to kill his owne sonne for the loue of *Aurelia Orilla*: bycause she would not graunt to marry with him, hauing a child aliue. He was friend to *Sylla*, of his faction, and a very great follower of him: though he had ambition he was in much doubt, by the enuie of some greates men and women, laboured to be *Consull*, that by that meane, he mighte shewe his waye to *Spain*, and being in good hope to haue the election, he was repulsed, and *Cicero* chosen.

*Cateline*. *Cateline* killeth his sonne.

Cateline repulled  
and Cicero cho-  
sen consull.

Noviman.

V Vices viceroy  
of their half  
brader.

Senatours Gen-  
Menen.

Publius uttereth  
the conspiracie.  
Q. Curia.

Stollie chiefe  
murder of Cat-  
line.

The making of  
the practise.

chosen, a man most eloquent and wise in speech. Cateline, did  
shoone him, and in despite of them that had chosen him, for the  
baseness of his kinne, called him a New man, (for so doe they  
terme them, that grow noble of themselves, and not of their  
ancestours) and for that he was a stranger in the Citie, he  
named him a Fermer, by the which word they call them that  
dwelt in other mens houses. And for this, he refused to deale in  
publique matter, wherein was plenty of strife and contention,  
and no great nor present furtheringe to a Monarchie. Yet he  
gathered much money of many, which hoped to be rid of  
theyr busines by this hurley barley. He comforted with some of  
the Senatours & them that be called Gentlemen, and some of the  
Commons, strangers and servants he also allured. But his  
chiefe Counsellours were, Cornelius, Lentulus, & Cethegus, which  
were then officers in the citie. He sent about Italie to them that  
had spent their gaires got by the violence of Sylla, and were de-  
sirous of the like enterprises again. To Fesule in Tuscan, he sent  
Caius Manlius, & other into Arona and Appulia, the which pre-  
sently did gather men for him. All these practises did Fulvia, a  
noble woman, bewray unto Cicero, whose lord was Spurius;  
a man for his lewde life remoued from the Senate, and admira-  
ted to Catelines conuenticions, ambitious and very light, did boast  
with his woman, that shortly he shoulde be made a great man.  
Rumours were now rayled of these doings in Italie, and Cicero  
set gardes in diuers places of the citie, and sent some noble men  
to haue an eye to the suspected places. Cateline, although no man  
durst lay hands on him, yet, because the truth was not tried out,  
perceyuing the time to be suspicious, and putting al his hope in  
speeding, sent his money afoze to Fesule: and giuing order with  
his confederates to kill Cicero, and in one night to set the citie a  
fire in sundrie places, he passed to C. Manlius, to make an other  
army of the sodaine, to invade the citie after the burning. He  
caused the axes & roddes, to be borne before him like a Procon-  
sull very fondly, & went to Manlius, taking by souldiours by the  
way. As he was it thought good to Lentulus & his companions, as  
some as they heard Cateline to be at Fesule, that Lentulus himself &  
Cethegus shoulde beset Ciceros house early in the morning with wea-  
pons

pos his, & that they bring let him to see of their dignities, should  
speake with him, & by talke draw him a good way off, and when  
they had him from other company, to kill him. Then should Lentulus  
Sextius a Tribune, by & by call an assemble by the ordinarie offi-  
cers, & accuse Cicero as a man fearful, troublesome, & a disturber  
of the citie, when there was no such cause: and the night after  
this Oracion of Sextius, to set fire in other. xij. places, to  
spoyle it, & kill the best men. This was the opinion of Lentulus, Cethe-  
gus, Statilius, & Sextius, chiefe of the conspiracie, & wayted for the time.

There were embassadours of Samos to complain of their gover-  
nours, which by Lentulus were admitted to the conspiracie, & they  
shoulde stirre their countrie against the Romaines. Lentulus sent Pul-  
lurtius of Crotone with the to Cateline, carrying letters without a-  
ny name. The Embassadours being afraide, did communicate with  
Fabius Sanga, who was their patrone, as euery other citie had in  
Rome. Cicero vnderstanding this by Sanga, apprehended both them &  
Pulurcius as they were goyng away, & brought them to the Se-  
nate, to whom they confessed al they had learned of Lentulus, and  
with much ado belayaged, that Cornelius Lentulus had oft sayde,  
by destiny. If Cornelius shoulde be Monarches of Rome, whereof  
they were past, Cinna & Sylla. When these things were declared, the  
Senate put Lentulus out of his office. Cicero committed euery of  
them to the houses of the pretors, & straight returned & called for  
sentence. There was much ado about the counsell house, for the truth  
was not yet knowne, & the conspirators were afraide of them-  
selves. The servants, & seruaide men of Lentulus & Cethegus, got  
many artificers with them, and went to the backe sides of the pre-  
tors houses, to haue taken a way their maisters, whether, whether  
Cicero heard, he ran out of the counsell house, & having fled  
in euery place, came againe, and had need the iudgement of Sylla  
spake first, as he that was elected to be Consul next day. It was  
the Romaines manner to haue him speake first, that shoulde solote in  
the Consuls office, because (as I thinke) he shoulde commonly execute  
the decrees, & therby, & order the more rypely & wisely of euery of  
them. Sylla was of opinion the same men shoulde haue extreme  
punishment: and many other consented to his iudgement, till  
Nero muste say his minde, who thought it good to keepe them

Cicero to be kil-  
led, the citie to  
be burned.

Cities had pas-  
sioners in Rome.  
Lentulus.

Cornelius a great  
surname in  
Rome.

Whilke of the  
citie, & the  
Syllanus.

Diagramm  
touching the  
space.

Cassius sentence  
with whom  
Cicero durst not  
contende.

Cato.

Citizens put to  
death without  
iudgement.

Cicero telleth  
the people that  
the conspirators  
be dead.

Catiline sayne.

Cicero called  
further of the  
country.

in prison till Cato should be executed, and the thing thoroughly  
knowne, *C. Caesar*, who was not without suspicion to be priuie to  
this conspiracie, with *Robert Cicero* durst not contende, because he  
was so accepted to the people, added moze, that *Cicero* shoulde  
place them in such Cities of *Italy* as he thought good, till *Catiline*  
were dispatched, and then to be brought to iudgemente, that no  
extremitye shoulde be used against so noble men, that myghte  
serue payde of right or reason. This sentence seming indifferent,  
many allowed of it, and rashly consented to it, till *Cato* plainly  
had discouered the suspicio against *Caesar*: and *Cicero* fearing that  
this might sometruble would folowe, & that the multitude that  
were acquainted with the matter, and then remayned doubtful  
in the common place, would do mischief: and for some inconue-  
nience, as wel of the one as of the other, determined to execute  
the without iudgement, as apparant offenders: *Cicero* brought  
every one of them, (the Senate yet sitting) to the common prison,  
and without knowledge of the people, put them to death. When  
he went to the that were in the common place, and told the, they  
haue liued: wherat they disparted with feare, were glad to hide  
themselves as wel as they could: so the cite, that at that present  
was in great feare, receiued a little comfort. *Catiline* had nowe  
gathered xx. M. and armed the fourth part of them, & was going  
into *Italy* for more preparation: but *Antonia* the other Consul,  
encountred him with his army, and without great ado, ouerthrew  
him, as one that seriously had taken so horrible a thing in hand,  
whiche when it came to the trial, without order, executed the  
king, although neither he nor none other of the nobles y were of  
that conspiracie, would agree to doe: but running among the  
people, to gaine the multitude of the. Thus the rebellion of  
*Catiline*, which had almost brought the Citie to utter destruc-  
tion, was dissolved: *Cicero*, y before was only notable for his elo-  
quence, & now also for his warre and dede was extolled and  
plainly appeared the preseruer of his perishing country: wher-  
fore he began to glory in the public assembly, and diuerse  
honours of pay were sent him: & when he came to the temple  
by the name of saviour of the country, the people confirmed

it with a cry. This honorable name being giue first to *Cicero*, is  
nowe attributed also to such Emperors as be worthy: for this  
title is not giue to every king with the rest of his other stile, but  
in tyme with great ado is decreede vnto him, as a perfecte testi-  
mony of his excellent vertue.

*Caesar* was chosen Lieutenant for *Spain*, and of his creditours  
was staide in *Rome*: for so much did he owe more than hee was  
worth (as they report) he saide hee had neede of two thousande  
and five hundred millions, to haue nothing: yet agreeing with  
his creditours as well as he could, he went into *Spain*, where  
he did not deale with Citie matters, or by sessions take order  
for their causes, thinking that nothing serued his purpose, but  
thered men, and in tyme subdued all the rest of *Spain*, till hee had  
brought it subiect and tributarie to the Romaines. He sent muche  
money to the common treasure of *Rome*, wherefore the Senate  
graunted him a triumph: he made preparation of a great shew  
in the suburbs of *Rome*. The tyme of election of newe Consuls  
was come, and he that stode for the office must be present, and if  
he were once entred, he could not retorne agayne to make tri-  
umphs. He being very desirous of the Consulship, and not yet  
ready for the triumph, sente to the Senate and desired he might  
aske the office by his friends in his absence, although it were a-  
gainst the Lawe: But *Cato* spake against it, so as the laste day  
of the election was spent in reasoning. Wherefore *Caesar* set aside  
the triumph and came running to the election & desired the office.

At this tyme *Pompey* was in great power and glory for his vi-  
ctory against *Mithridates*: he required that many things which  
he had graunted to Kings, Princes and other estates, might be  
confirmed by acte of Parliament. The which request many en-  
uied, specially *Lucullus*, who made warre against *Mithridates* be-  
fore, and brought him so weake, that it was an easie matter  
to ouercome him, so as indeede the seate against *Mithridates* was  
properly his, and *Crassus* took parte with *Lucullus*. Whereat  
*Pompey* being grieved, he ioyned with *Caesar* and promised by oth  
to make him Consul, and *Caesar* reconciled *Crassus* to *Pompey*.  
And these three hauing greatest power of all, did serue one an-  
others

*Caesar*.

About two  
thousand five  
hundred millions.  
*Caesar* doings in  
*Spain*.

A triumph graun-  
ted to *Caesar*.

Election.

*Cato* against  
*Caesar* requeste.

*Pompey*.

*Lucullus* against  
*Pompey*.

*Crassus* with  
*Lucullus*.

*Pompey* with  
*Caesar*.

others turne, insomuche as one *Varro* a writer, in one of hye booke, did cal this agrément, a triple falling headlong.

The Senate hauing them in suspicion, did those *Lucius Bibulus* the other Consul, to withstande *Caesar*, and they straighte fell to contention, and made private preparation of armour one againste another.

*Caesar* receyved  
his fellowe  
*Bibulus*.

*Caesar* was a deepe dissembler, & in the Senate house vsed speeches of reconciliation with *Bibulus*, that by their dissention, the common wealth might take no scathe. Yee giuing credite to this pretence, being vnadvised and vnprepared, and ignorant of *Caesar's* meaning, founde that hee hadde made greate provision in secrete, and deuised lawes for the poore agaynst the Senate, diuidyng landes vnto them: the beste that was aboute *Capua*, he appointed as of the common treasure, to be bestowed vpon them that had bin fathers of thre children, and by thys meane he won the hartes of the multitude. For twenty thousande were accompted only to take the benefite of thre children.

Many of the Senate were agaynst this purpose. Wherefore *Caesar* with a fained anger that they would not admytte so iuste a thing, ran oute, and would not call the Senate together all the yeare after. But in the common place hee would speake to the people, and enquired of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, how they liked of the lawes, who giuing their consente, he willed the people to come to the approbation of them, with their weapons hid.

The Senate in  
*Bibulus* house.

The Senate (because it was not lawfull to assemble, vnlesse both Consuls were present) went to *Bibulus* house, because they had not foresene to make resistace to *Caesar*, & exhorted *Bibulus* to withstande the lawes, that it might not seeme hee was ouer-ruled by negligence, but of necessitie. *Bibulus* was perswaded, and wente into the Common place, whyles *Caesar* was yet speakinge to the people. Then was there much strife and disorder, and some hurte, for they with their weapons, brake the rodde and maces of *Bibulus*, and wounded the Tribunes that were about hym.

Accused by  
*Caesar*.

*Bibulus* not abashed, offered his throat, and with a loud voice, called *Caesar* robate to y<sup>e</sup> deade, saying, If I cannot perswade *Caesar*

*Caesar* to Justice by my death, I shal shewe vpon hym all thys blame and mischiefe. Wherupon standing, his friendes, thoughte againste his will, conueyed hym into the nexte Temple of *Iupiter* possessor.

*Cato* was sente for, and like a young man, thruste in among them, and beganne to speake: but being ouerpressed with *Caesar's* men, he was putte out againe: yet priuily comming in another way, he ranne vppo to the place of speache, and determining to speake nothing else, he sharply cried out againste *Caesar*, till hee was pulled downe.

Then *Caesar* pronounced the lawes, and caused the people to sweare vnto them, as euer to continue in effect. He commaunded the Senat to sweare also. Whereof manye, and *Cato* not agreeing, *Caesar* threatened death vnlesse they sware, and the people confirmed it, so that for feare they sware, and so did the Tribunes also, because it nailed no more to resist, the lawe being pronounced by other.

The lawe confirmed by another.

*Petius*, a manne of the common sorte, came running among them with a naked sword, saying, he was sent of *Bibulus*, *Cicero* & *Cato*, to kill *Caesar* and *Pompey*, and that the sword was deliuered hym of *Posthumus* one of *Bibulus* sargeants. And although euery man suspected this deuise, yet *Caesar* stirred the people, and appointed the nexte daye to examine *Petius*. He was comitted to prison, and was deade that nighte.

This chaunce also being diuersly construed, *Caesar* bidde not omitt to worke it for his purpose, affirming, that they that were afraide, had done it. Wherevpon, the people did graunte reuenge to be had of his enemies.

*Petius* deade.

Then *Bibulus* lettyn all goe oute of his handes, as a private manne, came not oute of his house all the reste of the yeare of his office. So the *Caesar* made no more inquisition of *Petius*, but hauing all the power of the common wealth alone; made more lawes to allure the people, and to confirme all that *Pompey* hadde done, accordyng to his promise.

*Bibulus* dyeth  
quiet.

Where

There were that had the name of Gentlemen in the cisse, and were in the midde place betwene the Senate and the people: These men might do much, both for their own substance, & for y<sup>e</sup> gathering of tributes & tolles, which the people did pay, wherof a number attended vpon them most assuredly. They made suit to the Senate to be discharged of parte of the rent. The Senate made some sticking at it, but *Caesar* not regarding that, only vsing the people did remitte the thirde parte of the rent vnto them.

They hauing beyond their expectation obtained suche benefite by hys goodnesse, did extoll hym like a God, and so *Caesar* by one deuise, had another companie stronger vnto hym than the people was. Then *Caesar* made shewes and huntings vnto them, spending vpon euery thing more than he was able, exceeding all y<sup>e</sup> had bin before tyne his sumptuous preparation, & beuities ful rewards. Wherefore they made hym ruler of *France*, both on this side and beyonde the Alpes for fyue yeares, and for his office he had foure legions appointed.

Bye considering that his absence should be long, and that enuy would be greater than the greatest fauour, bestowed his daughter in marriage vpon *Pompey*, although *scipio* were yet aliue, fearing that *Popey* (though he were his friend) might enuy the greatness of his felicitie: he made the moste seditious men officers for the next yere, & *Aulus Gabinius* he declared Consull, who was his chiefe friend, and married *Calpurnia* daughter to *Lucius Piso*, that should be Consull with him.

*Caro* crying oute, that rule was rated by makinge of waite on marriages: Tribunes he appointed *Maenius* and *Clodius* called the Faire, who was soluly diffamed for a suspicion wyth *Publius Clodius* wife, in the sacrifice that belongeth enlye to women.

For the holieche, although *Caesar* didde putte awaye hys wyfe, yet he made nothinge adoe wyth hym, because he was accepted to the people: yet other did accuse hym for disparaginge the holie sacrifice, and *Cicero* did speake against hym: *Caesar* was called to gyle witness, but he said nothinge, and rather made hym Tribune of the people to entrap *Cicero*, who spake againste the auine of the thre men, as a thing tending to tyranny.

Thus

Thus did grieve glue place to gaine, and one ciuill benefite, that another mighte be hunded: and it should be same that *Clodius* had gratified *Caesar* before in the getting of hys office in *France*. The Kinges didde *Caesar*, being Consull, and when hee hadde gyuen ouer one office, hee straghte coueted another:

*Clodius* accused *Cicero*, that hee hadde contrarie to lawe putte to death *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* before the Senate had giuen sentence: *Cicero* that in that matter had vsed moste noble courage, now being called to answer, was verie faine harted. Hee put on a mourning vesture, and ful of weeping and sorowe, he humbled himselfe to all that he met in the streates, not being ashamed to trouble them, whom he neuer knew, so that his behauior was so vnseemely, y<sup>e</sup> they which should haue pitied him, laughed him to scoorne: to so great fearfulnesse for one cause of his owne was he fallen, y<sup>e</sup> all his life had done most gloriously for others, euen (as they say) *Demosthenes* of *Athens*, was not able to answer in his owne cause, but before he was condemed, fled away. *Clodius*, with spite did mock his lowlinesse to me abroad, whereby being brought to desperatio, he also toke a volitary banishment, many of his friends going forth with him, and the Senate recommending him to Cities, Kings, & Princes. *Clodius* pulled downe hys houses both in the Citie and Country, & pleased himself so well with this act, as he would needs compare with *Pompey*, who had then the greatest auctoritie in the Citie. Wherefore he called *Milo* that was fellow to *Clodie*, and a bolder man than hee, putting hym in hope of the Consulship, to be againste his fellow, and to make a decre for *Cicero*s returne, supposing that *Cicero* would be nolle deale with matters and actions against *Clodie*, & no more busy hymself in speaking againste the presente auctoritie.

Thus *Cicero* that by *Pompey* was caste oute, by the same was called home the sixteenth moneth after his banishment, and hys house & seruises were builded of the common cosse. He was receyued with great glory, euery man waiting for hym at the gate, spending one whole daye in embzacements and welcoms, euen as hapned to *Demosthenes* at his returne from exile.

¶

In

*Cicero* accused by *Clody*.

*Demosthenes*.

*Clodius* pulleth downe *Cicero*s houses.

*Cicero* restored.

*Caesar* shewes passing.

Made ruler of *France*.

*Caesar* giveth his daughter in marriage to *Pompey*.

*Caesar* maketh alliance.

*Clodius* fulpe. *Publius* *Clodius* wife.

*Cicero* againste *Clodie*.

In this meane tyme, *Caesar* had done greate feates among the Frenchmen and Britains, as I haue shewed in my booke of the French matters, and being full of riches, he came to that part of Fraunce that confineth with Italy at the *Riuer Eridanus*, to recreate his army a while after their continuall warfare. From whence, he sent to diuerse men, greate summes of money. The yearely officers by turne came to visite him, and so did the Presidents of Provinces, the Generals of armies, and other noble men, so as sometime there were a hundred and twenty *Knights* about him, and moze than two hundred Senators, some, to thanke him for their offices, some, to seeke money, and some for one thing, and some for another. For now he took vpon him all thynges by the greatnesse of his armyes, the abundance of riches, and by friendship, that he had wounde of al sortes.

Both *Pompey* and *Crassus*, fellowes of his power, came to him. They agreede that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should be Consuls againe, and that *Caesar* should haue the rule of the nations he had, for other fye yeares, and so they departed.

*Publius Aenobarbus* stood agaynst *Pompey* for the Consulship, and when the day was come, bothe came in the night into the fildes to the election. And such was the strife, as it came to stripes, till one with a sword stroke him that bare *Aenobarbus* to the ch, and then euery man fled from him. He had much adoe to be conueyed home in safety: *Pompeys* gowne was found bloody and bozne home: So nigh peril were both parts. Thus *Pompey* and *Crassus* being chosen Consules, they decreede to *Caesar*, other fye yerres, as they had determined, the Provinces and armies they diuided betwen them. *Pompey* took *Syrie* and *Barbarie*, so the which he sent his friends, and he remained in Rome. *Crassus* chose *Syria*, and the nations next vnto it, for desire he had to make war vpon the *Parthians*, which he thoughte would be bothe easie and profitable, & to his renoume. But as befoze he wet out of the cite, al tokens seemed vnlucky, so the Tribunes did forbid him to molest the *Parthians*, that had made no fault. And bycause he would not regarde, they made publique execration vpon him, whiche he contemning, was in the same warre, with his sonne

of

of that name destroyed, and scarcely .xx. of an. C. .xx. did escape by sight into *Syria*. But this calamitie of *Crassus* is declared in the booke of the *Parthian* warres. The Romaines being molested with dearth, made *Pompey* General Prouicer of victuals, and as they were wont in *Pyrats* war, ioyned .xx. Senators with him as assistants vnto him. He sent them to euery country, and made suche spede, as Rome was by & by fulfilled with plenty of victuall, whereby he grew into greater glozy and auctoritie, than he was befoze. At this tyme *Caesars* daughter that was married to *Pompey*, dyed, wherefoze euery man was afrade that this affinity being broken, they two would contende with greates force. The state of the cite was in trouble and disorder, for the rulers did al for gaine and ambition, & with force & weapons moued sedition. They were not ashamed of bytherie nor corruption so they might be made rich. The people would not giue their voyces, vnlesse they were hyed. There was scene .viij. C. tallents putte in payme for the nomination to an office. The yearely Consuls were relect from armies and provinces, being taken away by the power of these thre men. They that were of worst behauiour, sought their gaine by armies and publike matters of the Cite, & by the eleatios of their priuate successors, by reason wherof the honest sort did vterly leaue to rule, insomuche as in this disorder, the Cite was .viij. moneths without a Magistrat. *Pompey* of purpose did winke at all this geare, that the necessitie of tyme might make him a ruler alone: and it so it was spoken in euery place, that the only remedy to these mischiefs, was the auctoritie of one, whom it beloned to chouse, being mighty of power, and gentle of nature, signifying that *Pompey* had a sufficient army, & counted a loue of the people, & for his honoz, did leade the Senat, in lyfe sober and sincere, and in conuersation affable, either in dede, or appaunte. He in worde seemed to be angrie at this expectation, but in effect he wrought it secretlye all that euery he coulde, and willingly looked awy at the disorder of the common wealth, and the lacke of officers in the same confusion. And whereas *Milo* did serue his tourne against *Clodie*, and was well beloued of the people, for the returne of *Cicero*, looked for the

.ij.

Consul.

The calamitie of *Crassus*.The death of *Caesars* daughter.

Rome disordered.

First three men.

Rome eighte moneths without a Magistrat.

Milo deceived  
by Pompey.

The Authour  
nameth *Clodius*  
his.

*Clodius* killed.

The manner of  
*Milo* at the  
death of *Clodius*.

*Clodius* body  
is brought to  
Rome.

*Clodius* funeral  
for the Senate  
house on fire.

*M. Caelius*.

*M. Caelius*  
his felicity.

Consulship, at due time required for that office, he did keepe hym backe, by delaying the election. Wherefore *Milo* taking it vnkindly, that hee shoulde finde *Pompey* vnfaithfull, wente into the Countrey to *Launio*, which Citie they saye *Aeneas* commyng from *Troy*, did first builde in *Italy*, being from *Rome* aboute eightye myles. *Clodius* came ryding from hys house, and met hym at *Bouille*, and passed the one by the other, onely in countenance shewing their enmitie. A seruaunte of *Milos* came to *Clodius*, (whither beyng commaunded, or to dispatch his maysters enemye,) and stroke hym with his sword on the hinder part of the heade. *Clodius* beyng wounded and full of bloude, hys horse keeper caried hym to the nexte Tynne. *Milo* Rayed with his seruantes, and commyng vnto hym betwene breathing and dying, dispatched hym, pretending that neyther he desired, nor deuised thys murder, but being sure he shoulde alwayes bee in daunger, hee purposed not to leaue the thing vnpurfect.

This chaunce being tolde at *Rome*, the people were displeased, and watched all night in the common place. Some broughte *Clodius* body the nexte day and laide it in the Palace: the which certayne Tribunes, friends to *Clodius*, accompanied wyth the multitude, toke away, and bare it to the Senate, eyther for honoz, bycause hee was of that order, or for reproch to them for suffering such vnlawful factes.

Therasher sozt of this route brake down y<sup>e</sup> seates & chaires of the Senate house, and made a fire, with the whiche the Senate house and many other nighb, did burne at *Clodius* funerals. *Milo* was so lustie, that he was not so muche afraide for the feate done, as hee was angry that suche honoz of buriall shoulde be shewed to *Clodius*. He gathered a number of seruantes & cuntrymen, he sent mony to the people, & corrupted *Marcus Caelius*, one of the Tribunes, and with a bold courage came to *Rome*. *Caelius* straight receiued hym at his coming, & brought hym to the comon place among the that had taken mony, as to an assembly. He pretended to be sozry, that any delay shoulde be had in iudgement, trausting that if he myght by these that were present, be acquitte, he shoulde auoid the sharper sentence. He shewed he did not minde the

the matter, (for he would not haue brought his wife and familye to such a seate) he spent the rest of the time against *Clodius*, as an impudent man, whose friends as impudent as he, had burnt the Senate house for his sake. Whyles he was thus talking, y<sup>e</sup> other Tribunes and the multitude slenderly armed, rushed into the common place. *Caelius* and *Milo*, in seruantes clothing fled away: much murder was committed vpon the other, nor asking who were *Milos* friends, but without respect killed both Citizen and straunger, and chiefly them that differed from the rest, eyther in gay garments, or golde Rings: for in such a disordered state, tumulte growing by rage of this pretence, the moste parte beyng seruantes and armed, against the other not armed, they fel to spoyle, they left nothing vndone, they entred houses, they ranne about to see in deede what they might easily catch, and in word to seeke out *Milos* friends: and *Milo* was their pretence many dayes, to doe all mischief with fire and force.

The Senate for feare assembled, and were bent vpon *Pompey*, whom some would haue had Dictator by and by, bycause the present time appeared to haue need of that remedy: but by *Catos* perswasion, they chose hym Consul without a selowe, that he shoulde haue the authoritie of Dictator by ruling alone, and yet be answerable because he was but Consul. He was y<sup>e</sup> first Consul that had two great prouinces with armye and money, and the Monarchie of the Citie, being Consul alone: *Cato* was appointed by decre to go into *Cyprus*, that he shoulde not trouble *Pompey* at home, and to put *Protolome* out of his kingdome, by a former lawe made by *Clodius*: who being once taken with *Pyrrates*, *Protolome* for nigardise, sent hym two talents for his ran-some. *Protolome* when he heard of thys decre, threw his money into the sea, and killed hymself. *Cato* set the Countrey in order.

*Pompey* did giue punishments for many offences, and specially for bribery & corruption: for he thought y<sup>e</sup> all common infection of the Citie rose of thys, and therefore had neede of present medicine. He also decreed, that any man that would, might cal men to account from his first Consulship to this time, and that was about twentie yeares, in the which *Casars* was Consul.

85. liij.

friends

*Milo* Acetia

His friends  
killed.  
Great hurt done  
in Rome.

The name of  
*Milo*, pretence of  
mischief.

By *Catos* persua-  
sion, *Pompey* Con-  
sul alone.

*Pompeys* lawes  
against bribery.

friendes suspecting this to be done in despise or calumny of him that so long a time was comprehended, exhorted him to deale with present matters, rather than to looke backward and trouble men that were honorable. And among other naming *Caesar*, he was offended, as one boide of all suspicion, and so appoynted the time from his seconde Consulship: he saide it was very necessarie so to begin, to make a perfite redresse of the common, almost waisted with civil men: which when he had saide, he pronounced the lawe, whereof followed by and by a number of sundry actions: and that the iudges shoulde not be afrayde, he with an army ouersalue their doings. Firste, being absente, *Attila* was condemned for *Cloelius* death, and *Gabinus*, of disobedience and mischief, for going into *Egipt*: with an army without decre, the booke of *Sylla* for bidding it. *Memmius*, *Hippus*, *Sextus*, & many other were condemned, eyther of bribery or corrupting the people. *Scaurus* was called by *Pompey* to make answere, notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> the people did intreate for him. And when the second time the people did resist his accusers, a violence was made by *Pompey* soldiers, wherby the people ceased, & *Scaurus* was also banished, & al their criles recorded, & *Gabinus* was confiscate after his banishment. The Senate giuing open prayse to *Pompey* appoynted two legions more vnto him, & continuance in his prouinces. *Memmius* being condemned of bribery, and *Pompey* lawe giuing release to them that accused an other, he called *L. Scipio* father in lawe to *Pompey*, into the like iudgement of corruption. Wherefore *Pompey* putting on the garment of the condemned for many of the iudges did the like: but *Memmius* in contempt of the state, gaue ouer y<sup>e</sup> accusation. When *Pompey*, hauing as it were, made that direction that belonged to his Monarchie, toke *Scipio* for his seloue the rest of the yeare: and after hym, though others were receiued into office, neuertheless he ouerlooked & ruled ali, and then was all in all in *Rome*. For the good wil of the Senate was much enclined to him in despise of *Caesar*, who in his Consulship seeking his priuate pleasure, seemed to make none accompt of the: and for that *Pompey* had quickly

Lawe of accout

Condemnation of *Attila*, *Cloelius*, *Memmius*, *Hippus*, *Sextus*, & many other were condemned.*Scaurus* banished.*Pompey* father in lawe accused.*Pompey* putteth on mourning vveede.*Pompey* taketh a seloue.Senate enclined to *Pompey*.

reco

recovered the sicke comon wealth, without molesting or hurting any man, furder than his office. But the banished men deode still to *Caesar*, and bad him beware of *Pompey*, and that his lawe of corruption, was most made against him. *Caesar* did comforte them, and yet sayde well of *Pompey*. He only laboured the Tribunes to make a lawe, that it might be lawefull for *Caesar* to aske the seconde Consulship in hys absence: the which, *Pompey* being yet in office and not resisting, was graunted, yet vnderstandyng that the Senate did worke against him, & fearing that his enemies would make him a priuate man, he demised to keepe his strength still, till he shoulde be declared Consul, and requested of the Senate a little longer tyme for hys office in *France*, or at the least for parte of it. But *Marcellus* that was Consul after *Pompey*, was agaynst it, the whiche when it was tolde *Caesar*, he layde hys hande vpon the hilt of his sworde (as they say) and answered, *Then thus shall gyue it me*. Hee buylded newe *Como* nighe vnto the *Alpes*, with the priuiledges of *Italie*, whiche is, that so many as be officers a yere, shall be Citizens of *Rome*, whiche was a greate prerogatiue to *Italie*.

Banished men deode still to *Caesar*.*Marcellus*.Answer of *Caesar*.Displeight of *Marcellus*.*Marcellus*.*Pompey* pretended regarde to *Caesar*.*Paulus* and *Cato*, vron by money.

One of newe *Como*, that had thus borne office, and thereby thought to be free at *Rome*, *Marcellus* in despight of *Caesar* did beate with rodde, whiche the Romaines doe not suffer for no cause: and in rage he bewraying his harte, bad him take this token of hospitalitie and goe shewe it to *Caesar*. This spight vsed *Marcellus*, and perswaded to sende successours to his prouinces before the time expyred. But *Pompey* was agaynst that, vnder a shewe of conueniencie and benenolence: that it was not mete that so noble a man, so many wayes profitable to hys Countrey, shoulde be thus maligned for so shorte a tyme, and decreed, that with the tyme, *Caesar* shoulde gyue ouer hys rule: After this, *Caesar*'s chiefe enimies were chosen Consuls *Aemilius Paulus* and *Calpurnius Marcellus* cousin to the former *Marcellus*. *Curio* an other greate enimie of *Caesar* was elected Tribune, well beloued of the people & a great speaker.

*Caesar*.

*Caesar* could not winne *Claudius* for no money, but *Paulus* he made his friende with an hundred and fiftie talentes, that he should neyther doe w<sup>th</sup> him nor against him: it cost him more to win *Curio* because he was so muche in debt. <sup>Curio seeketh a guard.</sup> *Curio* this money, *Paulus* builded a publique place, called *Paulus* Palace, one of the fayre wo<sup>th</sup>es of Rome. *Curio*, that he should not be discovered by change of the sodaine, required the office of making and paing of many and long high wayes, and to be over seer of the same five yeares together, knowing he should obtaine none of these, and trusting that *Pompeys* friends would speake against him, & so haue some pretence against *Popey*, which things coming to passe indeed as he thought, he had an occasi<sup>o</sup> of office. *Claudius* propounded to send succellours to *Caesars* prouinces, for the time was now at hand, *Paulus* said nothing, *Curio* seeming to dissent fr<sup>o</sup> both, praised *Claudius* opinio<sup>n</sup>, & as agreeing to it, said it was mete that *Pompey* should giue ouer both prouince and armye as well as *Caesar*, for so should the state of the Citie bee cleare and out of feare on both sides. Many being against this, as not right, because *Pompeys* time was not yet expired, *Curio* the shewed himselfe plainly and sharply, that it was not reason to sende succellours to *Caesar*, vnlesse *Pompey* did giue ouer: for being suspicious the one of the other, the Citie should neuer haue sure peace vnlesse all men were priuate. Thus he spake, because he knewe that *Pompey* would not leaue his power, and because he saw them offended with him for his iudgements of corruption.

The people  
praiseth *Curio*.

This opinion being honest, the people praised *Curio*, as the only man that for the common weale, cared for neyther of their displeasure: and they brought him home, casting floures, as vpon a champion of a great and difficult cause. For at that time nothing seemed more dangerous, than to dissent from *Pompey*, who passing about Italy somewhat sickely, subtilly sente vnto the Senate, praying *Caesars* aces, and rehearsing his olone fr<sup>o</sup> the beginning, and that the thirde Consulshippe being giuen him, and prouinces with an armye accordingly, he did not take it, but was called to it, being thought mete for the redresse of the

Pompey's  
cause.

stripes, till one with a sworde stroke him that hee *Caesar* was toych, and then euery man fled from him. He had much adoe to be conueyed home in safety: *Pompeys* golone was found bloudy and borne home: so nigh peril were both parts. Thus *Pompey* and *Craffus* being chosen Consilles, they decreede to *Caesar*, other five yerres, as they had determined, the prouinces and armies they diuided betwen them, *Pompey* toke *Spain* and *Barbarie*, to the which he sent his friends, and he remained in Rome. *Craffus* chose *Antony*, and the nations next vnto it, for before he had to make warre vpon the *Parthians*, which he thoughte would be bothe easie and profitable, & to his renoume. But as before he wet out of the Citie, all tokens seemed vnlucky, so the Tribunes did forbid him to molest the *Parthians*, that had made no fault. And because he would not regarde, they made publique execration vpon him, whiche he contemning, was in the same warre, with his sonnes

Atrey, & the  
Mithridates.

Dislike of  
Prouinces.

the common wealth, and that *Curio* he receiued willingly, I doe willingly giue ouer to them that will haue it, before my time prefixed. The manner of this writing wrought a good liking to *Pompey*, and a milking to *Caesar*, that would not giue ouer when his time was ended. When *Pompey* was come to the Citie, he spake as muche in effect, and then promised to giue it ouer, and as a friend and welwiller to *Caesar*, toke in hand that hee also would leaue with glad mind. For now being in yeares, and hauing taken greate paines in the armies against most fierce nations, and wonne great hono<sup>r</sup> to his Countrey, he would seeke rest, with the offices and sacrifices of the Citie. Thus he spake, that succellours might be straight sent to *Caesar*, and he standing vpon his promise only. But *Curio* correcting his fittellie, sayd, it was not ynough to promise, but to giue ouer in dede, nor that *Caesar* should be put from his armye, before he were in priuate state, neyther should it be commodious for him to mainteyne priuate enmitie, neyther for the Romaines, that suche a power should be with one, rather than with the other, that if eyther of them would hurt the Citie, the other should haue to resist: and now holding in no longer, he openly reproued *Pompey*, as a seker of tyrannie, and if it were not now, that he gaue ouer his army for feare of *Caesar*, he would not giue it ouer at all, therefore he thought good, that if they disobeyed, they should both be declared enemies, and an army gathered against them: by this talke he couered, that he was corrupted by *Caesar*. *Pompey* being grieved, and threatening, went angerly away into the suburbs. The Senate now had them both suspected, but thought *Pompey* the more tractable. *Caesar* they misliked, because of their suspicion in his Consulship, and therefore did not thinke it safe to dissolue *Pompeys* power, vnlesse *Caesar* did resigne, being absonde, and of a more aspiring mind: but *Curio* was against it, and that it was expedient, that after *Pompey*, *Caesar* also should giue ouer all, which, when he could not obteyne, he brake by the counsell, leauing all bisperfitte, so might a Tribune do. Wherefore *Pompey* repented him that he had restored the Tribuneship to the auncient power, which *Sylla* had made very slender. Only this was decreed at their departure,

*Curio* against  
*Pompey*.

*Pompey* depart  
with angry.

Senate better  
liketh of *Pompey*.

The authority  
of a Tribune.

honest sort did utterly leaue to rule, insomuche as in this disorder, the Citie was viij. moneths without a Magistrate. *Pompey* of purpose did winke at all this geare, that the necessitie of tyme might make him a ruler alone: and now it was spoken in euery place, that the only remedy to these mischiefs, was the authority of one, whom it beloned to chuse, being mighty of power, and gentle of nature, signifying that *Pompey* had a sufficient army, & counted a louer of the people, & for his hono<sup>r</sup>, did leade y<sup>e</sup> Senat, in more lowe and meere, and in conueriation affable, either in dede, or apparance. He in wo<sup>rd</sup> seemed to bee angry at this execration, but in effect he wrought it secretly: all that euer he could, and willingly looked away at the disorder of the common wealth, and the lacke of officers in the same confusion. And whereas *Milo* did serue his tourne against *Clodius*, and was well beloued of the people, for the returne of *Cicero*, looked for the

Rome eight  
moneths without a Magistrate.  
Disorder.

Milo deceyued  
by Pompey.

The Authour  
saith that  
Milo was  
killed.

Clodie killed.

The manner of  
Milo at the  
death of Clodie.

Clodies bodye  
is brought to  
Rome.

Clodies funeral  
for the Senate  
house on fire.

M. Cecilius.

M. Pompey  
was felicitous.

Consulship, at due time required for that office, he did keepe hym backe, by delaying the election. Wherefore *Milo* taking it unkindly, that hee shoulde finde *Pompey* unfaithfull, wente into the Countrey to *Launio*, which Citie they saye *Aeneas* commyng from *Troy*, did first builde in *Italy*, being from *Rome* aboute eighte myles. *Clodie* came ryding from hys house, and met hym at *Boville*, and passed the one by the other, onely in countenance shewing their enmitie. A seruaunte of *Milos* ranne to *Clodie*, (whither beyng commaunded, or to dispatch his maysters enemye,) and stroke hym with his sworde on the hinder part of the heade. *Clodie* beyng wounded and full of bloude, hys horse-keeper caried hym to the nexte Anne. *Milo* stayed with his seruantes, and commyng vnto hym betwene breathing and dying, dispatched hym, pretending that neyther he desired, nor deuised thys murder, but being sure he shoulde alwayes bee in daunger, hee purposed not to leaue the thing vnperfect.

This chaunce being tolde at *Rome*, the people were displeased, and watched all night in the common place. Some broughte *Clodies* body the nexte day and laide it in the Balace: the which certayne Tribunes, friends to *Clodie*, accompanied wyth the multitude, toke away, and bare it to the Senate, eyther for honoz, bycause hee was of that order, or for reproch to them for suffering such vnlawful factes.

Whereafter sort of this route brake down y<sup>e</sup> seates & chaires of the Senate house, and made a fire, with the whiche the Senate house and many other nigh, did burne at *Clodies* funeral. *Milo* was so lustie, that he was not so muche afrade for the feate done, as hee was angry that suche honoz of buriall shoulde be shewed to *Clodie*. He gathered a number of seruants & countrymen, he sent mony to the people, & corrupted *Marchus Cecilius*, one of the Tribunes, and with a bold courage came to *Rome*. *Cecilius* straight receiued him at his coming, & brought hym to the comon place among the that had taken mony, as to an assembly. He pretended to be sorry, that any delay should be had in iudgement, trusting that if he myght by these that were present, be acquitte, he should auoid the sharper sentence. He shewed he did not minde the

the matter, (for he would not haue brought his wife and familye to such a feate) he spent the rest of the time against *Clodie*, as an impudent man, whose friendes as impudent as he, had burnt the Senate house for his sake. Whyles he was thus talking, y<sup>e</sup> other Tribunes and the multitude slenderly armed, rushed into the common place. *Cecilius* and *Milo*, in seruantes clothing fled away: much murder was committed vpon the other, not asking who were *Milos* friendes, but without respect killed both Citizen and straunger, and chiefly them that differed from the rest, eyther in gay garments, or golde Rings: for in such a disordered state, tumulte growing by rage of this pretence, the moste parte beyng seruantes and armed, against the other not armed, they fel to spoyle, they left nothing vndone, they entred houses, they ranne about to see in deede what they might easily catch, and in word to seeke out *Milos* friendes: and *Milo* was their pretence many dayes, to doe all mischief with fire and force.

The Senate for feare assembled, and were bent vpon *Pompey*, whom some would haue had Dictator by and by, bycause the present time appeared to haue need of that remedy: but by *Catos* perswasion, they chose him Consul without a felowe, that he should haue the authoritie of Dictator by raling alone, and yet be answerable bicause he was but Consul. He was y<sup>e</sup> first Consul that had two great prouinces with armye and money, and the Monarchie of the Citie, being Consul alone: *Cato* was appointed by decre to go into *Cyprus*, that he shoulde not trouble *Pompey* at home, and to put *Protolomie* out of his kingdome, by a former lawe made by *Clodie*: who being once taken with Pyrates, *Protolomie* for nigardise, sent him two talents for his ran-some. *Protolomie* when he heard of thys decre, threw his money into the sea, and killed hymself. *Cato* set the Country in order.

*Pompey* did giue punishments for many offences, and specially for bribery & corruption: for he thought y<sup>e</sup> all common infection of the Citie rose of thys, and therefore had neede of present medicine. He also decred, that any man that would, might cal men to account from his first Consulship to this time, and that was about twentie yeares, in the which *Cesar* was Consul.

¶. iij.

friends

Milo's death

His friends  
killed.  
Great hurt done  
in Rome.

The name of  
Milo, pretence of  
mischief.

By *Catos* persua-  
sion, *Pompey* Consul  
alone.

*Pompey's* lawes  
against bribery.

friendes suspecting this to be done in despise or calumny of him that so long a time was comprehended, exhorted him to deale with present matters, rather than to looke backward and trouble men that were honorable. And among other naming *Caesar*, he was offended, as one boide of all suspicion, and so appoynted the time from his seconde Consulship: he saide it was very necessarie so to begin, to make a perfitte redresse of the common, almost wasted with civil men: which when he had saide, he pronounced the lawe, whereof followed by and by a number of sundry actions: and that the iudges shoulde not be afrayde, he with an army suerlawe their doings. Firste, being absent, *Melo* was condemned for *Clodius* death, and *Gabinus*, of disobedience and mischief, for going into *Egipt* with an army without decree, the booke of *Sylla* for biodyng it. *Memmius*, *Hippus*, *Sextus*, & many other were condemned, eyther of bribery or corrupting the people. *Scaurus* was called by *Pompey* to make answer, notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> the people did intreate for him. And when the second time the people did resist his accusers, a violence was made by *Pompeys* souldiours, wherby the people ceased, & *Scaurus* was also banished, & al their criles recorded, & *Gabinus* was confiscate after his banishment. The Senate giuing open prayse to *Pompey* appoynted two legions more unto him, & continuance in his prouinces. *Memmius* being condemned of bribery, and *Pompeys* lawe giuing release to them that accused an other, he called *L. Scipio* father in lawe to *Pompey*, into the like iudgement of corruption. Wherefore *Pompey* putting on the garment of the condemned for, many of the iudges did the like: but *Memmius* in contempt of the state, gaue ouer y<sup>e</sup> accusation. Then *Pompey*, hauing as it were, made that direction that belonged to his Monarchie, toke *Scipio* for his selouie the rest of the yeaere: and after hym, though others were receiued into office, neuertheless he ouerlooked & ruled all, and then was all in all in *Rome*. For the good wil of the Senate was much enclined to him in despise of *Caesar*, who in his Consulship saking his priuate pleasure, seemed to make none account of the: and for that *Pompey* had quickly

Lave of account

Condemnation  
of *Melo*, *Clodius*,  
*Gabinus*, *Memmius*,  
or *Hippus*, *Sextus*,  
war, condemned.

Scaurus banished.

Pompeys father  
in lawe accused.Pompey putteth  
on mourning  
vveede.Pompey taketh  
a selouie.Senate esteemeth  
*Pompey*.

recovered the sicke comon wealth, without molesting or hurting any man, surder than his office. But the banished men fledde still to *Caesar*, and bad him beware of *Pompey*, and that his lawe of corruption, was most made against him. *Caesar* did comforte them, and yet sayde well of *Pompey*. He only laboured the Tribunes to make a lawe, that it might be law full for *Caesar* to aske the seconde Consulship in hys absence: the which, *Pompey* being yet in office and not resisting, was graunted, yet understanding that the Senate did worke against him, & fearing that his enemies would make him a priuate man, he denied to keepe his strength still, till he shoulde be declared Consul, and requested of the Senate a little longer tyme for hys office in *France*, or at the least for parte of it. But *Marcellus* that was Consul after *Pompey*, was agaynst it, the whiche when it was tolde *Caesar*, he layde hys hande vpon the hilt of his sworde (as they say) and answered, *Then thou shalt gye it me*. Hee buylded newe *Coma* nighe vnto the *Alpes*, with the priuiledges of *Italie*, whiche is, that so many as be officers a yere, shall be Citizens of *Rome*, whiche was a greate prerogatiue to *Italie*.

Banished men  
flye to *Caesar*.*Marcellus*.Answers of  
*Caesar*.

One of newe *Coma*, that had thus bozne office, and thereby thought to be free at *Rome*, *Marcellus* in despight of *Caesar* did beate with rodde, whiche the Romaines doe not suffer for no cause: and in rage he bewraying his harte, bad him take this token of hospitalitie and goe shewe it to *Caesar*. This spight vied *Marcellus*, and perswaded to sende successours to his prouinces befoze the tyme expyred. But *Pompey* was agaynst that, vnder a shewe of conueniencie and benenolence: that it was not mete that so noble a man, so many wayes profitable to hys Countrey, shoulde be thus maligned for so shorte a tyme, and decreed, that with the tyme, *Caesar* shoulde gye ouer hys rule: After this, *Caesars* chiefe enemies were chosen Consuls *Aemilius Paulus* and *Calpurnius Marcellus* cousin to the former *Marcellus*, *Curio* an other greate enemye of *Caesar* was elected Tribune, well beloued of the people & a great speaker.

Despight of  
*Marcellus*.*Marcellus*.*Pompey* pretendeth  
regarde to  
*Caesar*.*Paulus* and *Coma*,  
vvn by money*Caesar*

*Cæsar* coulde not winne *Claudius* for no money, but *Paulus* he made his friende with an hundred and fiftie talentes, that he shoulde neyther doe wyth hym nor against hym: it coste him more to win *Curio* because he was so muche in debt. *Curio* this money, *Paulus* builded a publique place, called *Paulus* Palace, one of the fayre woorkes of Rome. *Curio*, that he shoulde not be discovered by change of the sodaine, required the office of making and pauing of many and long high wayes, and to be overseer of the same five yeares together, knowing he should obtaine none of these, and trusting that *Pompeys* friends would speake against him, & so haue some pretence against *Pompey*, which things coming to passe indeed as he thought, he had an occasiō of office. *Claudius* propounded to send successours to *Cæsars* prouinces, for the time was now at hand, *Paulus* said nothing, *Curio* seeming to dissent from both, praised *Claudius* opinion, & as agreeing to it, said it was meete that *Pompey* shoulde giue ouer both prouince and armye as well as *Cæsar*, for so shoulde the state of the Citie bee cleare and out of feare on bothe sides. Many being against this, as not right, because *Pompeys* time was not yet expired, *Curio* the shewed himselfe plainly and sharply, that it was not reason to sende successours to *Cæsar*, vnlesse *Pompey* did giue ouer: for being suspitious the one of the other, the Citie shoulde neuer haue sure peace vnlesse all men were priuate. Thus he spake, because he knewe that *Pompey* would not leaue his power, and because he saw them offended with him for his iudgements of corruption.

This opinion being honest, the people praised *Curio*, as the only man that for the common weale, cared for neyther of their displeasure: and they brought him home, casting floures, as vpon a champion of a great and difficult cause. For at that tyme nothing seemed more dangerous, than to dissent from *Pompey*, who passing about Italy somewhat sickely, subtillye sent into the Senate, praising *Cæsars* actes, and rehearsing his owne from the beginning, and that the thirde Consulshippe being giuen hym, and prouinces with an army accordingly, he did not seeke it, but was called to it, being thought meete for the redresse of the

*Curio seeketh a quarrel.*

*Cæsar* for *Claudius*.  
Question for  
*Cæsar* propounded

The people  
praiseth *Curio*.

*Pompey* to the  
Senate.

the common wealth, and that I (quoth he) receiued unwillingly, I doe willingly giue ouer to them that will haue it, before my time perished. The manner of this writing wrought a good liking to *Pompey*, and a misliking to *Cæsar*, that would not giue ouer when his time was ended. When *Pompey* was come to the Citie, he spake as muche in effect, and then promised to giue it ouer, and as a friend and wellwiller to *Cæsar*, take in hand that hee also would leaue with glad mind. For now being in yeares, and hauing taken greate paines in the armies against most fierce nations, and wonne great honoꝝ to his Countrey, he would seeke rest, with the offices and sacrifices of the Citie. Thus he spake, that successours might be straight sent to *Cæsar*, and he standing vpon his promise only. But *Curio* correcting his subtiltie, sayd, it was not ynough to promise, but to giue ouer in dede, nor that *Cæsar* shoulde be put from his armye, before he were in priuate state, neyther shoulde it be commodious for him to mainteyne priuate enmitie, neyther for the Romaines, that suche a power shoulde be with one, rather than with the other, that if eyther of them would hurt the Citie, the other shoulde haue to resist: and now holding in no longer, he openly reproued *Pompey*, as a seker of tyrannie, and if it were not now, that he gaue ouer his army for feare of *Cæsar*, he would not giue it ouer at all, therfore he thought good, that if they disobeyed, they shoulde both be declared enemies, and an army gathered against them: & by this talke he couered, that he was corrupted by *Cæsar*. *Pompey* being grieved, and threating, went angerly away into the suburbs. The Senate now had them both suspected, but thought *Pompey* the more tractable. *Cæsar* they misliked, because of their suspicion in his Consulship, and therfore did not thinke it safe to dissolue *Pompeys* power, vnlesse *Cæsar* did resigne, being abzoade, and of a more aspiring mind: but *Curio* was against it, and that it was expedient, that after *Pompey*, *Cæsar* also shoulde giue ouer all, which, when he could not obteyne, he brake by the counsell, leauyng all hisperfitte, for so might a Tribune do. Wherfore *Pompey* repented him that he had restored the Tribuneship to the auncient power, which *Sylla* had made very slender. Only this was decreed at their

*Curio* against  
*Pompey*.

*Pompey* depare  
teth angry.

Senate better  
liketh of *Pompey*.

The authoritie  
of a Tribune.

¶.

departure,

departure; that *Caesar* and *Pompey* shoulde be sente into *Siria* to keepe the Countrey, bycause of *Cassius* misfortune. And *Pompey* being policie, required his legion againe, that he had sente *Caesar*, after the losse of *Titurius* and *Cotta* his Captaynes.

*Caesar* gaue euery man two hundred Drammes, and sent them to *Rome*, and with them sente another of his owne, but being vnderstanded there was no danger in *Syria*, they went to winter at *Capua*. They that were sente of *Pompey* for them to *Caesar*, tolde many hard tales againste *Caesar*, and made *Pompey* beleue, that *Caesars* army being wasted with wearinesse, and long payne, was desirous to come home, and when they were come on this syde the *Alpes*, they would reuolte to *Pompey*. Thus they talked either of ignorance, or being corrupted, but euery man was sure to *Caesar* in promptnesse and painefulnesse, both for the continuance of seruice for the gaynes that grewe by victories in the warre, and for the greate liberalitie of *Caesar* himselfe, for he gaue them freely to serue as he would haue them, which they all knowing, did likewise abide it.

*Pompey* giuing credite to these tales, neyther gathered armye, nor prouided for so greate a businesse. The Senate did requyre euery mans opinion. *Claudius* craftely propounded, and byd aske disioyntly, whether they woulde sende successours to *Caesar*, and whether they would *Pompeys* power shoulde be taken from him. To this many made denyall, but to *Caesar* they decreed successours. *Curio* asking agayne if they would haue both leaue their powers, xxiij. denyed it, but *CCCLxx*. leauyng contention for com-  
moditie, enclined to *Curios* sentence: they did *Claudius* dismishe the counsell, crying, *For inne you, that will haue Caesar your Lord*.

A rumor being raysed, that *Caesar* suddaynely was past the *Alpes*, and commyng to the Citty, there was greate feare and tumulte of all sydes. *Claudius* commaunded the armye at *Capua* to be sente againste *Caesar*, as an enemy, and when as *Curio* reproued it as a lye, *Claudius* sayde, If I may not followe that is sette by common decree of my selfe as Consull, I will doe it. And when he had sayde thus, he came out of the Senate house into the suburbs with his fellow, and offered a sword to *Pom-*

pey. *Cuen* I (quoth he) and this man, commaunded thee to goe against *Caesar* for thy Countrey, and we giue thee, eyther the army that is now at *Capua*, or any other that is in *Italie*, and that thou mayest gather together what thou wilt. He obeyed, as commaunded of the Consuls, onely adding, *vntlesse somewhat maye be better, dissembling*, or euen then pretending a shewe of honor. *Curio* now had no more authoritie ouer the Citty, for it was not lawfull for the Tribunes to goe out of the walles, yet he complayned to the people of these doings, and required the Consuls to proclayne, that no man shoulde obey *Pompey* in gathering of men; but not preuayling, and the time of his Tribuneshippe drawing to an ende, being astrayde of himselfe, and doubting to be no more able to help *Caesar*, with diligence went vnto him, who had nowe sayled the Ocean Sea from *Brittayne*, and passed from the French, that benere the floud *Rhene*, to the *Gauntaines* of the *Alpes*, with fye thousande footemen, and three hundred horsemen, by a waye down to *Rancane*, which was cosine to *Italy*, and the end of his pounce, receiuing *Curio* with great curtesie, and thanking him for his trayayles, he consulted with him of the present state. *Curio* thought good to sende for all his army, and to march to *Rome*. *Caesar* thought it better yet to treat of reconcili-  
ation, and willed his friends to compound for him, that giuing ouer all other pounces and armies, he might onely retayne two legions, and shipp with *France*, within the *Alpes*, till he were declared Consull. *Pompey* thought it sufficient, but bycause the Consuls did resist it, he wrote to the Senate, and *Curio* running in three dayes three thousande and three hundred furlongs, he gaue the letter to the newe Consuls, entryng the Senate house the fyrste daye of the newe yeare. It byd conteyne a solemne re-  
hearsall of all *Caesars* doings from the begynnynge, and a protestation to leaue his armye, if *Pompey* byd the lyke, and being yet in authoritie, if *Pompey* woulde not giue hym, no more woulde he, but forthwith come to requenge his Countrey, and with spede to seeke for hymselfe, at the whyche, euery man cryed out, and that *Lucius Domitius* shoulde bee his successour, as in a warre proclaymed. *Domitius* went on with four

P. 11.

lately

*Pompey* recey-  
ueth the sword  
with a condi-  
tion.

*Caesar* out of  
Frittyne.  
*Rhene* deuiled  
France and  
Germany.  
The old diuis-  
ion of *Italy*  
was at *Rancane*,  
and the floud  
*Rubicon*, and  
thereabout.

Requere of  
*Caesar*.

After this ac-  
compte, it should  
be three hun-  
dred myles.  
*Caesars* letters to  
the Senate.

*L. Domitius*.

*Caesar* recey-  
ueth *Pompeys*  
Legion.  
*Cotta* and *Titur-*  
*ius* layne in  
France.  
A Drumme  
was a coigne, of  
the valewe of  
two Clotes.  
Tales of *Caesars*  
Army.

The Souldyers  
of *Caesar* fure  
vnto him.

Consultation  
for *Caesar* and  
*Pompey*.

Contention in  
the Senate.

*Caesar* recey-  
ueth the  
sword to  
be his.

*Pom-*

Veteran nation  
against Caesar.  
Antonia,  
Casius,  
Tribunes.

Antonia launc-  
ceh.

Antonia prophet-  
iceth.

Casius sheweth  
the Tribunes to  
his army.

Preparation for  
Pompey against  
Caesar.  
Thessalia vv252  
Country of  
Grecia.

Speedinesse of  
Caesar.

Casius manner  
in warre.

lately gathered. *Antonia* and *Casius* being Tribunes after *Curio*, and liking well of his determination, the Senate the more earnestly did ascribe the army of *Pompey* to be their safetie, and *Casius*, their destruction. And *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* the Consuls, commaunded *Antonia* and *Casius*, to go from the assemblie, least by using the office of Tribunes, they mighte happly haue some displeasure. When *Antonia* cryed aloud, and ranne fro his seate in a rage, and laimeted they should deface the office sacred, and a Sanctuary, and reica them with a despight, that had gyuen their counsell for the common weale, not hauing committed any offence or crime against any man. This being sayde, he lept out as a man by inspiration, foreshewing warres, murders, attendures, banishments, spoiles, and all other mischief to come vpon them, protesting greates execrations to them that were the cause of it. *Curio* and *Casius* went out with him, for now parte of *Pompeys* army was sene to come, and besette the Senate house. They by and by, secretly in the night, putting on seruants apparell, went to *Caesar* in an hired wagon. *Caesar* theued them as soone as they were come vnto the army, in that apparell, and to shew them the more, said these men for doing well, are made enemies, and being persons of such degree, speaking somewhat for them, were thus villanously banished. Nowe was the warre open on both sides, and proclaimed evidently. The Senate thinking that *Caesar* would not suddainely come with his army fro the French, and that he would not enterpryse so great a feate with so fewe, appointed to *Pompey* to gather a great number of *Thessalians*, old practised Souldiers in the warre, and to take by new, of the nations that were fitte to serue. All the common treasure they becreed to him for this warre, offering also their priuate substance if neede were, to be ready for this seruice: and they sent to the Cities for more, with great hast and vehemencie, leauing nothing vndone, that might be with speedy consideration. *Caesar* sending for his owne army, putting more confidence in amazing his enemies with suddaine appoche and terror of boldnesse, than in mighty preparation. With fve thousande began he this greates warre, which he sent to take the comodious places of *Italy*. And

certaine

certaine of his Captaynes, accompanied with the boldest sorte, in peaceable manner, he willed to goe to *Armeno*, and of the suddaine, to surprize the Citie, which is the firste of *Italy* out of *France*. He in the eueing, as though he had not bin well, wente from the Table, leauing his friends sitting still, and taking a Coach, he ranne to *Armeno*, his horsemen following a certaine distance off. And posting thus as farre as the floud *Rubicon*, which denideth *Italy*, he stayed his course, and behelde the River. He deeply waying in his mind all the mischief that might followe, if he passed the water in armes, turned to his friends, and sayde, The refrayning from this passage, shall be the beginning of troubles to my selfe, but the going on with it, shall bere all the world. When he had thus said, as a man rapte with a furie, hee stong ouer, speaking the common word, *The Die is cast*. When he halted to *Armeno*, and toke it carely in the morning, and so wet forwarde, leauing garrison in conuenient places, and the other by the way he wanne, eyther by violence, or by gentlenesse. There was fleeing and renning away from every place with muche feare, and remouing without reason, and lamente, not yet knowing what the truth was, supposing that *Caesar* was come to inuade with all his might and power. Which when the Consuls heard, not suffering *Pompey* to take the stayed way of warre according to his skilfulnesse in the same, forced him to goe about *Italy*, and make men, as the Citie should by and by haue bin taken. The other Senatoures hearing of *Casars* suddaine appoche beyonde all opinion, were astraide, because they were not yet prepared, and with grefe repented they had not accepted *Casars* offers, which then they thoughte reasonable. Many Monstres, and tokens from heauen did asray them. God sente downe rayne of blood, Images did sweate, lightnings fell vpon manye Temples, a Mule broughte forth, many other fearefull tokens did foreshew the ouerthrow and mutation of the common state. Supplications were commaunded, as in common calamities. The people remembryng the times of *Silla* and *Marin*, crued out, that *Caesar* and *Pompey* should giue ouer their powers, as the only way to cease warre. *Cicero* sent to *Caesar* for reconciliation, but

Ref.

the

Then I am exten-  
ded to. Ar-  
menia, which is  
nowe in that  
part of Italy  
that is called  
Romagna, one of  
the 18. Colo-  
nies, that ayded  
the Romaines a-  
gainst Anniball.  
Rubicon deni-  
deth Italy, ouer  
the which he  
that passed in  
armes, was a  
Rebell.  
Caesar stayed at  
the River of  
Rubicon.  
The saying  
of Caesar.  
Caesar entred  
Italy.  
Caesar taketh  
Armeno.  
Feare of Caesar.

The Consuls  
suffer not Pom-  
pey to take the  
right course of  
warre.

Tokens.

Favonius

the Consuls were againste every thing, and *Favonius* tested at *Pompey* for a word he once spake, that at his call he would strike the ea. the with his foote, and fetch the for the an army. You shall haue it (quoth he) if you will followe me, and thinke it no griefto leaue *Rome*, and after *Rome*, *Italy* to, if neede be: for places and houses be not strength and libertie, but men (wherefoer they be) beate these with them, and when you haue reuenged your selues, you shall haue houses ynough. This spake *Pompey*, as it were threathning them that would tarry and sticke to leaue their lands for the loue of their Countrey. And *Creight* he wente out of the Senate house and Citie too, and toke his iourney to *Capua* to the armye there, and the Consuls followed him. Other tarried wth greate doubte, and kepte that nyghte togyther in the Senate house, but when daye was come, the most parte went out, and followed *Pompey*.

Pompey to the Senators.

Pompey forleth Rome.

Corfinio is now Pompey's.

*Caesar* followed *Domitius* at *Corfinio*, who was sent to be his successeur, hauing not aboue foure thousande, and beseged him. And they of the Citie, perceyving that *Domitius* would sit a way, kepte the gates, and toke hym, and broughte him to *Caesar*. He curteously receyued the army, yeloping vnto hym, that other myghte be encouraged to the same, and suffered *Domitius* vnto the, wth all his money and substance, to goe where he would, thynkyng for that gentlenesse he would haue tarried wth hym, and was not againste hym, to goe to *Pompey*.

Caesar taketh Domitius, and giueth him leaue to goe where he list.

Nowy. *Albanum*.

These thyngs being thus done of the sabbayue, *Pompey* wente from *Capua* to *Brunduse*, to passe the *Ionian* Seas to *Epirus*, to make his prouision for warre there: he wrote to all nationes, Lieutenants, Princes, Kings, and Cities, euery one with all the speede they coulde, to contribute to this warre. These were dispatched with speede.

*Pompey*'s owne army was in *Spain*, being ready for the march when occasion shoulde call them.

Of the Legions that *Pompey* had himselfe, he deliuered to the Consuls, to leade from *Brunduse* to *Epirus*, and they *Creight* sayled safe to *Dirrachium*, whiche Towne some men, of this ignorance, thynketh to be *Epidamnus*. A Barbarian King called *Epidamnus*

Pompey described. This is not in the Italian.

*Domitius* buylded a Citie at this Sea, and of himselfe called it *Epidamnus*: his nephew by his daughter, supposed to be *Nep-tunes* sonne, buylded a poste to that Citie, and called it *Dirrachium*. The brethren of *Dirrachus* made warre vpon him, and *Hercules* commyng from the Ile *Erithea*, ioyned with him for parte of the lande, wherevpon the *Dirrachians*, as copertioners of theyr Countrey, accompte hym the founder of it, not denyng *Dirrachus*, but moze desirous of *Hercules*, because he was a God.

They saye further, that in this fyghte, *Ionius*, sonne to *Dirrachus*, was slayne of *Hercules* by chance, and that *Hercules* buryed his body, and threide it into the Sea, that it myghte beare the name of him. In processe of time, certaine *Phrigians* got the Citie and Countrey, and after them, a people of *Illiria*, called *Taulantines*, after whome, another people of *Illiria*, called *Liburnians*, wth their swift Shyppes, dyd spoyle theyr neerest neyghbours, and of this it is thought the Romaines did call theyr swift Shypps *Liburnius*, wherewth they gaue their fyrste onset in fighte by Sea.

Hercules. The ship. Nowy. Call.

Ionian Sea. Phrygia. Asia the Ielle.

Taulantines. Liburnians. Liburnica Naves.

They that were driuen from *Dirrachus* by the *Liburnians*, gotte helpe of the *Corciranians*, valiante men by sea, and expulsed the *Liburnians*, and so the *Corciranians* making a next inhabitance, it is taken to be a Greeke poste, and they changing the name as vnlucky, called it *Epidamnus*, by the name of the old Citie. *Thucydides* doth name it so, yet this name hath preuayled, and it is called *Dirrachium*. The Consuls and their company came to this Citie. *Pompey* abode at *Brunduse*, and gathered together the rest of the army. He tarried for the Shyppes that carried the Consuls. He made the Towne strong, to keepe *Caesar* from the walles, and in the euening tyde, sayled with his company, leauyng the boldest Souldyers to defende the Towne, the whyche also in the nyghte sayled ouer wth good winde. Thus *Pompey* with all his armye leste *Italy*, and sayled into *Epirus*. *Caesar* stode in doubt whyche way to turne him, & where to begyn the warre, sayng well that all the force on euery syde flowed to *Pompey*. He feared the army that *Pompey* had in *Spain* very great and expert.

Corcyrans lie of the Ile Corfu.

Thucydides.

Consuls arrived at Dirrachus.

Pompey leaueth Italy.

least whiles he followed his fleeing enimie, they should beset him on the backehalfe, therefore he thoughte it best to trye the fielde first with these in *Iberia*. He deuided his power in fyue partes, some he lefte at *brunduse*, some at *Hidrunto*, and some at *Tarento*, as garrisons for *Italy*. Other he sente with *Quintus Valerius* to get *Sardinia*, an Ile plentiful of Corne, and he gotte it. *Asinius Pollio* he sente into *Cicche*, where *Cato* was Lieutenant, who asked hym whether he had authozitie from the Senate, or the people, to enter violently into another mans prouince: he answered, that he that was Lord of *Italy* had sente him. *Cato* answered agayne, that because he would spare the inhabitance, he would deferre the reuenge till another time, and so sayled into *Corcyra* to *Pompey*.

*Caesar* came to *Rome*, and comforted the people with hope and promises, being stricken with the feare and memorie of *Sylla* and *Marius* euill times. He said further, that he would vse currellie to his enimies. As when he had taken *Lucius Domitius*, he let him go with all his money unhurt. He brake the lockes of the common treasure, and threatened death to *Metellus* the Tribune that would haue resisted him, and toke away the money that no man durst touch, being layd vp there, against the inuassions of *France*, with publike execratiō to them that did stirre or remoue it, vnlesse for the warre of *Celtica*: *Caesar* sayd, I haue ouercome those *French* *Celts*, and haue deliuered the Citie of that execration. He made *Emilius Lepidus* Gouvernoure of the Citie, and *Marcus Antonius*, the Tribune of *Italy*, and the confederate army in it. Abroade he sent into *Sicilie*, *Curio* to succede *Cato*, *Quintus* to *Sardinia*, & *Cneus Antonius* to *Illiria*, and to *France* within the *Alpes*, he appoynted *Licinius Crassus*. He commaunded two legions of yong souldyers to be ready with speede, and to lye at the coastes, both of the *Tuscan*, and *Venetian* seas, to whome, for Captaines by the sea, he sent *Hortensius*, and *Dolabella*.

*Caesar* hauing thus made *Italy* too strong for *Pompey* to enter, he went into *spayne*, and at his firste encounter with *Afranius* and *Petrenius*, Lieutenantes to *Pompey*, he seemed too weakie. When they ioyned together moze at hande aboute the Citie *Ilerda*,

*Caesar*

*Caesar* lay in barraine rocky places, and was fayne to fetch his victuals by the passage of the riuer *Syrus*: a sodayne flood came and bare away the bridge, whereby a great number left in the straites, were slayne of *Petrenius*, and *Caesar* himselfe with his other army, was much molested, with the harde place, with hunger, sharpe season, and with his enimies, so as he was little better than besieged there til the sommer came. *Afranius* & *Petrenius* went into the furder parte of *spaine* to gather another armye. *Caesar* prevented them, stopping their passage, and compelled them to retyre from whence they came. In doing of this, he compelled a parte of their army that came to take vp grounde for their campe. They helde their shields to their heades, which is a token of yelding. *Caesar* neyther toke them, nor hurt them, but suffered them vntouched to goe to *Afranius*, and by such meane, he waime his enimies harts in all places.

Hereof was manye conuenticles among the souldiers, and talke of reconciliation by the whole multitude. Wherevpon it seemed good to *Afranius* and some other, to leaue *spaine* to *Caesar*, and to depart safe to *Pompey*: but *Petrenius* was agaynst it, and raime among the souldiours, and killed them that made those meetings for *Caesar*, and were come from him, and killed one of his owne Captaines also that would haue stayed his furye. Wherefore they were the moze in their mindes inclined to *Caesar* so gentle, and offended with *Petrenius* that was so passionate. After that *Caesar* kept water from them: and *Petrenius* being in necessitie, came with *Afranius* to a parlour with *Caesar*, both armies beholding them. They agreede to leaue *spayne* to *Caesar*, and that he shoulde conuey them safe to the flood *Varus*, and from thence to suffer them to goe to *Pompey*. When *Caesar* was come to that floude, he called all the Romaine and Italian souldiours, & thus spake vnto them.

„ Enimyes (for vsing that name to you, I shall the better declare my minde) neyther dyd I dyspathe you, when you were sente to gette ground for your Campe, and yelded your selues to me, neyther dyd I hurt an other parte of your army, who I helde from water, although *Petrenius* did destroy myne, whom

D.

he

*Enchiridion*.  
*Hypodromus* *noxe*  
*Olympos*.  
*Tarentum*.  
*Sardinia*.  
*Cicche*.  
*Cato*.  
*Quintus*.  
*Valerius*.  
*Pompey*.

*Caesar* to *Rome*.

*Caesar* taketh  
the treasure.

*M. Antonius*.

*Hortensius*.  
*Dolabella*.  
*Caesar* into *Spain*.  
*Afranius*, and  
*Petrenius*.  
*Ilerda* a Citie in  
*Spain*, at the  
floude *Ayore*.

*Caesar* in distresse.

Atoken of  
yelding.

*Caesar* gentle-  
nature.

*Petrenius* furious.

he toke at the floud *Sicrie*: If I haue any thanks of you for the same, shewe it then to al them, that serue in *Pompeys* campe. When he had thus sayd, he sent them freely away, and appointed *Quintus C. C. C.* to the gouernement of *Iberia*. Thus *Cæsar* began.

*Cæsar* hath  
8. page.

*Albius* *Varus*,  
his brother  
for page.

*Imperator* *V. V.*  
the name in  
Latin for such  
a generall.

*Scipio* tentes,  
V. Water pay so-  
red.

*Curio* aims in-  
fected.

*Iuba*

In *Lybia* *Asinius Varus* was Lieutenant for *Pompey*, and *Iuba* king of *Mauritania* did assist him. *Curio* sailed against them out of *Sicilie* with two whole Legions, twelue Gallies, and many shippes of burden, landing at *Vtica*. He skirmished wyth certayne *Numidian* horsemen, and put them to flight. He would needs be called generall Captaine, his army being yet but entering into armes. This hono<sup>r</sup> is giuen to Captaines, and the name cometh from the Shoulbours, as witnesse to them to be worthy to be such generals: and thys honour, the Captaines in olde tyme obtained after all and many great assayes. Now as I heare, the limitation to thys title, is to ouerthrowe tenne thousande men. Whyles *Curio* was comming by shippe from *Sicilie*, they that were in *Lybia*, thinking that he, for the gloze of the name, would encampe at a place called *Scipios tentes*, as one that had emulatio<sup>n</sup> of his renoune, they poisoned the water, and were not deceyued of their hope, for *Curio* lodged there, and by and by the army was sicke. They that drunke, had their sight daseled as in a cloude, and heauynesse of slepe in the head, many vomites of they<sup>r</sup> meate, and a shrincking ouer all their body. Wherfore *Curio* remoued to *Vtica* it selfe, leaving his army feeble for sicknesse by a great and strong marish ground: but when they heard of *Cæsar*'s victo<sup>r</sup>y in *Spain*, they toke courage agayne, and placed themselues nigh the sea in a steepht waye. they foughte fiercely there, *Curio* losing but one man, and *Varo* sixe hundred, and many moe wounded. King *Iuba* coming forth, a false rumour was raysed, that at the floud *Bagrada* not farre off, he returned backe because hys Kingdome was invaded of hys neyghbours, leaving hys Lieutenant *Saburra* wyth a fewe at the floud. *Curio* giuing credite to thys tale in the seruente heate, at the thirde houre of the day, led the best

part

parte of his armye against *Saburra*, through sandy and deserte drye places. For if there were any winter brooke, it was dryed by the heate of the sunne, and the floud was kept of *Saburra*, and the king himselfe yet still present there. *Curio* ranne by to the hill toppes, choked with thirst, & heate. When the enemies sawe him so euill bestadde, they passed the river boldly with a readinesse to fight. *Curio*, very vnwisely and vnskillfully wyth his weake army being compassed with the *Numidian* horsemen, came downe, and for a tyme giuing place, broughte his meene within a little compasse: but being ouercharged, hee fledde agayne to the hill toppes. *Asinius Pollio* at the beginning of thys businesse, with a fewe, fledde to the campe at *Vtica*, least *Varus* shoulde attempte any thyng by the noyse of this euill fortune. *Curio* made a desperate fighte, and was killed with all that were with him, so as there was not one left to goe to *Pollio* to *Vtica*. This was the ende of the fighte at the floud *Bagrada*. *Curio*'s head was cutte off, and brought to *Iuba*. When this mischaunce was knowne to the army at *Vtica*, *Flamma* the Admirall fledde, with hys nauie, before hee receyued any man from the lande. *Asinius* toke a boate and wente to the Merchantes that were at the porte, and prayed them to receyue hys armie, and conuey them away. Some of them in the nighte came forthwarde for thys purpose, and the Shoulbours wente on with suche number, as some botes were drowned, and they that were vpon the Sea and had money, the Merchantes threwe them into the same for conetousnesse thereof. This was their happye vpon the Sea, whiche was littell better by lande to them that were lesse all that night, who in the mornyng yielded to *Varo*. But *Iuba* came and sette them all at the wall, and shotte them to death, as the remnant of hys victorie, nothyng regarding though *Varo* prayde him to the contrarie. Thus the Romaines losse two legions, that sailed wyth *Curio* into *Libia*, and all the horse, ministers, and venturers of the Campe. *Iuba* returned home, making boaste hee had done so greate a feate for hys friende *Pompey*.

The distress of  
*Curio*.

*Curio* killed.

*Flamma* fledde.

Conetise of  
Merchants.

Romaine Soul-  
diers shotte to  
death.

D. H.

At

At this tyme *Antonius* in *Illyria* was overcome of *Octavius* *Dalabell* *Pompey* *Licutenant*: and another armye of *Cæsars* at *Placentia*, did reuolte againste their Captaines, crying that they were holden in long war, and not payed the fine poundes which *Cæsar* promised them at *Brundise*. *Cæsar* hearing of it, came poste from *Masilia*, and thus spake to the souldiours that yet were in a mutenie: What spæde I vse in euery thing, you can witnesse wpth me: this warre is holden long, not by vs, but by our enemies that sayeth vs: you that in *Fraunce*, by mine autoritye haue gayned wel, and haue bounde your selues to me, for al this warre, not for a parte, nolve in the myddest of the matter, you forsake me, you doe disobey your Captaines, and goe about to commaunde them, of whome you ought to receyue commendement: wherfore being a sufficiente witnesse to my selfe of my former affection vnto you, I will nolve vse *Petrus* Law, and of the nineth Legion, from whence tumulte chieflye arose, I wil put to death the tenth man.

Great lamentation was made throughout the whole Legion: wherfore these Captaines on their knees prayed hym for pardon. He hardly and at length graunted, and came to this only, that anye 120. that were maiste busie, shoulde bee taken by lotte, and twelue of their Captaines of bandes, be put to death: for one of the twelue, whiche was not presente, nor a meeler in this mutenye, he caused his accuser to suffer for hym.

After this sorte was the sedition at *Placentia* appeased. *Cæsar* went to *Rome*, and the people for feare chose hym Dictator, neyther the Senate allowing it, nor none officer pronouncing it: but hee, refusing that dignitie, eyther as odious, or superfluous, ruling onely eleauen dayes (as some say) appointed Consuls for the reste of the tyme, hymselfe, and *Seruius Tauricus*.

The presidents of prouinces eyther he appoynted or altered at his pleasure. *Marcus Lepidus* into *Spayne*, *Aulus Albinus* into *Sicilie*, into *Sardania* *Sextus Peduceus*, into newe *Fraunce* *Decimus Brutus*, to the people oppressed with famine, he gaue victuals, and at their requeste, pardoned al fugitiues, except *Drilo*. The people

people desiring also a cutting off of debte, bycause thinges bare no price, by reason of the wars and seditions, he denyed it them, but he appointed Purueyors of victuals, whiche in steade of the debte, shoulde take order betwene the creditours and the debtors. When he had done this, he sente all his army to *Brundise* in the deade of the winter, and hymselfe went forth in December, not tarying for the election of newe officers, tyll the newe yeare that was at hand. The people followed him, and prayed hym to be at one with *Pompey*, for now it was very euident, that he that ouercame woulde be a ruler alone, but he went on, and leste nothing that was to be done with power and spæde.

*Pompey* at this tyme made ships, and still gathered greater armies, and more money. He toke fortye of *Cæsars* shippes, in the *Ionian* sea, and wayted for his coming. He exercised his people, ryding and running among them, and doing euery labor beyond his olde yeares, whereby he got much loue, and euery man came to see *Pompeys* exercises, as to a spectacle.

*Cæsar* had tenue legions of footemen, and ten thousand French horsemen. *Pompey* hadde five legions, with which hee sailed out of *Italy*, and as many horsemen, as with them were appoynted: two out of *Parthia*, the remnant of them that serued with *Crassus*, & another part that with *Gabinus* invaded *Egipt*. So had he of *Italians* in all eleuen legions and seauen thousande horsemen. His confederates were of *Ionie*, of *Macedonia*, of *Poloponeso*, and *Acetia*, wpth archers of *Creta*, slingers of *Thracia*, and all other that vse artillerie aboute *Pontus*. Some horsemen of the weaste French, some of the east, of the *Sirians* sent by *Antiochus*, *Cilicians* and *Capadacians*, and some of *Armenia* the lesse, *Pamphilia* and *Pisidia*, not al for the fight, but for garrisons, munitions, and other seruices of the *Italian* army. Thus he thoughte good to vse the that none of the *Italians* shoulde be drawne from the daye of battell. This was his army by land.

By Sea he hadde syxe hundred Gallies furnished at the ful, whereof one hundred were of Romaines conduct, whych hee appoynted to leade the other, and many hulkes and other ships of burden, wpth officers Admiralls, whereof *Marcus Bibulus* was

*Cæsars* both  
winter voyage.

*Cæsars* army.

*Pompeys* army.

*D.ij.*

was

was chiefe.

When al these things were prepared, he assembled as many  
 Senatours and Romaine Gentlemen, as were present, and all  
 the army, into a place where he might be harde, & thus said vnto  
 them. The *Athenienſes* also (his friends) dydde leaue their Citie  
 to fight for their libertie, agaynſte them that ſpoiled it, they  
 thinking, not houses, but men to be their Citie. In doyng of  
 the whyche, they recovered it againe, and shortly made it more  
 glorious. Our progenitors likewise, when the *Frenche* Celtes  
 invaded, forsooke the Citie, which *Camilus* coming from *Ar-*  
*dea* did restore agayne. All wylle men thinke their Countrey  
 to be, where their liberty is: whyche we considering, haue  
 sayled hither, not leaping oure Countrey, but preparying for  
 it, and innalpe to defend it, agaynſte him that doeth violently  
 invade it, and by corruption, and taketh Italy desolated, whom  
 you haue declared an enemy, he now sends presidents into your  
 Provinces, appoynteth some Gouernours in the Citie, and some  
 in the Countrey. By this insolencie he hath taken from the  
 people their authoritie, and if he doth this, being yet in conten-  
 tion, and with feare, and as one, that with Gods helpe, shal bee  
 punished for it, what crueltie and violence thinke ye, wyl he  
 leaue vndore that thus vseth his country, if he get the victorie?  
 Some there be that take his parte for mony, which he gathered  
 in France that belongeth to you, who chose rather to bee slaves  
 to him, than to liue free with vs. I do not refuse the fight with  
 you and for you, but do offer my selfe a souldior or a Captaine,  
 as you wyl vse me, & if I haue any experience in the war, or as  
 my felicitie vnsported hitherto. I pray the Gods to graunte mee  
 al at this present, & to be such a defender vnto my country in dan-  
 ger, as I haue bin in aduancing the same. We oughte to putte  
 oure trust in God, and in our cause, which hath an honest & iust  
 desire of war for the common wealth of our Countrey, & in the  
 abundance of our prouision, both by sea and land, whiche we al-  
 ready haue, & more, in that we shal haue when we take the thing  
 in hand: For al the nations (as a man may say, fro y<sup>e</sup> East to y<sup>e</sup>  
*Euxine* sea) al y<sup>e</sup> *Grecians* & *Barbarians* be with vs, al kings y<sup>e</sup> be  
 friends.

*Senators Oratio.*

*The Atheniens*  
 leave their Citie  
 by the persuasio  
 of *Themistocles*.

*Ardea in Lupa.*

stands so y<sup>e</sup> *Romains* & to me, haue sente armies, weapons, bit-  
 tails, & al other necessaries. Therfore go to it cherefully, as to a  
 thing woorthy your countrey, your selues, & me, & being mindful  
 of *Casars* dispitifulnesse, with specke fulfil that shal be appointed  
 you. This he said. Al the army, and as many Senatours & Gen-  
 tlemen as were there, which was a greate and a goodly company,  
 with one voice did praise hym, & praised hym to leade them as he  
 thought good. Then he set some ships to keepe the sea, and sente  
 his army to winter at *Macedonia*, thinking *Cesar* woulde defer  
 sayling ouer till after winter, the tyme being harde, and the seas  
 rough, and haue remayned at *Rome*, bycause he was Consull, and  
 settle hys rule there: so far amisse did he coniecture of that that  
 was to come. For *Cesar*, as I sayd before, in the midst of winter  
 did go to *Brunis*, supposing he shoulde most amaze his enemies,  
 by coming on the sodayn. Therfore neither hauing victuall,  
 nor prouision, nor all his army there, he called the that were pre-  
 sent to an assembly, and thus said vnto them:

Neither the hardenesse of the tyme, (his friends) that is ync-  
 wyth me in this moste noble enterpryse, neyther the delay of  
 others, nor the want of conuenient preparation, doe wythdral  
 me from my purpose: for surely I thinke that expedition is the  
 best way for me, and we that be firme here, to go first on with  
 the matter. As for seruants, carriage and baggage, I thinke it  
 beste to leaue behynde vs, that the shippes that be nowe here,  
 may receiue vs only as passengers, and we deceiue our enni-  
 mies, and sette good fortune agaynſte euil tyme, bold courage, a-  
 gaynſte our sinall number, and our enemies plenty, agaynſt our  
 penury, all the which shal be in oure power, if we thinke no-  
 thing to be our owne, but that we shal winne by force. Let vs  
 go therfore agaynſte their slaves, their prouision and victualles,  
 whiles they be in houses for feare of winter weather. Lette vs  
 goe whiles *Pompey* trusts that I spende the winter in shewes  
 and sacrifices of a Consull. You knowe that I take the chiefeſte  
 point in warres, to be attempts of the sodayne. It is honoura-  
 ble to present the first opinion of things to come, and so foresee  
 are receit there, for the y<sup>e</sup> follow vs next. I haue thoughte this  
 tyme

*Pompey* is decei-  
 ued in *Casars*  
 doings.

*Cesar* to hye  
 souldiours.

*Expedition.*

*Attempts*  
 dayes.

,time meeter to hast, than to stay: that Pompey, who thinks I am  
,yet at Rome, aboute my Consulship, may see me at hys campe,  
,and thoughte that I am wel assured of youre good willes, yet I  
,tarry for your answere.

All the army cryed with great vehemencie, that hee shoulde  
leade them forth. When he came from hys seate, and had them  
to the sea, being five legions of footemen, and six hundred horse-  
men chosen, lying at anker, bycause of the rough seas.

The winter Sunne was at the lowest, and the winde kepte  
hym backe agaynst his will and euill content, who tarried at  
*Brundise* till the first day of the newe yeare. Then came there to  
hym two legions more, whome he conueyed ouer that winter in  
hulkes, for he hadde but fewe Gallies, and they were lefte for  
the custody of *sicilie* and *sardina*. He was by tempest driuen to  
y mount *Cerauno*, from whence he sent hys many backe to fetch  
the reste of hys army. He in the night went to the Citie of *Orico*,  
and for the hard, straighte, and rocky way, was compelled to di-  
uide his army into many partes, as the sharpenesse of the coun-  
trei mighte serue, so as if hys commyng had bene knowne, hee  
might easily haue bin kept backe. Aboute the bryake of the day,  
with muche ado, he gathered his army together.

The people of the Citie saide vnto the Gouvernoꝝ, that it was  
not lawfull to keepe oute the Romaine Consul when he came,  
therfore the Gouvernour deliuered the keyes to *Caesar*, and conti-  
nued with hym in place of honoꝝ.

*Lucretius* and *Minutius* on the other side of *Orico*, with eighteen  
Galleys to garde the vittuall that came by shippe to Pompey,  
drownded their ships, that *Caesar* shoulde not take them, and fled  
to *Durazzo*. From *Orico* *Caesar* went to *Appellonia*, where he was  
receiued of the Citizens, and *staminius* the Gouvernour left the  
Citie.

Where *Caesar* calling hys souldiours together, putte them in re-  
membraunce, what they had done by good fortune in the harde  
winter: they were Lords of the sea without shippes, they hadde  
wonne *Orico* and *Palona*, without fight: they had gotten their ex-  
minues things, Pompey being yet ignorant. Nowe (sayeth he) if  
we

*Caesar* is driuen  
by weather.

*Orico*.

*Caesar* hath *Orico*,  
a Citie of *Eprou*  
in the marches  
of *Macedonia*.

*Tiberius* is the  
Sonne of the  
Greeke

*Durazzo* is the  
harbour of the  
Turkes, but lately it  
was gotten by  
the *Portugues*.

,we can catch *Durazzo*, whiche is the Baron of Pompeys proui-  
,sion, all is in our handes, that they haue bin labouring for an  
,whole Sommer. When he had sayd thus, he ledde them with  
speede to *Durazzo* a long way, resting neyther day nor nyghte.

Pompey hearing this, came with great hast from *Macedonia*, cut-  
ting downe the trees as he went, to stoppe the way to *Caesar*. He  
pulled downe bridges, and burnt all prouision by the way, thyn-  
king it (as it was in deede) to be a good deuise, for to haue onely  
that preparation that mighte serue himselfe. If any dust, fyre,  
or smoke were sene to eyther of them a farre off, thinking it had  
bin of the contrary part, they stroue who shoulde runne fastest,  
sparring no time, neyther from meate nor sleape. Hast there was  
and speede, with crying out vpon them that ledde the with torches  
lightes, whereof grew disorder and feare, as the enimies had bin  
at their heeles: some for wearinesse threwe downe their burthens,  
or withdrew themselves aside into some coznors, thinking it  
better to be leste behinde with present rest, than to goe on to it,  
withoute feare of the enimie. Both sides taking these paynes,

Pompey came firste to *Durazzo*, and encamped at the walles. By  
his spaulie he gotte *Orico* agayne and gaue, better guard for the  
sea. *Caesar* lay ouer against Pompey, the flood *Alone* flowing be-  
twene them. There were diuers skirmishes by them that passed  
the flood, but they neuer broughte forth the their whole power, for  
Pompey did trayne his yong souldiours, and *Caesar* looked for the  
rest from *Brundise*. He thoughte, that if they came forth in the  
spring in greate shippes, they could not escape the Gallies of  
Pompey, that scowred the seas, and wayted for them: but if they  
did come forth in winter, when the enimie must many tymes  
take the Islands for their harborough, they might escape them,  
or by the winde or their waighte, mighte passe throughe them,  
whereupon he sente for them with great hast, and bycause they  
came not when he looked, he purposed himselfe to goe to them,  
for that they would be not so sone come with an other, and kepte  
his determination secrete. He sente thre of his seruants to the  
flood, twelue furlongs off, to hire a swifte vessell of good prouise,  
as for one that should be dispatched from *Caesar*. He rose from the

Pompey maketh  
hast to *Durazzo*.

Hast with  
confusion.  
Pompeys army.

Pompey cometh  
to *Durazzo* be-  
fore *Caesar*, and  
getteth agayne  
*Orico*.  
*Alone* floude.

table, as not wel at ease, and had his friends sitte still. He put on a private garnēt, & in a Coach came to the Ship, as he that was sent of *Caesar*: in the rest he vseth his seruantes to call on, he being wapt, and for the night, altogether unknowen. The wind was very rough, the seruants exhorted the maister to make back, & they might escape their enemies which were at hand. The maister passed the floud very speedily, with the strength of oares, but whē he came to the mouth of y<sup>e</sup> floud, the waues of y<sup>e</sup> sea beating against it with boisterous billowes, and he, as though the enemy had solowed, labouring to y<sup>e</sup> bittermost, & nothing preuailed, gaue it quite ouer. Thē *Caesar* bewaied himselfe, & said aloud, Be bold, stande against the storme, thou carrest *Caesar*, and *Caesar's* fortune. The Marriners amazed at y<sup>e</sup> voyce, receiued courage againe, and by very force gotte the Ship out of the floudes mouth, but by the rage of y<sup>e</sup> sea, and y<sup>e</sup> billowes y<sup>e</sup> were bigge, the Ship was driuen to y<sup>e</sup> shoze. Day dawning nere, the marriners were afrayd to be spyed of the enemies: but *Caesar* cursed his enuious fortune, & bade the Shipmaister turne home againe, which was quickly done, the wind serming thzough the floud. Some blamed *Caesar* for his boldnesse, some accused him, as taking a thing in hād scarcely fitte for a souldiour, much lesse for a generall. Solue he perceiuing he could be no more unknowen, sent *Posthumus* to saile in his place, and bid *Cabinus* bying the army by Sea, and if they refused him, to come with *Antony*, or with *Calpurnius*, and if all these sayled, he had letters to the rest, that they shuld solow *Posthumus*, and take land where they could get it, and not care for the ships, for he had neede of men, & not of ships. Thus did *Caesar* trust in fortune, contrary to reason. *Pompey* intending to take y<sup>e</sup> aduantage, brought forth his people to fight, and two of his souldiers passing y<sup>e</sup> floud where it was lowest, one of *Caesar's* came againste them, & killed the both, wherefore *Pompey* retired, not liking that lucke, serming to al other to lose a very good opportunity. *Posthumus* sayled safe to *Anduse*, but *Cabinus*, not obeying y<sup>e</sup> commandment, wuld needes leade as many as solowed him thzough *Illyria*, withoute any rest, all the which were almost slayne by the *Illyrians*, which *Caesar* suffered, for the necessitie of time. *Antony* by shippe brought the other

*Caesar* goeth  
secretly from  
Pompey to  
ward *Anduse*.

*Caesar* bewaies  
eth himselfe.

*Caesar* is blaz-  
med,  
*Caesar* sendeth  
for his men.

*Antony*

One of *Caesar's*,  
killeth two of  
*Pompey's*.

*Pompey* retirith

*Calpurnius* taketh  
men in *Illyria*.

other toward *Thana*, with good and sul winde, but about midday the winds waxing calme, twenty of *Pompey's* Ships that scoured the seas espyed him, & came vpon them, who in that calme were in great feare, least the stemmes of the Gallies shoulde boze the or drowne them, and vsing the best way, made ready their darts & slings to keepe the off, when suddainely, a greater wind than the first arose, which they took, and with their maine sayle passed through beyond their hope. The other being tossed with y<sup>e</sup> storme & the wind, making raging seas, were scattered and driuen to the rocky shozes, only two of *Caesar's* were taken falling vpon y<sup>e</sup> flats. *Antony* brought y<sup>e</sup> rest to a place called *Nymphy*. Now had *Caesar* al his army, and so had *Pompey*. They encamped the one against the other vpon hill toppes, making forts and mountes, about the which there was many assaults and skirmishes, the one seeking to oppresse the other, and at one of these skirmishes, where *Caesar's* mis had y<sup>e</sup> worse. *Scena* a Captayne, very notable for his valiantnesse, was stricken in the eye with a dart, which done, he lepte before the rauke, making toke of silence, as though he woulde haue saide somewhat. When he called to a Captaine of *Pompey's*, who was esteemed noble, and sayd vnto him, *saue one lyke thee, saue thy friends*, send some that may leade me away by hād, bycause I am hurt: two men came running to him as a fugitiue, of whome the one he killed right out, the other he cut off his shoulber. This he did, being in doubt both of himselfe, and of the fort. The other being ashamed of their faulte, came againe lastly, and recouered their fort. The great valiantnesse also of *Minutius* a trenchkeper did help much, for in his Target they say was solid *Crr*. darts, & he wounded in vi. places, beside the losse of one eye also, both the which, *Caesar* did honoz with great gifts, appertaining to souldiers. He thought to haue had *Dura* by treason, & came in the night to the gates with a felwe at the Temple of *Diana*. Thys winter, *Pompey's* father in law did bying another army from *Syria*, with whome *Caius Calpurnius* did encounter, and was overcome, losing a legion saue eight hundred. Now *Caesar* had nothing by sea, all being kepte by *Pompey's* paucie, wherefore hys armye was in great want, and eate bread made of grasse and weedes, whiche

*Caesar* shipped  
escape *Pompey's*  
Galleys.  
*Nymphy* an Island  
seems valiant  
nesse.

\* This Souldier  
as *Caesar* vryght  
toke of him, re-  
ceiued a dart  
Dart on hys  
Shield, and a  
pricke, and 70  
wounds on his  
bodye at thys  
tyme, and of a  
nother in *France*,  
when his head-  
piece was bro-  
ken, and he hurt  
in the face, and  
in the thigh, hys  
shielde stricken  
dovne, hys  
sword broken,  
he lepte into the  
Sea, armed as he  
was, and came  
safe to *Caesar*,  
crying *parce mi*  
*pirator*, bycause  
it was a fault to  
bee vnarmed.  
*Plutarch* telleth  
of such another,  
vvhē *Caesar* was  
in *Englande*, and  
hee nameth one  
*Teilius*, but no-  
thing is sayde of  
*Minutius*. The I-  
talian translation  
addeth more, &  
otherwise than  
is in the Texte.  
*Minutius*, It  
should seeme  
that ore is takē  
for another.  
*Caesar* toleth a  
legion of *Calpurnius*  
*Caesar* in vvanite.  
πρά. The  
weede that  
groweth of it  
is called  
It Char.

D. H.

certaine

Pompey would  
forth with  
Caesar men.

Pompey refused  
the fight.

The enterprise  
of Caesar.

Eight furlongs  
maketh a myle.

A fight.

Caesar repelled.

Fear of Caesar  
men.

Pompey would  
not follow.

certaine fugitiues shewed to Pompey as a good token, but he toyed nothing at it, but sayde, *with what beastes doe we fight?* Caesar being driuen by necessitie, broughte forth all his army, to force Pompey to fight, but he, though many of his new Castles, were thereby abandoned, yet would not stirre, wherewith Caesar being maruellously grieued, toke in hand an enterpryse, both difficult and strange, and that was, to environ Pompeys Camp from Sea to Sea, which as it was a great thing to do, so if it toke not place, yet should it carrie a fame of glory for the noble enterpryse, for it was a thousande and two hundred furlongs, and yet he toke it in hand. Pompey made Contrewoykes and walles. And thus both busied themselves to defeat the other, and at the last there was a great fight betwene them, in the which Pompey dyd very valiantly overthrow Caesars Souldiours, and followed the fleeing to their Campe. He toke many of their ensignes, and the Eagle, which is the chiefe Standerd to the Romaines with much ado was saued by the bearers regarde, and throwne into the Trench. This fleeing being so notorious, Caesar came on with another company, whiche was no lesse a frayde, for though Pompey were a good way off, yet could they not abide his sight, nor stay, though they were hard at their Camp, neyther goe in order, nor obey Caesars commaundements, but every one fledde whether he would, neuer looking backe, without shame, without commaundement, or reason. Caesar ranne about, and with rebuke did shewe them, that Pompey was farre off, and beheld them how they threw downe their ensignes, and fledde. Some with muche adoe stood still as men amazed, looking on the ground for shame, such a confusion fell vpon them. There was one that turned his ensigne, and thrust the point againste the Generall, who was killed of Caesars gard. They went into the Camp, did not returne to their places, but left all forsaken, and the Trench vnkempt. It was then thought, if Pompey had come forth with his power, he had made an end of all the warre, with one feate: but *Leuinus* (God so working it) perswaded him rather to pursue them that fledde, and he somewhat slow of himselfe, or peradventure distrusting that some traynes hadde bin layde in the Campe for him, or by cause

cause he contemned to do it, as though the warre were now ended. He set vpon them that were yet abroade, whercof he killed many, and that daye in two fights he toke eyght and twenty Banners, leauing the other occasion, that mighte haue made an ende of all, which Caesar could not denye, but that that day had ended the warre, if his enemies could haue vfed the victoꝝ.

Pompey ioyfull of this victoꝝ, sente letters of it to Kings and Cities, and thoughte that Caesars Souldiours would haue reuolted vnto him, oppressed with famine, and ouerthrowe in fight, and specially his Captaynes for feare of their offence, but they (God working repentance in them) lamented their faulte, and where Caesar rebuked them gently, and gave them pardon, they were the more angry with themselves, and with a mutation beyond reason, required him, after their Countrey manner, to take them out by lotte, and to kill euery tenth man. But when Caesar would not graunt to that, they were the more grieued, and confessed he was vnworthely injured by them, and cryed, that the insigne bearers mighte be punished, as though they should not haue fledde, if the standers had not turned. Caesar would not grant to this neyther, but punished a fewe for a fashion, whereby so great a courage throught this moderation entred into them, as they desired him he would forthwith set vpon his enemies, and very earnestly they exhorted and encouraged him to it, promising to amend their fault with a notable victoꝝ, and they resorted together in heapes, and sware in Caesars sight neuer to returne from the fildes, vntill they gotte the fight. His souldiers wished hym to vse this repentance and promptnesse of the armye, but he sayde vnto the multitude, that he would at a better opportunitye leade them againste their enemies, and badde them then remember this forwardnesse. But to his friends he sayde, that before he dyd that, he must take out of the heartes the feare that was in them for the late losse, and to farrise, till the fiercenesse of the enemy were abated: then dyd he confesse, that he had erred, in placing his Campe at *Dysarchio*, where all Pompeys preparation was, and that it behoued hym to seeke other places, and draw Pompey where he mighte haue the lyke wante,

Repentance of  
Caesars Souldy-  
ers.

Caesars mildnesse  
in punishment.

Caesars reuol-  
ution.

10.11.

which

Gomphie given in  
spoyle, the little  
City in Thessaly,  
going frō Ep̄ro.

Germanes in Ca-  
sars time, a  
drunkē people.

Cesar encampeth  
at Pharsalia, be-  
fore Pompey ar-  
riueth from  
Duraçco.  
The veyling  
death of diuers  
at Gomphie.

Affaires,

Diversitie of  
opinion.

Both Cesar and  
Pompey encamp  
at Pharsalia.

which when he had sayd, he wente straight to *Kallonia*, and from thence to *Thessaly* secretly by night. *Gomphie* a little Citie that would not receyue him, he toke in his rage, and gaue it to his souldyers to spoyle. The souldyers that had bin long pyned, shaled themselves of all things excessively, and were drunken out of measure, especially the *Germanes* were iested at for their drunkennesse. And now agayne it was thought, that *Pompey* mighte haue come on, and done some notable feat, but he by negligence, vnterly omitted to stirre, till *Cesar* had marched seauen dayes, and camped at *Pharsalia*. In *Gomphie* they say was sene a notable chance, dead bodyes of noble old men, did lie openly in a whistling shoppe, with cuppes in their hands, without woundes, to the number of twenty, as though they hadde bin inuited to a dymming, lying all vpon the ground, and one sitting in a chaire as a Whistler, that gaue them the portion of recreation.

*Pompey* made a counsell concerning *Casars* removing. *Afranius* was in opinion, that the Navy which was great, should be sent against *Cesar*, they being Lordes of the Sea, he myghte cut off things from hym, being in want, and in a wandring journey, and that *Pompey* hymselfe should leade the army of the lande into *Italy*, whiche was yet enclyned vnto him, and hope of enimes, and so being Lord of it, *France* and *Spaine*, he mighte deale wth *Cesar* at home from the principall parte. But he neglecting this that had bin best to haue bin done, followed them that said, that *Casars* army by any by would forsake him for famine, or not long lyke to hold out, for the victorie wonne at *Duraçco*, whereas contrarywise, it should be a great shame to leaue *Cesar* slepyng, and that he that had overcome, should seme to fle, as though he were overcome. He giuing place to these reasons, and for the regarde that he had of the nations of the East, that depended vpon hym, and fearing least *Lucius Scipio* should receyue any harme in *Macedonia*, and before all, hauing a mind to vse his army, that was so couragious to fight, he removed, and set his Camp against *Cesar* at *Pharsalia*, about foure miles asunder.

So *Pompey*, victual was brought frō euery place, for the wayes, the postes, and storehouses, were so open vnto him, that by land

he lacked nothing, and by sea, whosocuer winde blew, it serued his turne.

*Cesar* hadde onely suche foode as he coulde get by dayly force, and yet none of his did forsake him, but by a diuine instinct, required they mighte geue battell, thinking themselves to be farre better than the other yong souldyours, bycause they had served in the warres tenne yeares together. But now to spende the tyme in making of mountes and trenches, and cariage of victual, they were the weaker, bycause of theyr age, therefore it was better to trye all at once with labour, than by tolence to be punished wth famine. When *Pompey* vnderstood this, he thought it dangerous to deale wth such expert men, that cared not for themselves, and to aduenture all at one worke against *Casars* noble fortune. He thought it surer, and lesse dangerous, to consume them wth want, hauing no power to be relæued by land, nor no vse of the Sea, nor not a schyppe to conuey themselves away at a neede. Thus he determined by very good reason to delay the warre, and to drawe them from famine to famine: but the greater number of Senatours, and of them called Gentlemen that were most honored, the *Kyngs* and *Princes* that were with him, some for lacke of experience, some for folishe hardynesse for theyr victory at *Duraçco*, some, bycause they were greater in number, and some, bycause they would rather haue a short conclusion, than an honorable end, and some, bycause they were weary of the warre, all exhorted him to the fight, shewing that *Cesar* dyd allwayes prouoke hym, and invite hym to it: but he dyd vse that reason against themselves, for to *Cesar* it was necessary so to doe, but to them, delay, or conclusion, was muche better, for neede brought *Cesar* to doe as he dyd. But being still incensed by all the army, that was weary proude for the victory at *Duraçco*, and by the best sorte that objected ambition vnto hym, and therefore of purpose was so slowe, that he myghte beare rule ouer so many as good as hymselfe, and therevpon called hym *Kyng*, and *Agamemnon*, bycause he commaunded *Kynges* in the warre: he left his owne consideration, and gaue place to theires,

Abundance  
with Pompey.

VVant vwith  
Cesar.  
Courage of Ca-  
sars souldiours.

The request of  
Casars souldi-  
ours.

Pompeys consi-  
deration good,  
but not so ho-  
vved.

Pompey called  
Agamemnon.

(God

Pompeys altera-  
tion.

(God striking him now) and all the rest of that warre. He grew sickly and slowe, contrary to his nature in all things, unwillingly he prepared for the fight, to his owne destruction, and therein that gaue hym counsell. *Caesar* that nyght, hadde sente three legions to gette *Pompey*, thanking *Pompey* for his delay, and thynking he would not haue changed his mynde. He had also sente aboute for more food, but when he hearde that *Pompey* prepared for the battell, he knewe he dyd it of necessity, and that he was dyuyned to it by force of his armie, he called his armie forth with, and dyd prepare lykewyse. He at midnight made sacrifice to *Mars* and to *Venus* his auncestors, for from *Iulius*, *Aeneas* sonne, it shoulde seme by the name, that the house of *Iulius* came. He vowed to dedicate a Temple vnto hir in *Rome*, if she sauoured hym, and broughte hym victorie.

Pedigree of  
*Caesar* from  
*Venus*.

A lightning.

Tokens.

Pompeys dreame

The securitie  
of Pompeys  
army.

A lightning came from Heauen, and wente from *Caesars* Camp to *Pompeys*, and there was exting. *Pompeys* syde thoughte some notable thyng shoulde come from their enemies to them, but *Caesar* dyd expounde it, that he shoulde quenche *Pompeys* glorie. That same nyght when *Pompey* did sacrifice, the host fledde away, and coude no more be found. And a swarme of Bees lighted vpon the Altar, whiche is a little and a stinging flye. And before daye, there came a straunge seare in the Campe, the whiche *Pompey* came to seache, and after fell into a deepe slepe, and being awaked of his friends, he tolde them he dreamed he had dedicate a Temple at *Rome* to *Venus* the Victorie, not knowyng that *Caesar* hadde vowed the same.

His friends and all the host put trust in these thynges, and were glad of them, and as they bled all thynges with too much contempte and fiercenesse, so wente they to thys battayle, as though all had bin theyr owne. Many dyd decke their Tentes with Bayes, as token of victorie, and their seruantes prepared good chere for them, and some dyd contende for *Caesars* office of hygh Priest, all the which, *Pompey*, as a man experie in warre, dyd mislike, and though he were troubled, yet did he dissemble it, and helde his peace with doubt and feare, as he that now he dyd no more rule, but was commaunded of other, bycause of force, and

and againste his wyll, he did all thynges. So great a discouragement to so noble a man, that til that day, had alwayes had prosperous hap, fained on the sodaine to fall vpon hym, either for that he was not followed when he gaue good counsell, but was dyuyned to put the liues of so many in hazarde, and his owne glory, which he had kepte till that day vnsported, or for that he had some dimination of the euil, with feare that was at hande, that that day he shoulde fall from so great a Lordship, onely to his friends thus he sayde: That whosoener had the victorie that day shoulde be cause of great calamitie to the Romaines for ever. He set order for the battell, and by his wordes that he spake in that feare, many dyd gather that if he had wonne that day, he would not haue given ouer the rule.

Pompeys altera-  
tion.

Of the number that they had, whereof manie speake vncertainely, I will followe the Romaine Authours that write most reasonably of the Italians, in whome was the chiefe truste, not regarding or speakyng much of the confederates, in whom they had little affiaunce.

Caesars number.

Pompeys number.

*Caesar* had two and twenty thousande, and in them aboute a thousand horse. *Pompey* had double as many, and seauen thousand horse: so they that speake likely, say there was at thys battell. lxx. M. Italians: they that write lesse. threescore thousand: they that make moste, foure hundred thousande, whereof some saye, that *Pompey* had thre parts, and some, that of thre parts he had two.

Thus doubtfully haue they left the matter: but how many soeuer they had, their chiefe trust was in the Italians.

Of Strangers *Caesar* had French horsemen and also French men beyond the Alpes, of Grecians, Dolopians, Acarnians, & Aetolians. The helpes had *Caesar*.

*Pompey* had all the nations of the East, in heaps both of horse and fote men, of Grecians, he hadde the Lacedaemonians distributed vnder their owne kynge, the reste were Peloponnesians, and with them the Boetians. The Athenienses also came to thys warre, although both sides proclaimed they shoulde not be hurte, as the sacred men of the Law makers, drawn thither by the glory of this battayle, wherein they shoulde fighte for the

Confederates of  
*Pompey*.Pompeys  
army.

Empire of the Romaines.

After the Græks, there were but fewe of all the sea towarde the East, but the inhabitours came to Pompey, Thracians, Hellespontians, Bithinians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphilians, Psidians, Paphlagonians, Cilicians, Syrians, Phœnicians, and a nation of Hebrewes, Arabians also high vnto these, Cyprians, Rhodians, Singers of Creta and other Ilanders. Kynigs and Princes also came to abyde hym. *Leotarus* the Estrarche of the Caste Galatians, *Ariarathes* King of Capadocia, the Armenians wythin *Euphrates*, *Taxiles* did leade the Armenians beyonde *Euphrates*, *Magabates* lieutenante to *Artabathe* King. Other inferiour Lordes resorted to thys trouaile, beside thre score shippes of Egypt, sente of the Princes of the same, *Cleopatra* and hir brother, being yet a childe. But these were not vsed in the warres, nor anye of the other shippes, but all layde ydely at *Coryra*, wherein it seemeth that Pompey did cuill, to neglect so great a nauy, wherewith he myghte haue defeated his enemies of all thynges: but he trusted vpon his armye by land, and woulde trye it wyth them that for theyr continuance wyth long experience were full of courage, and as sauage people greedy of the fight, But to beware of them, the mishap, by Gods working, at *Durazzo* seemeth to be the impediment, which to *Caesar* was the fittest opportunitie of all other. For by that Pompeys armye waxed insolent, and made little accompte of their Capitayne, and toke in hande thys matter verie vnskillfully. But God hadde so appoynted it, that it shoulde come, to suche a state, as it is nowe ouer all. When eyther of them assemblyng theyr armyes, exhorted them, and firste Pompey said thus:

Pompeys Oration.  
 „ You (my fellow Souldiours) do now commaunde as Capitaynes, and not obey as Souldiours: For whereas I woulde haue consumed *Caesar*, you wyl needes call vpon the syghte: therfore as appoynters of the battayle, vse it, as the more, may do the lesse, and as vanquishers contemne them that be vanquished, and as the yong despise the olde, and as the lusty may the feeble. You haue of youre syde power, preparation,

tion, and conscience of the cause, for you trauaile for libertie, & your country, with lawe and good opinion, with such men as be Senators and Gentlemen, agaynst one man that woulde vsurpe a gouernment. So to therfore as becommeth, with good hope, and haue in your sight the fleeing away they made at *Durazzo*, and holue many of their ensignes we toke that day. This saide Pompey, but *Caesar* to his men spake thus.

The hardest (my friends) we haue ouercome, for in steade of hunger and wante, we fight wyth men. This day determineth all, remember your promise at *Durazzo*, and what you swore one to another in my presence, that you woulde not returne, but vnto vs. These be they (my Souldiours) whome we haue followed from the pillers of *Hercules*. These be they that fledde from vs Italy. These be they that after oure tenne yeares seruice, after so many enemics and victories as harde to be tolde, wonne of vs, after Spayne, Fraunce, and Britaine, broughte by vs to oure Countrey, and well nigh forty Realmes, both oppresse vs without rewarde, triumphe, or recompence. These be they whome I coulde not perswade, desiring but ryghte, to be wel thought of for my well doing. You knowe whome I deliuered vnhurt, hoping that we might haue had some iustice at their handes. Of all these, be all you togither with me reuengers thys day, euen as you knowe my carefulnesse, my faithfulness, and my free liberalitie, it is no harde matter for yong souldiours vnterperte to be overcome of them that paines haue past, and well bin tried by proue. See the youthfull contempte and dysdayne of the armye agaynst the Capitayne, so the distrust of hymselfe, whome I certainly knowe to goe to thys feate with vntwilling minde, and full of feare, falling from thys conditions, is giuen to ease and slouthfulness, and nowe not a ruler, but ouer-ruled of other. And thus much thinke, that I haue spoken vnto you of his Italians, for as for his confederats, care not for them, nor make any accompte of them, nor offer any earnest syghte to them. that be slaues of Syria, Phrygia, and Lydia, are euer ready to run away, and be kept vnder, whom I

Caesars Oration.

D.ij.

certaine

„ certain ye knowe, and yett shal euidently see, that Pompey will  
 „ not vse in ordered place of battaile. Only hee cōse of the Ita-  
 „ lians, and if the confederates in anye waye like the rebeldes  
 „ downe with them, and spare the other as yōur kinsmen, and  
 „ vse your cōfederats, for to asray them. But before al things,  
 „ remember I maye see you perswade that you haue prom-  
 „ sed, and that you maye chose either vnto deathe, pull  
 „ downe yōur Campe, and all the trenches, that wee maye haue  
 „ nothing, vntill wee haue it, lette our enemies see that we be  
 „ without Campe, and that of necessitie, wee muste encampe in  
 „ theyrs.

When he had thus saide, hee sente oute two thousande ve-  
 rye olde Souldiours, that had the charge of the Campe, who wtt  
 forth and digged downe the trench with a depe silence, and  
 filled the ditches.

When Pompey saue that, and some thoughte they made way  
 to flee, he percepued the bolde determination, and with a sighe  
 sayde vnto hymselfe, that this fight should be with wild beastes  
 oppressed with famine, a fit medicine for the. But now there was  
 no more dallying, the thing being come to the swordes pointe,  
 therefore he set aboute foure thousande to keepe the campe, and  
 placed the reste betwene the towne of *thosala* and the floude  
*Enipeo*. *Cesar* also arayd hymselfe ouer agaynst hym, either of  
 them placed the Italians diuided into thre partes, distaunt  
 a little a sunder, they sette the hozsemen on the sydes of them  
 by portions, Archers and Slingers were intermedled with them  
 all.

Thus were the Italians ordered. in whome eche of them  
 had their chiefe confioence, as for their confederats, they vset  
 them rather for a shew.

Pompey had a greate number of diuerse language: of them  
 he placed the Macedonians, the Peloponnesians, the Boetians,  
 and the Athenienses, nexte the Italians battaile, bycause of  
 their good order and silence.

The other, euen as *Cesar* coniectured, he commaunded euery  
 nation by it selfe, as warders out of the ray of battel, to compass the

the enimie when the fight began, and to pursue them with as  
 much hūte as they coulde, and to put *Casars* campe to spole  
 whiche was order of defence. *Sylla* Pompeys father in lawe,  
 did leade the maine battaile in the middelt, *Domitius* the lefte  
 wing, & *Antius* the right, *Aphraanius* and *Pompey* kept the cape.

The leaders of *Casars* haste, were *Sylla*, *Antonius*, and *Pec-  
 tunus*. *Cesar*, as he was wonte, leade the tenth legion, whiche the  
 enimies seing, brought agaynst them the beste hozsemen, that  
 being more in number, they shoulde, if they might, encompasse  
 them. When *Cesar* percepued that, he layd thre thousand of the  
 boldest footemen in ambushment, whome he willed, that when  
 they saue the enimie goyng aboute to enclose, they shoulde  
 leape forth, and with their pikes daine as harde as they coulde,  
 at the faces of them, for he knew that they being yong and un-  
 expert, would not abyde the peril of the face. Thus did they de-  
 uise on bothe sides, and went about in euery place, and when  
 they had gyuen the order, and exhorted them to good hart, they  
 gaue their wordes of knowledg.

*Cesar*. Venus the Conqueresse.

*Pompey*. Hercules vnconquered.

When all was ready, they stode a good whyle in a great silece,  
 stirred not, but looked one vpo an other, as amazed men which  
 shoulde begunne the fight. The multitude that hytherto had no  
 compassion at all, now pitied that so greate an armie of *Italians*  
 shoulde at once be hazarded, and that their vertue shoulde bee  
 tried only vpon themselves, and the chiefe hurte be of *Italians*  
 agaynst *Italians*, and now at the very pynche of the mischief  
 at hande, the desire of glozy that had incised and blinded them,  
 was quenched, and conuerted into feare: for when reason vpd  
 throughly way the affection of fame, and measured also the  
 danger present, they saue the cause consisted in the contentio  
 of two men, for whose superiozitie all their liues was ventu-  
 red, so as whither were overcome, coulde not be safe in the sur-  
 dest place, nor a great multitude of noble men for theyr salues:  
 they remembred their auncient friendship and affinitie, howe  
 many things they had done to their owne honour and aduance-

ment,

ment,

*Sylla*  
*Pompey*  
*Domitius*  
*Antius*  
*Aphraanius*  
*Pompey*

*Cesar* order.  
*Sylla*  
*Antonius*  
*Pecunus*  
*Cesar*

They fighteth.

Placeth the  
 toying where  
 the battel was.  
*Enipeo* of *Thes-  
 salia* and of *Thes-  
 salia* the  
 chiefe strength  
 of both sides.

Order of the  
 fight.

The astonish-  
 ment of bothe  
 armies.

The strange  
baptism of  
both sides.

The first place.

Politic of Pompey  
not allowed.

ment, which now did weare their weapons against themselves, & brought all that did serue them, to the like mischiefe, being of one nation, Citizens, kinsmen and allies, yea and some brethren. For so it hapned in this warre, as among so many thousands as were together of one nation, diuerse and strange effects must happen, whiche, eyther of them now considering, were stricken presently with a great repentance, as though in that day, they should be eyther first or last vpon the earth, and were loth to beginne so doubtful a deede, and sell a warring on both sides. Standing thus and beholding one another, the daye passed: the *Italians* standing in due order with silence continued: but *Pompey* perceyuing his strangers to be troubled with this stay, and doubting least confusion might follow therof, at the beginning, first gaue the token of battayle, and *Caesar* did the like. Then the trumpets stroke the sounde of battayle as was required in such a number: beside, in sundry parts, the *Heralds* and the *Captaines*, were at hand to give encouragement: they marched stately with astonishment and silence, as men that had ben in many like pastimes. Being at hand, the first charge was given with *Archers*, and *Artillery*, and soden onsets of horsemen to enclose the footemen. There was to and fro, til *Pompey's* horsemen hauing the better, did enuiron the tenth legion. Then *Caesar*, giuing his token to them that lay in a wayte, they stepped forth against the horsemen, and with theyr pikes put vp, did lay them on the faces: they could not abyde that boldnesse, nor the blowes made at theyr mouthes and eyes, but confusedly fled away, & then did *Caesar's* horsemen enclose the other footemen, being naked, whiche feared to haue bene enclosed themselves. When *Pompey* perceyued thys, he commaunded the footemen not to moue or stirre from the battaile, nor to throw light weapons, but to stand distante in the forefront, and with their pikes at hande to resist the enemy comming on them. Some prayse this policie, as the best, against compassing: but *Caesar* in his *Epistles* doth dispraise it, because the strokes that are giuen with a mouing vehemence, are mightier, and men by forcing forward, be the bolder, and they remaine still, were fearful, and easie to be hitte, as standing markes that are

Shotte

Shotte at, as then it pproved in deed. The tenth legion with him, fiercely following, did beat the bodies of *Pompey's* least battayle, voyde of horsemen, and standing still till they put them out of order, and by very force made them to turne, which was the beginning of victory in the other multitude. Although there was diuerse and sundry wayes of slaughter and hurting, yet was there not a voyce hearde in suche a maine battayle, but sighes only and groanes of them that fell valiauntly in theyr places appointed. The confederates, as though they had come to see them fight a ppyse, did maruel at their goodly order, but had no harte (for wondering at them) neyther to enter *Caesar's* campe which was kept of a fewe, and they very olde men, nor to do any other thing, but stande and gaze. But when the lefte wing of *Pompey's* host did retire by little & little, yet fighting still, the confederates foully fled away, and cryed, we be overcome. They ranne vpon their owne tentes and campes, as though they had bene the others, whiche when they had spoyled, they went their ways as fast as they could. The other *Italian* army perceyuing they had the worse, gaue backe first in order, defending themselves as they might, but the enemy still comming vpon them, as now hauing the victory, they also turned & fled. *Caesar* then vsed great policie, & they should not gather together again, that this laboz might not only make an end of one fight, but of al the war. He sent trumpetts about & battels, commaunding the to refrayne fro killing of their countrey men, and continue only agaynst the strangers, & that they should go among the & wer overcome, & byd the stay wout feare. This declaratiō of & crier was lerned fro one mā to another, & was a warning word for *Pompey's* host to stay wout fear: so passing by & other as *Italians* of one language & order, they beat down the strangers not able to resist, & ther was gret slaughter made. After *Pompey* saw this alteration, he was assaured & went softly into his campe, & being come to his tent, he sat down speechlesse, as they say *Alex Telamonius* did for & grief he suffered in & losse among his enemies at & battayle of *Troy*: of the other, very few came into & campe, for *Caesar's* *Heralds* had made the stay wout feare, & being ouerpassed of their enemies, they might disperse themselves here & there.

The

*Pompey's* confederates flee.

*Caesar's* policie.

A word to stay. Stay without feare.

*Pompey* amazed and speechlesse. *Alex Telamonius* fell into astonishment for the iudgement giue agast him.

The day was almost at an ende, and *Cæsar* roade aboute with maruelous paine, praying them that they woulde take yet a little more labour, till they had gotten *Pompeys* campe, shewing them that if the enimie returned, they should be winners but of one day, but if they got his campe too, the warre shoulde be ended for ever. He held up his hands to them, and was the first that ranne towarde it. This did stirre the mindes of them that had weary bodies to see their generall go before them: the victorie of things past, and the hope to gette the campe, with all that was in it, did stir to that againe, and when men be in hope and felicitie, they feele the lesse of labour and extremitie. They went on with great courage, and beate away the warders of the same, whiche when *Pompey* sawe, he onely brake into thys speache after his long silence, *What, aures tentes tæc*, when he had thus spoken, he chaunged his garment, and leapt on horse with seure frendes, and neuer leste running till by breake of day he came to *Larissa*. *Cæsar* (as he threatened) at the giving of the onset, did lodge in *Pompeys* pavilion, and supped with his provision, and the rest of his army did the lyke.

There were slayne in this battell of bothe partes of *Italians* (for the strangers because of their multitude and contempt be not numbred) of *Cæsar*'s armye thirtie captaynes of bandes, & CC. souldiours, or as some say, two thousand and ii. hundred. Of *Pompeys* tenne Senatours, of the whiche was *Lucius Domitius* once appointed *Cæsar*'s successour in *France*, and of them that be called Gentlemen, about fourtie of the beste: of the rest of the army, they that make mosse, say, xv. M. But *Asinius Pollio* that was at that fight with *Cæsar*, wryteth that onely five thousande of *Pompeys* was slayne at that battayle. This was the ende of that great fight at *Pharsalia*.

One enimie confessed that *Cæsar* had deserved the firste and second honours, and with him the tenth Legion. *Crassinus* a leader of a bande, was thought together the thirde, who going to a feitt, being asked of *Cæsar* what he thought, answered confidently, we shall winne. *Cæsar* said, and then shal I finde me here either alive or dead. He and his army was utterly slaine.

from hand to hande like a man in a furie; did as much as a mā might do. When he was sought for, and found among the dead, *Cæsar* did bury him with the ornaments due unto him, & created him a Tumben ygh & comon Sepulchre. *Pompey* fro *Larissa* wryth lyke speede went to the sea side, where he toke a little boate, & by chaunce met a shipp a floate, and sayled to *Mitilene*, where he receyued his wife *Cornelia*, and passed with foure Gallies, whiche the *Rodians* and *Tirians* had brought to him. He refused to sayle to *Coryra* and *Libya*, where he had an other great army, & a mighty navy by sea. He made his course to *Parthia*, thinking to recouer al againe, keeping his purpose close fro his friends, till he came with much ado to *Cilicia*. There they prayed hym to beware of the *Parthians*, whiche had lately overcome *Crassus*, whereby they were the more insolent, and that it was not fit to bring *Cornelia*, so sayre a woman, among so vntemperate people, especially being *Crassus* daughter. When he deuised whether he should go, into *Egypt*, or to *Tuba* king of *Barbarie*. They thought no good to be had with *Tuba*, therfore they counselled hym to go to *Egypt*, a nation nygh, of great dominion, fertyl and abundant of grayne, money, and nauye, whose kings though they were children, yet friends to hym for his fathers sake: and so for this cause he sayled into *Egypt*.

At this time *Cleopatra* beinge cieded out of the kingdome by hir brother, to whom she shoulde toyntly haue reigned, prepared an army in *Syria* againste him. *Ptolomeus* *Cleopatras* brother was at a place in *Egypt* called *Casium*, and did lye in campe to resist his sisters forces, and as fortune wold, *Pompey* was driue thither. When he perceiued an army aland, he stayed his ship, and thought, (as it was in dede) that the king was there: he sent vnto him, to shewe of the amity betwene his father and him. The king was thirtene yeare olde: one *Achilles* did gouerne his army, and *Pharimus* and *Enuch* was his Treasurer. They beganne to consulte what was beste to be done wryth *Pompey*: There was also *Theodorus* of *Samies*, an Orator and Scholmaister to the king, who dyd perswade the wicked acte to deceyue and kyll *Pompey*, to gratifye *Cæsar*. This counsell pre-

*Pompey* taken the sea.  
*Mitilene*, in *Tesbe* now *Mitelin*.

*Pompeys* determination of recovery.

*Cornelia* *Pompeys* wiffe  
*Crassus* daughter

*Crassus* an hit at the end of *Nile*,  
*Ptolomeus* against *Cleopatra*.

*Achilles*  
*Pharimus*,  
*Theodorus*

unapled, they sent a simple boate as though the roughnesse of the Sea would not suffer a greater. Some of the kings seruantes wente into the boate, and with them *Sempronius* a Romaine, who had serued vnder *Pompey*, and was now with the king. He offered his hande in the kings name to *Pompey*, and willed hym to come as to his son and friende. As this was done, the army was set in order, and dyete neare the sea as to honour *Pompey*, and the king was set in the midst in a purple vesture to be scene of all.

*Pompey* suspected all, both the ordering of the army, and the meanes of the vessel: chiefly bycause the king came not toward him, nor sent any of his noble men, he spake a verse of *Sophocles*:

VWho to a Tiranne goes,  
His slaue he is, though free he rose.

And then he entred the boate. Every man being silent in the passage, he rather suspected, and chiefly *Sempronius*, either bycause he knew him to be a Romaine, and hauing serued vnder hym, or bycause he did coniecture it, seeing him only standing, according to souldiours discipline, who doe not set, when the chiefe is by. When he turned to him and sayd, surely I should know thee, O Souldier. He nodded at hym agayn, and as he turned, was the first that strooke him, then the other. His wife and friends seeing this a farre off, cried, and held vp their handes to the gods reuengers of friendship broken, and sayled away streight as from enemies lande. They that were about *Pharino* cut of *Pompeys* heade, and kept it for *Caesar* as a great gratification: but he worthily reuenged this wicked deed vpon them. The rest of his body was buried at the sea banche, and a silly Sepulchre was made, to the which one wrote this Epitaph:

Lo here he lyeth in simple graue,  
A Temple that deservde to haue.

In proceffe of tyme the graue was couered with sand: and certayne

certaine Images of *Brasse* which the inhabitants did afterwarde set vp to *Pompey* vnder the hill *Castus*, were taken away and layde vppon in a secreete place of a Temple. In my tyme *Adrianus* the Romaine Emperour in his journey that way, did cause it to be sought and found out, and made the graue to be amended, so as euery man might see it, and erected the Images that were dedicated to *Pompey*.

This was the end of *Pompey*, by whom so many great battayles had bene fought, and the Romaine Empire so increased, as he had the surname of Great, neuer being overcome before, but from his youth still invincible and happy: and fro thre and twenty to eight and fiftie yeares, he ruled like a king, but in opinion supposed to gouerne like a populaire man, for the emulation of *Caesar*.

*Lucius Scipio*, *Pompeys* father in Lawe, and all the other noble men that did escape the battayle, fledde to *Cato* to *Cortyna*, who was generall of another army, and thre hundred Gallies, being left there as a prudent Counsellour. The noblest of *Pompeys* friends deuised the flauie. *Cassius* sayled to *Pontus* to *Pharnaces*, to stirre him against *Caesar*. *Scipio* and *Cato* wente into *Libya* trusting vppon *Varnus* and his army, and *Iuba* king of *Nubidia* his confederate. *Pompey*, *Pompeys* eldest sonne, and *Labienus* with him and *Scapula*, hauing a part, wente into spaine to make it against *Caesar*, and they got him another army of *Iberians* and *Celtiberians* and slaues to haue the preparation greater: so mighty a power of *Pompeys* army was yet left, which he, by his infelicitee did abandon when he fled away. They that were in *Libya* did chuse *Cato* for the general Captaine, who for the presence of such men as had bene Consuls, and others that had bene Lieutenantes, and he only a Pretor in Rome, refused the same. So *L. Scipio* was made general and a great army was gathered and trayned, and these were the chiefe preparations in *Libya* and *Iberia* gathered against *Caesar*.

After the victorie, *Caesar* abode two dayes in *Pharsalo*, sacrificing and recreating his weary army, and there made the *Thessilians* free that had serued him, and pardoned the

Ry.

At the

*Sempronius*

A verse of  
*Sophocles*.

*Sempronius* a  
Romaine first  
cryeth *Pompey*

*Pompey* cruelly  
killed.

*Epitaph*

*Adrianus* the  
Emperour resto-  
reth the graue  
of *Pompey*.

*Pompey* the  
great.

*Cortyna* an Island  
in the Ionian  
sea.  
The care of  
*Pompeys* friends.

*Pompeys* sonne,  
*Labienus*  
*Scapula*.

*Cato* chosen ge-  
neral in *Libya*,  
refuseth.

*Thessilians* made  
free of *Caesar*  
who had serued  
him.

*Athenians* at their sute, vsing these wordes: Howe often hath the glorie of your auncestours saued you, whē you haue deserued destruction?

The third day he remoued towarde the East, following the fame of *Pompeys* flighte, and for wante of Gallies sayled ouer *Hellepont* in little boates.

*Cassius* with his number of Gallies met him as he was going to *Pharnaces*, and although he might with his Gallies haue had the aduantage of those little boates, yet for feare of *Casars* felicitie and valiantnesse, he was amazed, and suspecting that *Cesar* had come of purpose to finde him, he helde by his handes and came from his Gallies into the boates to aske him pardō, and deliuer him all his Gallies. So much force had the glorie of *Casars* felicitie, for I see none other reason, nor can iudge any other mane in so great difficultie of time, to haue such fortune that he should so asray *Cassius* a valiant man, comming vpon him with seauentie Gallies utterly vnprovidēd, that he durste not medle with him. For as towardly as he did now yeld vnto him vpo the Sea, so after did he as cruelly kyl him whē he was Lord of all at *Rome*. Therefore it is euident that he was then ouerbozne with the feare of his felicitie. *Cesar* thus being saued against all hope, and past *Hellepont*, he pardoned the *Ionians*, *Ætolians*, and other nations that inhabite greate *Cherroneso*, which by one name is called *Asia* flower. He forgaue them that sent embassadours to craue it. Understanding that *Pompey* was gone to *Egypt* he went to the *Rhodes*, where he would not tarry for the reste of his armie that was comming to him by parts, but with the Gallies of *Cassius* and the *Rhodes*, and such men as he presently hadde, he toke shippe at night, and sayled forth, not shewing whether, only commaunding the captaines in the night to follow the light of his shippe, and in the day, the flag of the same: to the maister whereof he commaunded, after he had sayled a good way, to set his course toward *Alexandria*: and so being thre days vpon the sea, he came thither. In this place he was wel receiued of the kings officers, the king being yet at mount *Cassius*.

*Cesar*

*Cesar* at his comming pretended to haue nothing ado, by cause of his fewe men, but went about the Citie, to beholde the beauty therof, & stood and heard the Philosophers disputations, where by he wanne muche loue and good faueur of the *Alexandrians*, being among them as one hauing nothing to do. But when his army was come, he layde handes vpon *Phthim* and *Admetus*, and put them to death, for the wickednesse done to *Pompey*. *Theodorus* fled into *Asia*, whome *Cassius* founde there, and caused to be hanged.

The *Alexandrians* were offended herewith, and sette vpon him with the kings army that was there, and made many fights with hym about the kings Palace, and at the sea banke, where *Cesar* was driuen to take the sea, and to swimme a good way.

The *Alexandrians* toke hys cloake and bare it vp as a token of victorie. His last battell was wth the kyng hymselfe at the floude *Nilus*, where he ouercame him, and restored the kinge to *Cleopatra*, after he had bin nine moneths there. Then he sayled vpon *Nilus* with foure hundred shippes, in company of *Cleopatra*, for whose pleasure he did many things, all the which he particularly tolde in my booke of Egyptian matters.

He could not abide to beholde *Pompeys* heade that was brought vnto him, but commanded it to be buried: he also builded a little Temple befoze the Citie, which was called the Temple of Reuengement, the which in my tyme when *Traiane* the Emperoure did make warre against the *Iewes*, was pulled downe of them, to serue some turne in the warre.

When *Cesar* had done these things in *Alexandria*, he wente wth hys army throughe *Syria* againste *Pharnace*, who had bin very busy and taken diuerse of the Romaine Provinces, and gotten one victorie of *Domitius* lieutenante to *Cesar*, by the which growing stroute he toke *Amyssa* a Citie of *Pontus* allied to the Romaines, all the people whereof he solde as slaues and made their children Eunuhs, but when *Cesar* came, he fled as farre as he couide, and sent to *Cesar* for peace by hys Ambassadors, who brought him a crowne of golde, and offered foolishlye the kyngs daughter in marriage to hym.

R. liij.

Hic

He percepuing their presentes and messages, wente on wylth his army, entertayning the kings Ambassadors with ordinarie talke, till they came nyghe where he was encamped, and then he said: shall not this murderer of his father be yet killed? & then he leaped on horse. And at the first charge *Pharnace* fled awaye, and *Cesar* ouerthrewe the moste parte, with a thousand horsemen that with the firste, did keepe in chace with hym. At thys *Cesar* saide with a loude voice. O happy *Pompey*, that haddest to do with such me of war as *Methridates*, & this mans father was, therby both to be thought and called Great. Of this fight he sent thus to Rome, I came, I sawe, I conquered. *Pharnace* was content to go to the kingdome of *Bosphorus*, which *Cesar* appoynted him.

*Cesar* spent no time in trifles, so many battels yet remayning behinde, he went into *Asia*, and by the waye gathered money of the Cities that were troubled wylth them that toke paymentes of the Tributes, as we haue shewed in our booke of *Asia*. Now word was brought hym that there was sedition raysed in Rome, and that *Antony* his lieutenant did keepe the common place wylth an army. Therfore setting all thinges aside, he made haste to Rome. Whither, when he was come, all ciuill discorde ceased, but another began among his souldiours, because they had not yet, neyther receiued the promise made for their seruice at *Pharsalia*, nor that it was reaso that they shoulde be still kept in war, & therfore they cried euery man to go home. He had promised the rewards at *Pharsalia*, and other rewardes when the war of *Libya* shoulde be ended. Therfore he sent them a thousand drammes agiece, with a promise of more. They had him promise no more, but pay al out of hand. And it lacked but little that they had not killed *Crispus Sulpicius*, had he not thifted away.

When *Cesar* heard this, he commanded the legion that *Antony* had for the garde of the Citty, to keepe aboute his house, & the entry of the Citty, fearing spoile, and hee, verie boldly (all men fearing and disuading him from the rage of the souldiours) went among them as they were in mutinie in the field of *Mari*, and not being percepued, was set in the high seate. They conspiredly and with tumulte came ruining vpon him, & as the manner

is to salute the Generall when he cometh firste among them, he commaunded the, that if they had any thing to say there, touching the gifts, they shoulde speake it before his face, whyles hee was present: they durste not speake a word for feare, but taking a meane way, cryed to be released of the war, hoping because he had neede of men to finishe the rest of his wars, he would haue saide somewhat of the giftes. But he contrarie to all opinion, without any stay answered: I discharge you. They being assembed hereat, and standing in a great silence, he saide againe: And I wil geue you all that I haue promised you, when I shall triumphe of the rest. This word vnlooked for, & appearing so curteous, did strike in them suche a consideratio with an emulation, that they thoughte it a shame to forsake their Capitaine in the middes of his enimies, and that others shoulde triumph in their places. They remembred what losse they shoulde haue by leauing the warre in *Libya*, and be thought enimies aswell to *Cesar* as to hys aduersaries: for this doubt they remained silent in feare, hoping yet that *Cesar* woulde haue giuen them rewarde, and forgiven them the faulte for hys present neede, but he sate as silent as they. Therfore hys friends wished him to say somewhat vnto them, & not to leaue them, that so oft had serued hym, with so shorte & seuerer a speech. He began to speake & call the Citizens in stead of souldiours, which was a token they were discharged of the war, & become in their former priuate case. This they could not suffer, but cryed that they did repent, and prayed they mighte be taken to the war, *Cesar* refused it, and came from the seate. When they made greater instance, beseeching hym that if they hadde done amisse to punishe them: he stayed a while, neither going forward nor backward, seeming to doubt what to do, yet hee returned and sayde hee woulde punishe none of them, but that it grieved him that the tenth legion, whiche he had alwaies loued and honored, shoulde giue cause of suche tumulte, and onely thys saide:

I do release them of their seruice, and yet wyll geue them, all I haue promised the m, when I come from *Libya*, and I will giue lande to all, when the warres shall be ended, not as they dyde, spoyling it from other that hadde it, and causing both the taker and the loser, to liue together, to maine-  
tayne.

*Cesar* refused to  
among his souldi-  
ours.

Souldiours re-  
pent them.

*Pharnace* was  
content to go to  
the kingdome of  
*Bosphorus*.

Sedition in Rome.

Sedition in *Cesar*'s  
army.

*Pharsalia* was  
a place of coyns,  
whereby the  
Romans were  
enabled to pay  
their soldiers  
in money.

*Crispus Sulpicius*  
was a Roman  
citizen.

"tyme perpetuall enmitie, but I wyl diuide bothe the com-  
mon and mine own, and the lacke I wyl buy with my money.

Wholte and reioyce was made of all, saving of the tenth  
legion against the whiche *Caesar* feared to be incrozable. There-  
fore they desired hym they might bee punished by death, as the  
latter shoulde fall out. But he hauing no neede of further sike of  
them, and perceyuing they were throughlye penitent, forgave  
them all, and streight went to the war in *Barbary*, passing from  
the narrow Sea at *Reggio*, he wente to *Messina* and to *Lilyba*,  
where he vnderstode that *Cato* kept part of the army bothe by  
sea and land at *Trica*, with thre hundred whiche lyke chiefe  
counsellors were greatest doers of the war, and called the *Se-*  
*nate*, and that the Generall *Lucius Scipio*, and the best laye in *A-*  
*frumets*, therfore he sayled against *Scipio* who was gone to *Tuba*,  
I gaue order for the fight with his campe, taking the oportunitie  
against his enimyes that were without the Generall. *Labienus*  
and *Petrenus* chief vnder *Scipio*, did not refuse the fyght, & had far  
the better of *Caesar*, putting him to flight, & fiercely with contypt  
following hym, til *Labienus* horse was thruste throughe the bel-  
ly and killed, and he saued by the garde of his person. *Petrenus*,  
as he that had taken sufficient triall of his army, & might winne  
when he woulde, lest the thing vnfinisshed, saying to them that  
were by him: *Least we should take the victory from Scipio our Generall*,  
This was also another token of *Caesar*'s fortune, that his enimies  
in appaunce hauing the victorie, woulde so sodainly breake the  
fight, when they had the day. They say that *Caesar* at this fight,  
was fayne to stande against his men, and to take the Eggle fro  
him that bare it, being the chiefe standerd, and to goe to the soy-  
most to stay the fro flying, till *Petrenus* retired, and *Caesar* had time  
to depart with leasure. This end had the first fight y he made in  
*Barbary*. Not long after, *Scipio* came forth with .9. legions, xx. M.  
horsemen wherof the most part were *Affricanes*, many target me,  
& err. Elephants, which *Tuba* the King, who had other footmen,  
about xxx. M. and *Numidia* horsemen almost, xx. M. many darters,  
and threescore other Elephants.

*Caesar*'s army was dismayed, and troubled among themselves

as

as well for their former losse, as for the same of their aduersa-  
ries, both in number and vertue, specially the *Numidian* Horse-  
men, beside the terror that they had to make a straunge fighte  
with the Elephants. But *Bochus*, another king of the *Moors*, ha-  
uing taken *Cirta*, the chiefe Citie of *Tuba*, he vpon the newes of  
his owne losse, returned home with his armye, leaving onely  
thirty Elephants with *Scipio*. *Caesar*'s army by this, took such cou-  
rage, as the fifth Legion desired the fight against the Elephants,  
of whome, hauing a noble victorie, they geue an Elephante in  
their ensigne at this day. The battell being long and difficulte on  
euery side, and full of vncertaintie, aboute the enening *Caesar*  
hardly got the victorie, and ouerthrew *Scipio*'s Camp, not leauing  
the victorie in the night, till all was brought to passe, the enimies  
by final parts as they could, fled: and *Scipio* with *Afranius*, leauing  
all, fledde to the Sea with twelue Ships vnarmed. Thus an ar-  
mye of fourescore thousande Souldiers, well trayned in the  
waere, and encamped by the former victorie, was in this seconde  
fight utterly vanquished. *Caesar*'s glory, though his felicitie, was  
compted of all me vnconquerable, and they that were overcome,  
woulde attribute nothing to his manhode, but excuse all theyr  
fautes by his felicitie. At sameth that this warre had this un-  
fortunate end, by the vnskillfulnesse of the Captaynes, that they  
did not endure, till *Caesar* mighte haue bin put to his shifts, nor  
bring the first victorie to perfection, but woulde needes leaue it,  
when they were in the middest of it. This being told at *Trica* the  
thyrde day, and *Caesar* coming forward, euery man beganne to  
flee, of whome *Cato* stayed none, but gaue Shippes to the noble  
men that desired them, yet himselfe carryed like a constant man,  
and where they of *Trica* promised, that they woulde make inter-  
cession to *Caesar* for him, before themselves, *Cato* smiled and an-  
swered, there needed no reconciliation betwene *Caesar* and hym,  
and that *Caesar* knew well ynough. Then he sealed vp al the trea-  
sure, and the assurances and writings of euery man, and deliue-  
red them to the Magistrates of *Trica*, and in the euening vsing  
his bath and his supper, sitting at his meate as he was wonte to  
do, since the death of *Pompey*, nothing changing from his wonted  
manner.

S.

manner.

The tenth Legion  
desired to be  
punished.

For the first time  
the Romanes  
were in a  
dangerous  
place.

Scipio's army  
was  
the first  
to be  
defeated.

A Senate in  
the third  
day of the  
war.

Labienus  
was  
killed  
by  
Caesar's  
army.

Caesar's  
army  
was  
defeated.

Caesar's  
army  
was  
defeated.

Caesar's  
army  
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defeated.

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Caesar's  
army  
was  
defeated.

Caesar's  
army  
was  
defeated.

Bochus King of  
the Moors, that  
delivered his  
army to Sylla.  
Cirta a Citie of  
Numidia, now  
Constantinople,  
where Augustus  
killed  
Adherbal.  
The fifth Le-  
gion giueth the  
Elephant in an  
ensigne.  
Caesar's victory.

Caesar's felicitie.

Vnskillfulnesse.

The noblemen  
of Rome flee.

Cato to the Pri-  
nces.

manner, neyther taking more nor lesse. He talked familiarly with them that were present, of them that were sayled, and if the wind were good for them, and how farre they might passe before the morning that *Cæsar* came. And when he wente to bedde, he changed nothing of his vsage, but only embraced his sonne more straightly than he was wont: but because he found not his sword in the place at his bed where it was wont to stande, he cryed, he was betrayed to his enemies of his owne folke. What should I doe (quoth he) if they set vpon me in the night? They desired him he would be content, and to worke nothing against himselfe, but to rest without his sword. Might I not (quoth he) if I would, choke my selfe with my cloke, or crush my head against the wal, or fall & brake my necke, or stoppe my breath and kill my selfe? When they heard him speake after this sort, they brought him his sword. Then he called for *Plutarch* booke of the Immortalitie of the Soule, which while he had redde, and thinking them that kept the doores to be at rest, he strooke himselfe with the sword vnder the breast, whereat his bowels fell out, at the which sight, they without came in & the whistlons put in his bowels againe vnpershyed. When he came againe to himselfe, he was sozry he had giue no deeper wound, thaking them that they had saued his life, & made the belaeue he would rest: then they toke away y sword, and shut y doore, that he might sleepe: he seeming to be asleepe, tare asunder with his hands (like a wilde beast) the sowing hy of his wound, rente his belly asunder, and song the entrayles into the flore, and so dyed at fiftie yeares of his age. By doing this, he confirmed the opinion that he held of all men, most singulare by nature, iudging vertue, honestie, & godnesse, not by mens manners, but by high cogitations of the minde. *Martia Philips* daughter he married a mayde, and loued hir full dærely, and after he had children by hir, he gaue hir to his friend *Hortensio*, that was desirous of children, and could not get a frutefull wife, and when she was with child by him, he receyued hir home again, as with interest. This was *Cato* behaviour. The *Prætor* buried him verpe honorably. *Cæsar* sayde, that *Cato* enuyed his glorious proceedings: *Cato* made a booke in the praise of him, and called it *Cato*. *Cæsar* made

Cato angry that his sword is taken away.

Cato readeth the booke of the Immortalitie of the Soule. Cato striketh himselfe.

The death of Cato.

The singulartie of Cato.

Martia is given to Hortensio.

made another in the dispraise of him, and called it *Anticato*. *Lucas* and *Petrenus* hearing what was done, and thinking no safetie nor escape to be left for them, with their swordes killed one another in their house. *Cæsar* made *Lucas* Kingdome tributarie to Rome, and appointed *Crissus Salustius* to be Lieutenant of it. He pardoned the *Prætor* and *Cato* sonne, and a daughter of *Pompey*, with two little childre whom he toke at *Vrica*, he sent safe to *Pompey*. Of the three hundred, as many as he found he put to death, *Lucius Scipio* the Generall, keeping the seas all winter, till he fell among the enemies, behaued himselfe very valiantly, till he was overcome, and then strooke himselfe, and leapt into the Sea. This was the end of *Cæsar* warre in *Libya*. Then he went to Rome, and made foure triumphes of the French, of the which he had ouerthylone many and greate nations, and the other renoulling, he brought to order, of *Pharnace* at *Pontus*, of *Libya*, and the confederates of *Scipio*, where *Lucas*, the sonne of *Lucas*, the wrighter of histories, being yet an infant, was brought. He shewed also a certaine triumph of *Aegypt*, with a fighte by water at *Nilus*, whiche was done betwene the French, and the *Pharnasian* scithiph: but he refrained from triumphing of the Romaines, as ciuil matter not fit for him, & lothsome and vnlucky to *Romaines*, to be shewed in triumph: yet all the chanches, and y men in pictures, & diuers images, (*Pompey* except) he brought in: him only he forbade to be shewed, because he was so wel beloued of all sorts. The people (though they were afrayd) sighed at this sighte, especially when they saw *Lucius Scipio* the generall strike himselfe to the heart, & fall into the Sea, & *Petrenus* in his feint so to kill himselfe, and *Cato* tearing his bowels like a brute beast, but at the death of *Achilles* and *Pharimus*, they reioyced, and at the sight of *Pharnace* they laughed. The money that was brought in the triumphes, is said to be 70 Talents and an halfe, and two thousand eight hundred two and twenty Croonies of gold, the waight whereof was eke twenty thousand foure hundred tharetene pound waight, by the which after y triumphes were ended, he performed al that he had promised to his army, & more to. To every souldier he gaue five *Drachmes* of *Athen*, to a leader of a bande twice so much, to a Captayne

*Lucas* and *Petrenus* killed themselves one another. *Crissus Salustius* Lieutenant. Young *Pompey*. *Cæsar* putteth to death.

*Scipio* drowned.

Triumph of *Cæsar*.

*Lucas*.

Lamentable shewes. Affections of the people.

A talent of the least value, vvay one hundred poundes, vvhich is called the lesse talent of *Athen*. The greater talent of *Athen*, vvay aboute 133. pounde.

There vvare other talents, vvhereof some vvare 400. pound.

A drachme of *Athen* conteyned fixe *Obsols*, vvhich was much like oure halfe peny, and one hundred drachmes made an *Athen* pound.

S. 11.

of a

of a thousande, and a Lieutenant of Horsemen twice so muche more, and to every one of the people, one pounde of *Athens*. He exhibited manie shewes of horse and musicke, and fighting on foote, one thousand against an other, and of horsemen two thousand against so many, and other of footemen and Horsemen mingled together, and of Elephanes, twenty against twenty, and a fight by Sea of foure hundred Gallies, and a thousande of eyther side. He created a Temple to *Venus* his auncestre, as he vowed at *Pharsala*, and about the temple a godly court, which he would should be called the *Romaines* court, not for bying and selling, but for conference, as among the *Persians*, there is for them that will haue any doubt discussed touching iustice. The Image of *Cleopatra* was set up by the Goddesse very faire, whiche is yet sene there. A view of the people was made, and they found scarcely halfe so many men aliue, as were before the beginning of the warre, so much had contention wasted the Citie.

Now was he made Consul the fourth time, and went into *Iberia* against yong *Pompey*, as to the leauings of the ciuill warre, not to be neglected, for all the best men that fledde out of *Libya* resorted to him, and all the remnant of the armies at *Pharsala*, and other places, repaired thither. Of *Iberianes* and *Celiberianes*, very valiant nations, used to the warres, and of slaues a multitude, byd serue *Pompey*, and hauing bin exercised foure yeares, were ready to fight with desperate minde. *Pompey* putting great trust in this, refused not to fighte, but would needs trye it out with *Caesar* as soon as he came. But the auncient and wise men in experience that were come from *Pharsala*, and *Lybia*, did rather aduise him to consume *Caesar* in time, and to distresse him with want, as in those strange places he might. *Caesar* came from *Rome* in seap and twenty dayes, passing a long way with a greate army, and suche a feare fell among them that he broughte, as never did before, bycause of the multitude, experience, and desperation of the enemies: wherefore *Caesar* came the slower forth, and by cause he used some foresight, *Pompey* came lustily vpon him, and vpbayded him of fearefulness, which rebuie *Caesar* could not suffer, but made order for the battell at *Corduba*: his woode was,

Shewes by  
*Caesar*.

Rome Temple:

The *Romaines*  
Court like to  
our Exchange.  
Place of confer-  
ence.  
Image of *Cleo-  
patra*.

Decay of  
people.

*Caesar* made  
Consul.

Power in  
Spain.

Yong *Pompey*  
refuseth aunci-  
ent counsell.

*Caesar* into Spain.  
Feare of his  
Souldiours.  
Rashnesse of  
yong *Pompey*.  
*Corduba*, a Citie  
in Spain, the  
countrie of  
both *Seneca* and  
*Lucane* the Poet,  
nowe *Corduba*.

*Venus*

*Venus* and *Pompeys* Pietie. When they shoulde goe to it, a feare and dreadfull thoughtfullnesse toke *Caesars* army, wherefore he besought all the Goddes, and held by his hands to Heauen, that he might not lose all his noble actes by this one Battell, and there-fore went about the army, and exhorted them to be bold. He pulled his headpiece from his head, that they might see his face, and so receyue good heart: but they for all that could not put alwaye their feare, till *Caesar* took a Target from one of them, and to the Captaynes about him thus sayde: Shall this be the ende to mee of life, and to you of seruice: and ranne from the army so farre, as he was but tenne foote from his enemies, who threw two hundred dartes at him, of the which he shunned part, and part he receyued on the Target. When his Captaynes ranne aboute him, euery man, and the whole army set forward with great violence, and foughte all daye, sometime with aduantage, and sometyne with disaduantage, sometime winning, and sometime losing, tyll at night he got the victory with muche adoe, so as he sayde, at other times, he had sought for victory, but now, he sought for life. There was great slaughter of *Pompeys* part, which fledde to *Corduba*. And *Caesar*, that they shoulde not gather agayne to a newe fight, commaunded his army to compasse the Citie. They being weary of the former payne, toke the bodies, and the armure of them that were slayne, and bare them betwene them, and making them fast to the earth with their speares, used them for a Trench. The next morning the Citie was taken of *Pompeys* captaynes. *Scapula* made a fire, and threw himselfe into the flame. The heads of *Varus*, *Labienus*, and other noble men, were brought to *Caesar*. *Pompey* at the beginning of the losse, fledde with a hundred and fiftie horse into the *Carteia*, where he hadde a shadie of shippes, he came secretly to the shippes carried in a litter, and when he perceyued them there to be in feare of themselves, he was in dread to be betrayed, & therfore toke a boate agayne, and by the way, his foote hong in one of the ropes, whiche one minding to cut, missed the rope, and hurte him in the foote, but he went on to the next village, and was cured, where being sought for, he fledde among the bushes and desert pathes, in the which he

Feare in *Caesars*  
army.

Some vrichte,  
that this fight  
was given at  
*Alonda*, which is  
nowe *Mondacas*  
ra; the places  
not being farre  
asunder, some  
name the one,  
and some the  
other.

Danger of  
*Caesar*.

*Caesars* saying  
of this fight.

A trench made  
of dead bodies.

*Corduba* taken.

*Scapula*,  
*Varus*, and  
*Labienus*, killed.  
*Pompey* fleeth.  
*Carteia* is a Citie  
in *Granado*, nowe  
*Tarifa*.

*Pompey* hurt.

So. iij.

the

Pompey the elder  
borne, dayne.

Pompey the younger  
brother.

Cesar honored  
of all.

The great hon-  
ours at the  
consecration of  
the Temple  
gave Cravines  
or grlandes to  
them that had  
done worthy  
service.  
Father of the  
Country.  
Dictator per-  
petuall.  
Honours given  
to Cesar.  
Holy dayes.

Quintus Julius  
Temples dedi-  
cated to Cesar.

Cesar refish  
the name of  
King.

the thornes did pike his wounde so, as for very wērinesse he  
late him downe vnder a tree, whether the searchers pursued him,  
and he valiantly defending himselfe was slayne, his head being  
carried to *Cesar*, and by his commaundement buried: so this  
warre at one brynte, contrary to all opinion, was ended. A you-  
ger brother of this Pompey, called *Sextus*, did gather the remnant  
of the leauings of this warre, and in close maner conueyed him-  
selfe hither and thither, robbing for their liuing. *Julius Cesar* ha-  
uing finished all ciuill dissention, wente to *Rome*, with such feare  
and opinion, as neuer man before. All honours that aboue mans  
reach could be deuised, were done vnto him: Sacrifices, Playes,  
and giftes, as well in Temples and publike places by the com-  
panies of the Citie, as by all nations and Kings confederate to  
the people of *Rome*. Many diuers formes were set vpon his ima-  
ges, of the which some had crownes of oke, as to the sauoure of  
the countrey, with the which in olde time they were honored that  
saued their Countrey. He was named father of the Countrey,  
and chosen Dictator perpetuall, and Consull for tenne yeares,  
and touching his bodye, accounted sacred and inviolable. He  
gaue audience in a chaire of golde and purple, and continuallye  
made Sacrifices, clad with triumphant garments. They orde-  
ned the Citie to be holy those dayes that he won any victories.  
They appoynted Sacrifices and Priestes for syue yeares, and  
publike vowes for his preservation, and orders were made, by  
the which all his actes were confirmed by oth. And in the hono-  
r of his house, the Moneth *quintilis*, was called *Julius*. Many  
Temples were dedicated to him alone, as to a God, and one  
sopntly to him and *Clementie* holding hande in hande. This dyd  
they feare hym as a Lorde, and hono-<sup>r</sup> hym as a mercifull Prince.  
There were that laboured to haue called him King, till he  
heard of it, and forbad it with threats, that no man shoulde once  
name it, as detestable, and unlawfull from his auncesters. He  
discharged the bands of his gard, by whome he had bin defended  
from his enemies, and wente abroade with the officers of the  
Citie onely. He being in the common place, and giuing audi-  
ence, the Senato with the Consuls going before in goodly order,  
brought

brought him a decree of all these honours, whiche he receyued  
gently, not rising to them, neyther comming nor going: whiche  
gaue occasion of matter to them that meant to accuse him of a-  
spiring to a Kingdome. He accepted all the dignities, sauuing the  
Consulship for tenne yeares, therefore willed himselfe to be de-  
clared Consull, and *Antonius* with him, that was Captayne of  
his horsemen, whiche office he appoynted to *Lepidus*, to exercise  
the rule of horsemen by deputies, because he was Gouernour  
in *Italia*. He reuoked all banishments, except such as were fledge  
for wicked offences. He pardoned his enemies, and to suche as  
had soughte against him, he gaue yearly offices, and sente them  
to charges of prouinces and armies. whiche made the people to  
thinke, that he woulde haue leste them in a common wealthe, as  
*Sylla* did when he had the like authoritie: but they were deceiued.  
One of them that woulde haue had the name of a King sette for-  
ward, did put vpon his image a Crowne of Laurell, wpyth a  
weaith of a white ribande. *Marullus* and *Sitius* being Tribunes,  
apprehended him, and threwe him in prison, thinking so to haue  
pleased *Cesar*, as one that abhorred the name of King. This he  
suffered patiently, and where others called him King as he went  
out at the gates, and the people sighed at it, he answered co-  
uertly, I am not King, but *Cesar*, as though they had bin decey-  
ued in the name. *Marullus* caused him to be apprehended, that  
spoke of them beganne this matter, and wylled hym to be  
broughte to aunswere in hys Courte. Then *Cesar* coulde no  
longer suffer, but accused *Marullus* and hys fellowes before  
the Senate, as one that craftily wroughte agaynst hym  
by a calumination of *Tyrannie*, and whereas they deserued  
death, yet he thoughte it sufficient for them to lose theyr of-  
fice, and be putte out of the Senate. This dyd most of all con-  
firme, that he coueted this title, and that he venter all his pra-  
ctise to that ende, and was vtterly become a Tyrante, for as  
there was good authoritie to punish them that named any man  
King, so was the Tribunes office holy, inviolate by lawe, and  
auntient oth, and it made the anger the sharper, that he woulde  
not tarrie the time of his office, whiche when he vnderstode, he  
did

Cesar's Rationes.

Occasion of  
hate.

Cesar and Anto-  
nius Consuls.

The clemencie  
of Cesar.

Cesar deceyeth  
the peoples opi-  
nion.

A Crowne vpon  
Cesar's image, by  
one that was  
apprehended of  
the Tribunes  
*Marullus*, and  
*Sitius*.

Cesar accepteth  
not the name of  
a King.

Cesar angrye  
with the Tri-  
bunes, causeth  
captiue of  
Kingdome.

Caesar warred.

Answer of  
Caesar touching a  
gard of his per-  
son.  
Imperialis were  
shewes of nar-  
ked Priests in  
the honour of  
Pallas.  
In my fettleth a  
Crown on  
Caesars head.

Caesar hath the  
fading sicknesse.

Gere, Scithour in  
Europe.  
Voyage into  
Parthia.

Prophecie.

Isule.

did repent him, and first perceyued, that it was an harde thing to deale rigorously in peace, withoute authoritie of warre. Hys friends gaue him counsel to beware, and that he had giuen great occasion to his aduersaries to get matter agaynst him: therefore when they moued him y<sup>e</sup> he would be content to haue a garde of Spanishe bandes, he sayd, there was nothing moze unhappy, thā a continual gard, for it is of one that is euer asrayd. Yet the pra-ctises to be a King, ceased not, for sitting one day in the commō place in a chape of golde to see the playes of *Pannet*, *Antony* his fellowe in office, naked and annoynted, as the manner was for the Ministers of that solemnitie, came vnto *Caesars* seate, and set a crowne on his head, at the which sight few reioicing, and moze lamenting, *Caesar* threw it off. *Antony* set it on againe, but *Caesar* reiected it. The people stood silent, looking what end this would haue, and when they saw *Caesar* utterly refuse it, they reioyced, and highly commended him therefore. Now eether bycause he despayred, or in wayne attempted, or woulde auoyde the practise of so odious a thing, or for that he woulde leaue the Citie bycause of some enemies, or that he had regard to his health, being trou- bled with a falling sicknesse, which in rest many times came vpon him, he determined a greate voyage againste the *Getes* and *Parthians*: against the *Getes*, bycause they were insolente people, and quarrelling, euer troubling the *Romaine* state. Against the *Parthians*, bycause he would reuenge *Crasus* deathe whome they had slayne, contrary to oth and promise, and so hauing an armye of sixtene Legions, and tenne thousand Horse, he sent them afoze to passe the *Ionian* Sea. There was out of *Syllas* booke an olde saying, that the *Parthians* shoulde not be overcome, till a King went against them: wherefoze some there were so bold to saye, that as it was expedient for the *Romaines* to call him *Dictator*, or *Imperator*, or anye other name in stead of a King, so that all na- tions subiect to the *Romaine* Empire, shoulde call hym King. He refused this also, and made hast to his journey, bycause he sawe he was enuyed in the Citie: but whereas he tarried till the ap- pointed time, his enemies killed him foure dayes before in the Senate house, eether for enuie, which commonly accompangeth

such

such selfeitic & auozitic, or as they said, for the loue of their coun- treys libertie. For now they knew well that though he did not overcome those nations, without doubt he would be a King. And for this cause (I thinke) they toke the enterpryse agaynst him, under the pretence of that name: for though he was but *Dictator* in degre, it was as much as a King in deede. There were two chiefe in that conspiracy, *Marcus Brutus* *Cepio*, sonne to *Erutus* that was killed of *Sylla*, whiche fled to *Caesar* after the ca- lamitie of *Pharsalo* feld, and *Cassius* that deliuered hys gal- leis into *Caesars* hand at *Hellepont*. These two were afoze of *Pom- peys* part, and now much honoured of *Caesar*. *Decimus*, *Brutus*, *Al- binus*, alwayes thoughte woorthy of *Caesar* to be used in hono- and credite, and had great affaires committed to them, and in the wars in *Lybia*, trusted them wth armies, and made them Go- uernours of Provinces. *Decimus* of France beyond the *Alpes*, & *Brutus* of the same, on thys side the *Alpes*.

Conspiratours  
Marius.  
Ca. Cassius.  
D. Brutus.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* being *Pretors*, contended for the superi- oritic of the place, eether indeede who shoulde be higher, or else for a pretence, that they shoulde seeme to be no friendes. *Ca- sar* setting order betwixte them, said to hys friendes: *Cassius* de- sireth right, but *Brutus* muste be pleased. With so great loue and honour did *Caesar* vse hym, that of some he was compted hys son, because he loued very wel *Serulia*, *Caesars* sister, and *Brutus* mother.

Cloaked con-  
tention.

Therefore when he got the victory at *Pharsalo*, he gaue greate charge to hys Captayns, that in any wise they shoulde saue *Brutus*. But *Brutus* either as an ingrate man, or ignorant of his mo- thers faulte, or distrustfull, or ashamed, or very desirous of his countrys libertie, preferring it before all other things, or that he was descended of the auncient *Brutus*, that droue out the Kings: or that he was incensed and rebuked of the people, for manie things were written vpon the Images of olde *Brutus*, and in the Courte hall of this *Brutus* secretly set vp: *Brutus* thou takest rewardes, *Brutus* thou arte dead, & *Brutus* I would thou were aloue nowe, *Brutus*, what vnwoorthy posterity hast thou? *Brutus* thou arte not come of hym.

Caesars care of  
Brutus.

Brutus.

These and many other lyke, did indurme the young mans mind

to

to take the worke in hande as from his progenitor: The same of making him King did still encrease, and that there shoulde be a Counsell for it, a little before the which, *Cassius* took *Brutus* by the hand and sayd:

*Cassius.*

„ *Brutus* what shall we do in that counsell? Shall we, as *Cassius* flatterers agree to make him King? *Brutus* answered, I would not be at that Counsell. *Cassius* being cheared with these wordes, said: what if they call vs as Officers, what shall we do (good *Brutus*?) I wyll (quoth he) defend my Countrey euen to the death. Then *Cassius* embraced him, saying: Whom wilt thou take of the best being of this opinion? dost thou thinke that artificers and light people do set those writings vpon thy Iudgement place, rather thā the best Citizens of *Rome*, which of other Pretors do looke for shewes, and pastimes of horse and wilde beastes, but of thee they require liberty, as a worke worthy thine ancestors.

More Conspirators.

After they had thus firste opened what they had long kept in their minds before, they then deale plainly, and eche of them proued his own friends, and some of *Cassius*, whom they knewe to be mete for a bolde enterpryse, and they got of their friends two brethren, *Cecilius* and *Bucilius*, the *Rubrius Riga*, *Q. I. garus*, *Marcus Sparius*, *Seruilus Galba*, *Sextus Naso*, and *Pentius Aquila*, all these of their trusty friends, and of *Cassius* familiars. *Decimus*, of whome we spake, *Caius Casca*, *Trebonius Tullius Cymbrius*, *Minutius*, and *Bassillus*. These being thoughte insufficient, and not iudging it fit to haue anye more, they agreed together without othe or sacrifice, and yet was there not one that changed or disclosed, but only sought tyme and place.

The tyme was shorte, because *Cassius* muste goe away the fourth daye to his armyes, and then shoulde straight haue a garde of Souldiours aboute him: The place, they appointed the Senate house: thinking though the Senatours were not pruiue, yet when they sawe the orde, they woulde helpe to it, as they sawe happened to *Romulus*, who of a King became a Tyranne.

And that thys acte euen as that, being done in the place of Counsell, shoulde not be thoughte a treason, but a deede of the Citty,

*Romulus* was thoughte to be some peeces of the Senate.

Citty, boyde of orde of *Cassius* army, because it was a common consent, and that honour shoulde remaine to them also, as not ignorant of the whole entent. Concluding vpon this, they thought the Senate house the fittest place. Of the maner, they differed: some thought good to kill *Antonie* also, being Confull with *Cassius*, and his greatest friend, and most accepted to the armye. But *Brutus* sayde, if we dispatche *Cassius* alone, we shall be named killers of a Tyranne, because we deliuer vs of a King, and thereof muste haue oure prayse: but if we kill anye of his friendes, we shall be thoughte seditious against *Pompeys* enemies. Being all perswaded by this, they looked for the next meeting of the Senate.

Consultation of *Cassius* death.

The daye before that *Cassius* shoulde goe to the Senate, he had bin at a banquet with *Lepidus* Capitayne of the horsemen, whither he carryed *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, and talkyng merily what death was beste for a man, some saying one, and some an other, he of all, passed the sodaine death.

*Cassius* at a banquet.

Sodayne death.

Thus he prophesied of himselfe, and spake in telle of that whiche shoulde come to passe in earnest the next day. After the banquet, in the night, his body was sickely, and his wife *Calphurnia* dreamed she sawe him all to be goared with bloude, and therefore stopped his going forth. In making sacrifices, manye fearefull tokens appeared, wherfore he determined to haue sent *Antony*, to dissolve the Senate.

*Cassius* wife a fearefull dream.

Sacrifices vnprosperous.

*Decimus* being present, perswaded him not to take that calumnyation of the suspicion, but himselfe to goe and dissolve it, and so he was carryed thither in a litter.

Impediments to the conspiracie.

That daye certaine playes were exhibited in *Pompeys* Theatre, therefore the Senate shoulde be kept in the place nexte to it: being also to see the sights.

Theatre of *Pompey*.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* early in the morning, did sit as Pretors, giuing audience to suitors very quietly in a courte nigh the theatre of *Pompey*, and hearing of *Cassius* sacrifices, and the differing of the Senate, were in greate doubt: and one that was there, took *Cassius* by the hande, and sayde vnto him: would you keepe it from me that am your friende? *Brutus* tolde me *Cassius*

Discloing.

II. ij.

was

Edile had the ouer-  
sight of hon-  
fes, temples, and  
preparation of  
Playes.

Suspicion of dis-  
closing.

A booke of the  
Conspiracie.

Feare to the co-  
spiratours.

Sacrifices.

Caesar content  
with the sacrific-  
ces of euil luck.

was in a sodayne passion, that he knewe it: then he saide moze to hym smiling, where wyl you haue money for your office of *Edile*? and *Caesar* tolde him. *Brutus* and *Cassius* beyng together, and in talke, one of the Senators *Publius Lentulus*, sayde, he wished well to that they had in their mindes, and exhorted them to dispatch it. They being much amazed, helde their peace for a while.

As *Caesar* came forth, one of hys familiars vnderstanding of the conspiracie, and vsing to tel what he hearde, wente to *Calphurnia*, and saide onelpe this, bycause the matter touched *Caesar* much, he would tarry til he came from the Senate, for he knew not al that was wrought against him.

And one *Artemidorus* that was his hoste in *Guido*, ranne vnto the Counsell house and found hym newe slaine. Of another a booke of the Conspiracie was delivered, as he made haste into the Senate, whiche was founde againe in hys hande when he was dead. And came out of his litter *Lena*, that had wished wel before to *Cassius*, came vnto hym, and talked verie earnestly wth him, the sight wherof did trouble the, and the length of the talke made them winke one at another, to dispatche themselves, before they should be taken.

But perceyuing by the manner, that *Lena* was liker to speake for himselfe and make supplication, than to bewray them, they stayed, and in the ende, when they saw hym giue humble thanks, they were encouraged againe.

It was the custome that Rulers of the Citie shoulde sacrifice, when they went to the Senate: And agayne in *Caesar* firste sacrifice, there was no harte, or as some say, no heade of the entrailes, and whē the Diuinos said it was a signe of death, he smiled and sayde, so it was in *Spain*, when I ouerthrew *Pompey*; and the Diuinos answering that then he was in perill indeede, and now the token was moze manifest: *Caesar* had hym sacrifice againe, & nothing appearing better than it was, & being ashamed y he made y Senate tarry for hym, & being hastned of his enemies, as though they had bin friends, in dispright of his enemies, he went in, For it must needs come that was determined.

They

They left *Trebonius* to entertaine *Antony* without the doores, and when *Caesar* was set in hys seate, they stood aboute him as hys friends, with weapons hid, and first *Attilius Cimber* stood before him, & made sute for hys brothers retorne that was banished: *Caesar* being against it, & utterly denying it, hee took him by the purple robe, as he would haue made moze sute, he ruffled the garment, and pulled it ouer his necke, crying: Wth staye you (O friends?) *Caesar* came ouer his head, & first thrust his dagger at his throat, which missing, hit him on y breast. *Caesar* twining his gowne fro *Cimber*, & catching *Caesar* by y hand, flung fro his seate, & with great violence layd hold vpon *Caesar*. Whiles he was doing this, wrestling with him, another stroke him on the shoe that laye open, and *Cassius* hurte him in the face, and *Brutus* on the thyghe, and *Bucolmus* betwene the shoulders: yet *Caesar* with rage and roare like a wilde beaste, stepped to euery of the: but after *Brutus* had hurt him, as though he then had dispaired, he wrapte himself in his gowne, and fell comely before the picture of *Pompey*: and they, (when he was downe) vnto such despite, as they gaue him thre and twentie woundes, and many were so hasty, that they hurte one another.

When this act was done by these murderers in a sacred place, vpon a sacred and inuolate man, by and by there was fleeing from the Senate house, and about all the Citie: and in the tumulte, some Senators were hurt, and other men were killed: and there was much slaughter done both of Citizens and strangers, not of purpose, but as happeneth in such a Ciuil fir, when one commeth vpo another ignorauntly. The sworde players that had bene in armour from the morning, for the shewe of certaine playes, ranne from the game place, to the barres of the Senate house: the people that came to the playes driven into a feare, fledde away: shoppers were spoiled: al doores were shutte, and preparation made for defence from the house toppes. *Antony* went to his owne house, intending to take aduice for this case of *Caesar*.

*Lepidus* the Captaine of horsemen, being in the comon place and hearing what was done, ranne to the Ile within the Ty-

ber,

the,

Tullius

The manner of  
Caesar's death.

Caesar clutch  
ouer when  
Pompey had  
knew him, and  
some vnto  
that he sayd,  
what thou art  
fomre.

Confusion.

Antony

lie, where he had a legion, and brought them abroade to be ready at *Antony's* commaundement. For he did cleave to *Antony* as *Caesar's* friende, and chiefly as Consull. Being mette together, they had greate desire to reuenge *Caesar's* death that thus was hindred. They feared the Senate woulde take the killers parte, therfore they would stay to consider of it. There were no souldiours about *Caesar*, for he delighted not in a garde, but only vsted the Sergeants of his authoritie, and when he wente from his house to the Senate, he was wayted on with manie of the magistrates, and great number of people, as wel Citizens as straungers, and of seruantes and freemen in great multitude: all the which fleeing away by heapes, only three seruantes taried, which layd his body in the litter. Thus three men not suteable, did carie him home, that a little before was Lord of sea and lande. The murderers woulde haue sayde somewhat in y<sup>e</sup> Senate house; but none wold tarry to heare. They wrapt their goiuns about their left armes as Targets, and haung their daggers bloudy, cryed they had kylled a king and a Pyzanne, and one bare an hatte vpon a speare, in token of Libertie. Then they exhorted them to the common wealth of their countrey: and remembred, olde *Brutus* and the oth made againste the old Kings. Some went among them, shewing their daggers, who though they were not at the fact, yet woulde they haue parte of the prayse, as *Lentulus*, *Spintor*, *Fannius*, *Aquinius*, *Dolabella*, *Mureus*, and *Petius*, who wer not then partakers of the glorie, but afterwarde tasted of the punishment with the offenders.

The common people came not to them, which made them the more doubtful and in feare. As for the Senate, although for ignorance and tumult, they were fled, yet they had good truste in the as in their kinsfolkes and friends, and such as could as eue beare Tyrannie as they: but the people they suspected, and as many as had serued *Caesar* in warre, whereof there were not a fewe then present in the Citie, some discharged of the warfare were appointed to habitations, and some that had bin at their dwelling places, were now come again to go the journey with

that escape of  
by the sword  
Antony

Caesar, Antony  
and Brutus, the  
killers.

Three men only  
taried with  
Caesar.

Liberty.

They that  
fought prayse  
found paye.

The great  
multitude of  
the people.

with *Caesar*. They were afrayde also of *Lepidus* and his army in the Citie, and of *Antony* the Consull, leaste he would vse the people only, leauing the Senate, and worke them some displeasure, being thus bestad, they wente to the Capitoll with the swoordeplayers, where consulting what was best to be done, it seemed good to giue a largesse to the people, hoping that if some beganne to prayse their act, the other wold folow, for loue of liberty, and the desire of common wealth: for they thoughte y<sup>e</sup> people of *Rome* to be as sincere now, as they had heard it was when olde *Brutus* expelled the Kings, not understanding that they looked for two things contrarie in themselves, that they that loue libertie and would be corrupted, should be profitable to them at this present, wherof y<sup>e</sup> one was more easie to be had, as in a state for y<sup>e</sup> most part corrupted: for now the people was mixt with strangers, & a libertie was equal with a Citizen, & the fashion of a seruant, like to the maisters: for y<sup>e</sup> Senate except, the rest was indifferet to the seruantes. Further, y<sup>e</sup> distribution of coine, which was vled only in *Rome* to be giuen to y<sup>e</sup> poore, had brought y<sup>e</sup> idle & noddie vacabonds of *Italy* to *Rome*. Again, a nuber of olde woyme souldiers out of wages, were not deuided into their countries as they wer wont senerally, because some had serued in vniust wars, but would go into common habitations, & take other mens land & houses, remayning together in temples & comon places, vnder one banner, & one chiefe, y<sup>e</sup> might appoint the a prouince, & selling alway their owne, to be the more ready to go, they were sone bought for reward. Therfore it was not hard for *Cassius* to gather a nuber of such men, & bring them into y<sup>e</sup> comon place: & albeit they were hired, yet durst they not prayse y<sup>e</sup> was done, for feare of *Caesar's* glozy & others deuotion, but for y<sup>e</sup> comon welth sake, they cried for peace, & earnestly exhorted the rulers vnto it, for thys was the deuise of the kyllers, to worke theyr owne safetie. And there coulde be no peace vlesse there were a forgetting, standyng in these termes.

*Cynna* a Pretor and a kinsmanne by marriage to *Caesar*, beyonde all opinion, came among them, hauing on hys vesture

Difference of  
tyne.

Causes of  
corruption at  
Rome.

Distribution of  
Coine.

Masterlesse  
men.

Comraiser's  
Caesar.

vesture of office, which he threwe of, as given him of a Tyrant, and called *Cæsar* the Tyrant, and them that killed him, killers of a Tyrant, and prayed the facts, as moste like to their progenitors, and that those men were to be called from the Capitoll, and to be honoured with dew rewardes. This *Cinna* sayde: but they, seeing the vncorrupted people was not myrte with them, did not call them from the Capitoll, nor did any thing else but onely exhorted to peace. Then *Dolabella* a yong man and a noble, appointed to be Consul, after *Cæsar* had ben gone, for the rest of the yeare, hauing on the garment of a Consul, and the *Patres* of his office, was the second that spake cuill, and pretended he was praiue to the deuise, and only soze that his hand was not at the doing of it: and as some saye, he decreed that that daye shoulde be honoured as the byzth day of the Citie. When the hyred men toke harte, when they saw both a Dictor, and a Consul to forgiue them, & they called *Cassius* and the rest out of the Temple, who were glad of *Dolabella* a yong noble man & a Consul being most inete to match with *Antony*: only there came downe *Cassius* and *Marcus Brutus* with his bloudy hand, for they had struen who shoulde giue *Cæsar* moste woundes, and when they were amiddst the people, they spake nothing humbly, but as in noble and euident things one prayed another, calling the Citie now blessed, attributing muche to *Decimus*, that in so fitte a time had serued them with swozplayers. When they stirred the people, that they woulde do things woorthy their auncestours, whiche had expelled kings, not reiquing by violence as *Cæsar* did, but being chosen lawfully: they also proposed that *sextus Pompey*, sonne to *Pompey* the greate, that hadde made warre agaynst *Cæsar* for the common wealth, myght be called home, beyng yet in armes in spayne agaynst *Cæsar*s Captaines, and lyke wyse *Cicetius* and *Manlius* that were deprived and banished by *Cæsar*, being Tribunes of the people. When they hadde thus sayde, they wente bype againe to the Capitoll, for they dyd not truste verre muche in that multitude. Then their friendes and kinsfolke might repaire vnto them into the Temple, of whom they chose

11. 4. 22.

He that had Cæsar  
sent to the  
people.

chose the most auncient to send to *Lepidus* and *Antony* for reconciliation, and regarde of libertie, and to saue the Countrey from the euils that might growe, vnlesse they be forsaene. This much did the messengers require, not praying y thing that was done, (for they durst not to *Cæsar*s friends) but desired to haue it bozne with, for the woorthynesse of the doers, not for hate to him, but for the loue of their countrey, and pitie of the Citie, nowe consumed with continuall sedition, of whiche one more woulde utterly destroy all good men of the same, and that it was not right that for any hate amongst a few, they shoulde worke the public destruction, but rather that for public commodities, priuate enmities might be wiped away. *Antony* and *Lepidus* (as I sayde) minded to reuenge *Cæsar*s deathe, eyther for friendships sake, or for a practise betwene them, or for desire of rule, and thynkyng all things would be the easier to them, if such notable men might be ridde out of the way, yet they feared their friendes and theyr kinsfolkes, and the Senate that enclined to them, and most of all *Decimus*, whome *Cæsar* hadde appoynted to gouerne France theyr neyghboure, whereby he hadde a mighty armye. Therfore they thought it best to tarry for a better occasion, and deuise to gette *Decimus* army that was so valiant and expert, with laboures neuer left. Haying this setch, *Antony* thus answered the messengers. For priuate displeasure we will worke nothing, but for offence and matter, wherein we are all swozne to *Cæsar* to bee

Messengers to  
Antony and Lepidus.

The deuise of  
Antony and Lepidus.

Antonyes answer.

¶

went

went to euery Senatours house, and requested them for themselves, and for the Countreys common wealth. There came also the Captaynes of such as should haue habitations, threatening mischief, vntil some did performe the laus & places that was giuen and promised. The sincere sort of the Citie took good heart, perceiuing the final number of these doers. They enclined to the memorie of *Caesar*, and were of diuers opinions. *Caesar*'s money, and the bookes of his doings, were carryed to *Antony*, either bycause *Calphurnie* for the danger of hir house did send them to *Antony*, as moze surer, or that *Antony* did so commaund it. This done, a decree was made by *Antony* that night, to call the Senate before daye at the Temple of the Goddesse of the earth, not farre from his owne house, for neyther durst he goe to the Senate house in the Capitoll, bycause of the sword players gathered there, nor hying the armie into the Towne for troubling of it: notwithstanding *Lepidus* brought them in. Day drawing nigh, other Senatours came to y<sup>e</sup> Temple of y<sup>e</sup> Goddesse of the earth, and *Cinna* the Dictor hauing on agayne his garment, which the day before he had throlwen off, as giuen him of a Tyrant, made hast thither, whome, when parte of the vncorrupted people, and parte of *Caesar*'s souldiours saue, beeyng in a rage, bycause the day before he was the firste that openly spake euill of *Caesar*, beeyng hys kinsman, they threwe stones at hym, and droue hym into an house, and gote woodde to haue burned it, had not *Lepidus* come with the armie and forbiddon them. This was the firste token whereby *Caesar*'s friendes hadde confidence, that the conspiratours and the hyed fellows were asrayde.

In the Senate house there were felwe that were pure from violence and contention. The most parte with diuers deuice favoured the manquellers, and thoughte them most woorthye of trust to be there for common consultation, and of offenders to make them Iudges, the whiche *Antony* dyd not lette, bycause he knewe they woulde not come, as they dyd not indeede. Then in trvall of the Senate, some very earnestly and playnely prayed the fakte, namyng them Tyrant-killers, and wylled they shoulde be rewarded. Other denyed the reward, themselves not desiring

*Caesar*'s money  
and bookes  
sent to *Antony*

The Senate in  
the Temple of  
the Goddes of the  
earth.

A<sup>ntony</sup> vs<sup>t</sup> against  
*Cinna*.

Antony after  
prayd for the  
Senate.

desiring it, nor hauyng done it for that intente, but thoughte it iust they should only be commended as well doers. Some woulde not allow that commendation, but onely thoughte it ynough if they were forgynon. Thus did they deuise and forecast at the firste, to what the Senate woulde encline, that after by little and little, they myghte the easier obteyne the rest. The vncorrupted company did abhorre the acte as wicked, yet for the reuerence of their great houses, were not againste, but that they shoulde be saued: yet that they should be honozed as well doers, they coulde not abide. Other spake againste this, that it was not conuenient so to haue them, as the rest, that beloged to their safety, shoulde be enuyed. And when one sayde, that they honour shoulde be *Caesar*'s dishonoure, they answered, that it was not fyte a dead man shoulde be preferred to the quicke. Another behemiently saying, that of two things one must be chosen, eyther to declare *Caesar* a Tyrante, or to forgine these by mercy, they took hold of this only, and required that voyces mighte be tryed of *Caesar* by oth, and that the decrees made of necessitie, shoulde not prejudice them, for whyles he ruled, they dyd nothyng freely, but all for feare of themselves *Pompey* beeyng slayne, and wyth hym manye a thousande moze. *Antony* markyng all thyngs deceytfully, perceyuing that ample and euident matter of speeches was offered, determined to turne they cogitation wyth a priuate care and feare of themselves, and vnderstandyng that a greate parte of these Senatours, were appoynted to offices and Iudgeshoddes in the Citie, and to gouernements of armyes and prouinces by *Caesar*, for the tyme to come, (for hee shoulde be long forth wyth hys armie, the space of fyue yeares) commaundyng silence as Consull, thus sayde.

They that woulde haue voyces tryed vpon *Caesar*, must knowe afore, that if he ruled as an officer lawfully chosen, then all hys actes and decrees must stande in force, but if by violence we thinke he playd the Tyrant, then must his body be cast out of y<sup>e</sup> Citie vnburied, and all his actes be reuoked: wherfore (as I see) we must meble to all y<sup>e</sup> world both by sea & land, & many be such,

Al. if.

as

*Antony*'s  
fittellie.

*Antony*'s Oration.

as though we would, will not obey vs, as I shall declare hereafter. Now what apperteyneth to vs alone (for this matter, toucheth only vs) I will put all things before you, that as in an easie platte you may see a shew of harder things. All we in manner haue borne office vnder *Cæsar*, and yet doe beare, chosen, and made by him, and some are, to haue offices in time to come, as the lotte falls out, for you know he appoynted for fīue yeares the yearely offices of the Citie to you, and the regimentes of Countreys and armies. If you will willingly forgoe them (for that is in your power to do) this would I haue you first determine, and then proceede to other. Thus *Antony* did kinde a fire, not for *Cæsar*, but for themselves, and helde his peace. Then they by and by in throngs with shoutes, starte vp, and denyed that any other triall shoulde be made by the voyces of the people, but that the things appoynted, shoulde be assuredly holden. There were some vnder age, and other that might finde resistance in election, whome he chiefly stirred, of whome *Dolabella* the Consull was one, to whome it was not lawfull to be consull by election, because he was not fīue and twenty yeares of age, wherefore he shewed a suddayne mutation of that he pretended the day before, rebuking as many of them, as thought the conspiratours worthy of honor, that they that were in office, shoulde be dishonored, by making their securitie to haue the better shew. Other put *Dolabella* and the rest in hope, that they shoulde receiue thanks of the people, and straight resume their dignities, without any alteration of the officers, but to shewe a lawfuller way by common election, and that it shoulde be an ornament to them to be aduanced, as well by the authoritie of the people, as by the appoyntments of one ruler: and this was no sooner spoken, but some of the officers, to deceiue the other, put off their robes, as to receiue the same agayne more lawfully. Some perceiued the craft, and did not thinke to get by election, that they already had. The matter standing thus, *Antony* and *Lepidus* wente out of the Senate house, for certaine that came running from the multitude, did call them, and as they were scene from aboue, and sīlently hardly put to them that made much noyse, one cryed vnto them,

whether

*Dolabella* changed.

whether of his owne minde, or that he was suborned, and bade them take heed, least they suffered the like. Then *Antony* losing his gowne, shewed his cūret, incensing the lookers on, as though now no man coulde be safe, vlesse he ware armour, no not the Consull. There was some cryed that the fact might be punished, and more made request for peace, to whom he thus sayd: If that, we will consider, as shall be fitte to be, and what it is, that it may auayle, but the suretie of it is hard to be found, since neyther oth, nor excretion could profit *Cæsar*, and to them that called for reuenge, he turned and commended them, as more careful of their othes and honestie. I would be (quoth he) youre Captayne, and crye as you do, but that I am a Consull, to whome belongeth rather to speake for profite, than for iustice, for so doe they within, perswade vs, and so *Cæsar* himselfe, for the profite of the Citie, sparing them that he hadde taken in warre, was of the same be destroyed. Thus wrought *Antony* artificially, & they that thought the fact to be punished, required *Lepidus* that he would punish it. *Lepidus* intending to speake, they that stood farre off, prayed hym to goe into the common place, that all might heare him indifferently. He wente straight forth, with opinion that the peoples minds were now turned, and when he was come to the place of speech, he lamented weeping, and thus sayd. Here I was yesterday with *Cæsar*, and now am I here to enquire of *Cæsars* death, what will you haue done? many cryed that they shoulde reuenge *Cæsar*. The hyed men cryed for peace in the Citie, to whome he sayd, we will so, but what peace speake you of? with what othes, can it be sure? for all our Countrey othes we haue sworne to *Cæsar*, and we that are compted the least of them that did sweare, haue troden all vnder the fote. Then he turned to them that cryed for reuenge. *Cæsar* sayd he, is gone from vs, an holy and honored man in deede, and we be afrayd to hurte the Citie, and them that be left. This do the Senate treate of, and manye thinke it god: then they cryed, that he alone shoulde take it in hand, I will (sayd he) for it is a iust oth to me alone, but it is not ynough that, I and you alone doe will it, or that we alone can fulfill it. Handling the matter thus craftily, the hyed men, knowing that he

was

A newe Enter  
by *Antony*.

*Lepidus* to the  
people.

*Casars Priest.  
Sole offered to  
Lepidus.*

was ambitious, praised him, and exhorted him to take the office of *Casars* Priesthooe, of the which he being very glad, sayde: You shall remember me of this hereafter, if I shall be worthy of it. They that were hired, were the more instant for peace, bycause of the liberall speech of the Priesthooe. Then sayde he, although it be uniuert and wicked, yet will I doe it, bycause you will me. This said, he returned into the Senate house, where *Dol-bella* all that time had bin importune for the continuance of his office. *Antony* gathering the peoples humoz, looked ouer hym wyth a smiling countenance, and finding them to dissent among themselves, and the people to doe nothing earnestly, hauing beholden all sufficiently, he determined to saue the mē, hiding one necessity with another, that both they shuld be saued by especial grace, and that *Casars* actes should be confirmed by decree, & the Senates orders take effect: therfore silence being comanded, he sayd thus.

*Antony to the  
Senate.*

Of the Citizens offendoures (you men of equall honoz) in this your consultation, I haue sayd nothing, but to them that contrarywise desired a tryall of *Casus*, I put for the onely one of his deues, which hath not withoute cause kept you in contention tyll this time: for if we doe refuse those offices, we shall confesse so many worthy men, but unworthily to haue receyued them. Then consider that is not easie to be hard, and number in your mindes the Cities, the nations, the kingdomes, the regions, and (as I may say) all things frō the East to the West, y<sup>e</sup> *Casus* had by his vertue vanquished for vs, and all that by his power subdued, the same by law, clemencie, and curtesie he made assured vnto hym. Which of these do you thinke wil beare to be depriued y<sup>e</sup> things they haue enioyed, vnlesse you wil fyll all with warres, that are desirous to heale youre countrey that is nowe most feeble wyth disease. Those that be farre off, and kepte doluue with feare and fight, I wil omitte to touch: but those that be not at hand only, and as I may say, euen at home throughout all *Italy*, some haue receyued rewards of victoery, and by multitudes, with the armies, wherewith they serued, be of *Casus* appointed habitations by the same institution, whereof many a thousand be within this cite: what do you thinke they wil do, if you take from them that they had,

had, or that they looked to haue of Cities and Countreys: This last night did shew vs an Image of this matter, for whē you did intreate for the offendoures, they on the contrary ranne aboute with threatenings. Do you thinke they can abide to see *Casars* body violated, to be & vnburyed (for these things by law are wanted to be done against Tyrants) whiche haue serued in the warres with him, and to haue the gayne gotten by the victozies of *France* and *England* confirmed vnto them, when he that was the gyuer of them, is so despyghtfully handled? What thinke you the people of *Rome* will do? What thinke you the *Italians*? What hate shal you haue both of God and man, if you do so defile your empire, enlarged from the Ocean sea, to the people vnknewen: for you shall not lacke reproofe and blame for this youre inconstancie, more than they that thinke you worthy honoz, that killed a Consul in the Counsell house, an holye man in an holy place, Senatoures being the doers in the sighte of the Gods, and dishonoz him, that of his enimies is most honored: from these things as vnlawfull and not in your power, I do warne you to refrayne. Then this sentence I giue, that *Casars* actes and decrees doe remayne firme and stable, that the offenders be praised in no wise, for it is not goodly, iust, nor consonant, *Casars* actes being ratified, that of mercy onely you will pardon them for their friends and kinssolkes sake, so as they do so accept it, and will of the confesse it in thankfull part. When *Antony* had said this, with great contention and vehemency the decree was made, all other being silent and content: That there should be no action for *Casars* death: That all his actes and decrees should be confirmed, so as they were commodious for the cite. And this, with much adoe, did the friends of the offendoures cause to be added for their safetie, that they were not more kepte for iustice sake, than for profite. *Antony* gaue place vnto it. These being decreed, they that were heads of men to be set in habitations, desired a priuate decree by common authoritie, that their places of inhabitaunce myghte be made sure vnto them, and *Antony* was not agaynst it, shewing some feare with the Senate. This decree was made, and another like for them that went to their inhabitacons.

Decrees.

A decree for  
habitations.

The

Lucius

Confiscation  
touching Caesar's  
Testament.Lucius to the  
people.

The Counsell being thus broken vp, there were some that persuaded *Lucius Pise*, to whome *Caesar* had left his Testamente, that it should neyther be brought forth, nor his body buried openly, least it mighte breede some newe tumuli in the Citie. He being otherwise minded, was threated to be called to aunswer, for that he defrauded the people of such substance due to the common treasure, once agayne making signification of Tyrannie. Then *Pise* cryed as lowde as he could, praying the Consuls that were yet present, to goe to counsell againe, and sayde. They that haue affirmed that one Tyrant is taken away, they in steade of that one, be all Tyrants vnto vs, forbidding me to bury an holy Idoll, & threaten me, if I bring forth his last will. They make confiscation of his goodes, as of a Tyrant. His actes that maketh for them they ratifie, but those that he hath left for himselfe they reuoke, not *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but they that did incense them to this mischief. Of his Sepulture be you Lordes, of his Testament, I will be, and shall not suffer him to be deceyued in my trust of faith, befoze some man takeih away my breath.

Caesar's Testa-  
ment.Brutus to the  
people.

Much stirre and businesse did rise of this among them ail, and specially by them that supposed to get somewhat by his Testament: therefore it was thought conuenient that his Testament should be brought abroade, and that his body should be buried openly, and so the Counsell rose. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding of this, did send to the multitude to call them to the Capitoll, and when many came running thither with greate hast, *Brutus* sayd thus. Holue O Citizens, we be here with you, that yester day were in the common court, not as me sleepeing to the Temple that haue done amisse, nor as to a fozt, hauing committed all we haue to you, but the sharpe & strange mishap of *Cinna*, haue cōpel- led vs thus to do. We haue herd what hath bin objected against vs of oure enemies, touching the oth, and touching cause of doubt, y in peace can be no suretie. What we haue to say herein with you O Citizens, we will conferre, with whome we haue to do concerning other common matters. When *Cinna* Caesar frō France invaded his Countrey with enemies armies, and *Pompey*, a singulare fauourer of the people, had suffered, as euery man knowes:

knoweth: after hym a number of good Citizens wente into *Iheria*, & *Libya*, & were destroyed. We at his desire gaue him security, and as it should seme, afrayde of himselfe, seeking to make his Tyranny sure, we sware vnto it. If he had required vs to swere, not only to confirme the things past, but also to haue bene bys slaues in time to come, what woulde they then haue done that nowe lie in wayte for our lines? I suppose verie Romaines indæde, wyll rather chosse certaine death, as they haue oft done, than by an othe to abyde willing seruitude. If *Caesar* hitherto haue gone aboute nothing to make vs seruite, we confesse we haue broken our othe: but if neyther offices in the Citie, nor prouinces in y country, nor armies, nor dignities of the church, nor assigning of inhabitance, nor other honours be left to vs, or had the cōsent of the Senate, or the allowance of the people, but did all by his owne commaundement: if his ambition was neuer satiate, as *Syllas* was, who, when he had ouerthrowne his enemies, restored to vs the common wealth: if he making any other armye for a long time, toke awaye our election for fūe yeares, what libertie was this, when no hope coulde appeare? what should we say of the peoples chiefe officers, *Sesquius* and *Marullus*, were they not with contumely thrust frō the sacred & inuolate offices? and where the lawe and othe of our aunce- stours do not suffer any act to be made against y Tribunes, yet *Caesar* banished them and shewed no cause: whither the haue offered against the holy Tribunes, we, or *Caesar*? being a sacred and inuolate man, to whom, not willingly, but of necessitie, we graunted these thing, nor befoze he came agaynst his country in armour, and had killed so many noble Citizens. The office of the Tribunes can not be holy nor inuolated, to the whiche our fathers in time of common welth dyd sweare without cō- pulsion, with intent to haue it euerlasting. The renewelwe and accompt of the Empire, where became it? who brake open the Treasure house against our wills? who caught the money bin, touched and vnmouable? who thzctned death to the Tribune, that resisted him? but what oth (saye they) shall be sufficient to, preserue peace: if there be no Tyranny, here naxdes no oth: our

I.

foze,

• forerathers neuer had neede of anye. But if any other wil as-  
 • pire to tyrannie, there is no farth, no not with an othe, betwix  
 • the Romaines and a Tiranne. Thus we speake now in perill,  
 • and will euer speake it for our country. For being in hancure  
 • and safety with *Cæsar*, we preferred the honour of our countrey  
 • before our owne: wel they vie calumination aginst vs and  
 • flurre you for the habitations. If here be any present, eyther y  
 • hath, or shalbe appointed to those inhabitatione, I pray you do to  
 • much at my request as giue a token of your selues. Many epe  
 • so: then saye he: Wh well done (good men) that you be come to  
 • do as other do, and it is conuenient that you which indifferent  
 • lye doe trauaile and laboure for youre countrey, shoulde  
 • receiue equal reward of the same. The people of *Rome* did ap-  
 • point you to *Cæsar* againste the English and French men: it is  
 • therefore reason, that hauing done good seruice, you receiue  
 • as good rewards. But he bound you with oths and unwillingly  
 • led you aginst the Citie: he led you likewise aginst the beste  
 • Citizens in *Litha*: likewise aginst your wi's. If your trauaile  
 • had ben only in this, peraduenture you would haue bin asha-  
 • med to aske recompence: but the seruice that you did in *France*  
 • and *England*, no enue, no time, no obliuion of man, can put  
 • out of memorie: and for these, the beste recompence which the  
 • people was wont to giue to the old souldiers, not taking away  
 • mens landes or houses that had not offended, nor giuing to one  
 • that was an others, nor thinking they ought to recompence  
 • with iniustice, nor when they had conquered their enemies, to  
 • take away all their land, but made a partition, and appointed  
 • some of their souldiers to dwel there, as a garrison for the co-  
 • quered places, and many times when the Land that was won  
 • was not suffice thereto: it was divided of the common, or bought  
 • more of newe: so did the people place you, without any others  
 • dispensare. But *Brutus* and *Cæsar* who inuaded their countrey as  
 • enemies, hauing need of garde & garrison vpon the countrey,  
 • did neither send you to lye in any of your owne countrees,  
 • nor bought any land for you, nor bestowed that vpon you that  
 • they had got from other, nor vpon composition redoyed the ho-  
 • nours

• hours on them, from whome they were taken, althoughe they  
 • had the treasure and conquered lande, but toke from *Italy* that  
 • had not offended, nor done any thing amisse, by lawe of warre,  
 • or rather of robbery, lands, houses, Sepulchres and Temples,  
 • which we would not take from our greatest strange enemies,  
 • onely setting a taxe of the tenth part vpon them: but they haue  
 • made diuision to you of that which was your owne countrey-  
 • mens, and them that sente you to serue *Cæsar* in the French  
 • wars, and made many bowes for your victories, and appoint-  
 • ed you by companies to conuenient dwelling places, with en-  
 • signes and discipline of souldiours: So as you can neyther  
 • enioye peace, nor be sure of them that be thrust out, for who so  
 • euer is put out and spoyled of his owne, he will remaine to  
 • spe a time for to be euen with you. This was the cause why  
 • the Tirannes would not let you haue any land, which mighte  
 • haue bene giuen you by other meanes, that hauing euer eni-  
 • mies that laye in wayte, you shoulde be sure keepers of their  
 • power, whiche by iniustice did continewe yours. For, the good  
 • will that Tirans haue of their garde, is that they be as far in  
 • doing wrong, and feare, as themselves. And this they (O God)  
 • do cal a cohabitation, wherby lament of countrey men mighte  
 • be made, and insurrection, of them that haue done no wrong, &  
 • they for this purpose haue made vs enemies to our own coun-  
 • trey felke, for their singular profit: & we, who now y chiefe offi-  
 • cers of y countrey, do say they saue vs for mercies sake, do com-  
 • firme presently, & hereafter wil confirme y same very bond to you  
 • for euer, of the which we take god to witnesse, that ye haue &  
 • shal haue al you haue had, & that none shall take it fro you: not  
 • *Brutus*, nor *Cæsar*, nor they y for your liberties haue put al their  
 • selues in perill, & we y be only accused in this matter, will saue  
 • our selues, & be to you & to your allied friends, a special cōfort, &  
 • y that is most pleasant to you to heare. At the first occasiō that  
 • shal be offered, we wil giue you the price for the land y is takē,  
 • fro other, of the cōmon reuenew, that you shall not onely haue  
 • your setting settled, but also boyce of al encombraunce.

• *Brutus* thus spake, al the hearers cōsidering with the  
 • selues that he spake nothing but right, did like them wel, & as

men of courage and louers of the people, had them in great admiration, and were turned into their fauour, and determined to doe them good the next day: whiche being come, the Consuls called the people to an assembly, and repeated the opinions.

Then *Cicero* did speake very much in the prayse of forgetting of iniuries, of the which they reioiced, and called *brutus* and *Cassius* from the Temple. They desired pledges, to whom *Lepidus* & *Antony* sonnes were sente. When *Brutus* & *Cassius* were scene, there was such a noyse, as the Consuls that would haue sayd somwhat, could not be suffered, but were first required to shake hands and be at one, which they dyd. And the Consuls mindes were troubled with feare or enuye, that these men and their friends should p̄cure in that common cause. Then was *Cassius* testament with the wytings for the dispositiō of his goods, brought forth, which the people commaunded to be red. There was *Octavius* his nephew by his sisters daughter, found to be his sonne by adoption. His gardings were given the people for solace, and to euery Citizen of *Rome* that was present, seauentie fine dr̄ames of *Athens*. Now was the people streyght turned to anger, being abused by the name of a Tyranne, that in hys testament had shewed most loue to his country. And one thing seemed most to be pitied, that *Decimus Brutus*, one of the killers was made his sonne among his second heyres: for the *Romaines* manner was, to their first heyres to adde the second, yf the first take not, the second may. With this they were much troubled, thinking it a wicked and abhominable act, that *Decimus* should conspire against *Caesar*, whome hee had made one of his children.

*Piso* brought forth *Caesar's* body, to the which, infinit numbers in armes ran, to kepe it, & with much noyse & p̄p̄e, brought it to the place of speech. There was much lamentation & weeping, ther was rushing of harnesse together, with repentance of the forgetting of reuēgence. *Antony* marking how they were affected, did not let it slippe, but toke vpon him to make *Caesar's* funeral sermon, as Consul, of a Consul, friend, of a friend, & kinsman, of a kinsman (for *Antony* was partly his kinsman) and to use

*Cicero.*  
This foretelling  
howe vnder call-  
ed *Antony* after  
the manner of  
the *Greekes*.  
Further and *Cassius*  
first recombled  
with the Consuls.

*Caesar's* testament.

*Octavius*.

This dramme  
was the value  
of a groite.

*Decimus Brutus*  
heyre to *Caesar*  
in reuenging.

The people  
turned.

use craft againe. And thus he said:

I do not thinke it meete (O Citizens) that the buriall prayse of such a man, should rather be done by me, than by the whole country. For what you haue altogether for the loue of hys vertue giuen him by decree, aswell the Senate as the people, I thinke your voice, and not *Antony*, oughte to expresse it.

This he vttered with sad and heauy cheare, and with a framed voice, declared euery thing, chiefly vpon the decree, where by he was made a God, holy & inuiolate, father of the country, benefactor and gouernor, and such a one, as neuer in al things they entituled other man to y like. At euery of these wordes *Antony* directed his countenance & hands to *Caesar's* body; and with vehemencie of wordes opened the fact. At euery title he gaue an addition, with brieve speech, mixt with pitie and indignation. And when the decree named him father of the Country, then he said: *This is the testimony of our duety.*

And at these wordes, *holy, inuiolate* and *untouched*, and *the refuge of all other*, he said: *For one other made refuge of hym. But, he, this holy and untouched, is kyled, not taking honour by, violences whiche he neuer desired, and then be we verie thral, that bestowe them on the vntwoorthy, neuer suing for them. But, you doe purge your selues (O Citizens) of this unkindnesse, in y you nolve do use suche honoure towarde hym being dead.*

Then rehearsing the othe, that all shoulde keepe *Caesar* and *Caesar's* body, and if any one wente about to betraye hym, that they were accursed that would not defende him: at this he extolled hys voice, and helde by his handes to the Capitoll, saying:

O *Iupiter* Countreies defendour, and you other Gods, I am ready to reuenge, as I sware and made execration, and when it comes good to my companions to aliove the decrees, I desire them to aide me. At these plainē speeches spoken agaynst the Senate, an uproare being made, *Antony* waxed colde, and recanted hys wordes. It seemeth (O Citizens) (saide hee) that the things done haue not bin the worke of men, but of Gods, and that we ought to haue more consideration of the present, than of the past, because the thyngs to come, maye bring vs to greater,

E. iij.

danger,

, danger, than these we haue, if we shall returne to oure olde, and waste the rest of the noble men that be in the Cittie. Therfore let vs send this holy one to the number of the blessed, and sing to him his due hymne and mourning verse.

*Julius caesars gesture in the time of the funeral of Caesar.*

When he had saide thus, he pulled vp his gowne lyke a man beside hymselfe, and gyrded it, that he might the better strike his handes: he stode ouer the Litter, as from a Tabernacle, looking into it, and opening it, and firste sang his hymne, as to a God in heauen. And to confirme he was a God, he held vp his hands, and with a swift voice, he rehearsed the warres, the fights, the victories, the nations that he had subdured to his Countrey, and the great booties that he had sent, making every one to be a maruell. Then with a continuall crye,

This is the only unconquered of all that euer came to handes with him. Thou (quoth he) alone diddest reuenge thy countrey being injured. 300. years, & these fierce nations that onely inuaded Rome, & only burned it, thou broughtest them on their knees.

And when he had made these and many other innocations, he turned his voice from triumphe to mourning matter, and began to lament and mone him as a friend that had bin vniustly vsed, & did desire that he might giue his soule for *Caesars*. Then falling into moste vehement affections, vncouered *Caesars* body, holding vp his vesture with a speare, cut with the woundes, and redde with the bloude of the chiefe Ruler, by the which the people lyke a Quire, did sing lamentation vnto him, and by this passion were againe replete with ire. And after these speeches, or ther lamentations wpyth voice after the Countrey custome, were sung of the Quires, and they rehearsed again his acts & his hap.

Then made he *Caesar* hymselfe to speake as it were in a lamentable sort, to holoe many of his enemies he hadde done good by name, & of the killers themselves to say as in an admiratiō. *Did I see them that haue killed me?* This the people coulo not abide, calling to remembraunce, that all the killers (only *Decimus* except) were of *Pompeys* faction, and subdured by him, to whom, in stead of punishment, he had giuen promotion of offices, governments of prouinces & armies, & thought *Decimus* worthy to be made his

heroe

heroe & son by adoption, and yet conspired his death. While the matter was thus, and so, and like to haue come to a fray, one shewed out of the Litter the Image of *Caesar*, made of waxe, for his body it selfe lying flat in the Litter, could not be seene. His picture was by a deuile turned about, & very woordes were shewed ouer al his body, & his face horrible to behold. The people seeing this pittifull picture, coulde beare the dolour no longer, but thronged together, and beset the Senate house, wherein *Caesar* was killed, and set it a fyre, and the killers that fledde for their liues, they ranne and fought in euery place, and that so outrageous both in anger and dolour, as they killed *Cynna* the Tribune being in name lyke to *Cynna* the Dictor that spake euill of *Caesar*, and wold not tury to heare the declaration of his name, but cruelly toze him a peeces, and leste not one parte to be put in graue. They caried fire against other mens houses, who manlye defending themselves, and the neighbours entreating them, they refrayned from fyre, but threatned to be in armes the next day. Wherefore the strikers hid themselves, and lew out of the Citie. The people returned to the Litter, & caried it as an holie thing, to be buried in an holy place among the Gods, but because the Dictors did deny it, they brought him agayne into the common place, where the Pallace of the old Kings were, and there, with al the boards & tymber, which they could find in the place, which was muche, beside that euery man broughte of himselfe, with garlandes and other gifts of priuate persons, making a solemne shew, they buried the body, and abyde al night about the fire. In the whiche place, at the first was in use an Altare, but now there is a temple of *Caesar*, where he is thought worshiped vnto this day. For his son by electiō, *Octauian*, taking the name of *Cesar*, & dispoosing the state after his example, which then taking the beginning, & he exceedingly aduancing to the degree it is now, doth thinke his father to deserue honors equall with the Gods, the which at this time hauing their originall, & Romaines it auise to giue the same to him that ruleth the estate, unlesse he be a *Commoner*, or if buried at his death, that in old tyme coulde not suffer the name of a King. Thus,

*Caesars* shewe  
shewed in  
waxe.

Change of peoples mindes.  
The Senate house for a time  
was burnt. *Caesar*  
was killed.  
One *Cynna* killed another.

Tumulte and rage of people.

*Caesars* funeral.

A Temple to *Caesar*.

The Romaines  
used to giue the  
name of honors  
to their princes.

Justin Marche  
the 3. dayes tot.  
loving the first  
7. dayes.

Cæsar scorneth  
the Southsayers.

A comparison  
betweene Alex-  
ander and Cæsar.

Ammon in the  
deserts of A-  
sia where he  
slew the ora-  
cles.  
In the first the  
place called  
Minn.  
Pamphilia, the  
thelelie.

Alexander and.

Thus *Cæsar* was killed, on the day which they call the Ides of Marche, whiche daye of the Moneth, the Southsayer sayde he should not passe, at the whiche, he, in the morning mocked him, saying, the Ides be come: to whome he answered bololye againe, but they be not yet gone.

Thus he despising as well the foresayings of this constāt Southsayer, as all other tokens spoken of befoze, went abroad, & was killed y. lvi. yere of his age. A man most happy & fortunate in al his noble actions, and most like unto *Alexander* the great, for they both were very ambitious, and valiant and swifte to execute their enterpryses, in perils moste bolde, of their bodies most carelessse, and did not moze trust in Soldieours seruice, than in courage and fortune, of the which the one, in the heate of sommer through places boide of water, went to *Ammon*, and ranne ouer the gulfes of *Pamphilia*, of the crosse surgyng Sea, fortune staying the ragyng waues whiles he passed, and sendyng hym rapie when he wente by lande, he assayed the *Indian* Sea that was not paugable. He was the firste that scaled a towne, and alone mounted the enemies wall, & alone receyued. xlv. woundes on his body, euer inuincible, and alwayes getting victorie at the first or the second Battayle. He subdued manye barbarous nations in *Europe*, and ouercame the *Grecians*, a valiant people, and louing libertie, and befoze him, obeying none, but *Philip*, & that a litle whyle, for an honour to appeare in his seates of warre. *Asia*, (as a man may say) he ranged all ouer, and briezely for to tell his fortune and Empire, as much land as he saw, he gotte. And concerning and determining a Conquest of the rest in his mind, he was destroyed.

So *Cæsar* the *Ionian* sea gaue place in the middest of winter, and shewed it selfe cauline to his nauigation. He also sayled the *Byttaine* Ocean, not attempted befoze, and falling vpon the rockes of *Englande*, he bad the shipmaster runne a shore and sitte their shippes. In an other sea, striding with the streame alone in the night in a litle boate, he badde the master let the sayles go to the winde, and trust moze in *Cæsars* fortune, than in the Sea. Against his enemies alone he hath lepte many tymes,

and

and all the reste haue bin afraide. He alone did fighte with the *French* thirtie times, til he had subdued fourtie nations of the, whiche were so terrible to the *Romaines*, as olde and holy men, by lawe were priuiledged from warre, except when the *French* enemye came, for then both horse and olde men muste go forth. *Alexander*, being left alone to fight on the brydge, and beset on euery side, he threwe off his purple, and leapte into the sea, and being sought of hys enemies, he diued in the bottome a greate while, and only sometime rose to take breath, til a friendly shippe came nigh him, to whome he helde by his hands, shewd himselfe, and was saued.

Falling into the ciuill wars, eyther for feare, (as he did say) or for desire of rule, he diide matche wyth the valiantest Cap- taines in his tyme, in many and great battailes, not *Barbari- ans* onely, but also *Romaines*, whiche in manhoode and fortune dode excel, and ouercame them all, eyther at the firste or at the seconde battaile. Hys armye not being inuincible, as *Alex- anders*, for in *France*, *Cotta* and *Titurus* hys lieutenants were eu- dently ouercome with a greate losse, and in *spaine*, *Petreius* and *Affinius* helde hym besieged. In *Dyrachis* and *Libya*, they fled sowly awaye, and in *spaine* they were afraide of young *Pompey*. But *Cæsar* himselfe was euer boide of feare, and in the ende of euery warre, had the victorie.

The *Romaine* Empire from the weaste to the floude *Euphras- tes*, by force, or by sayze meanes he obtayned, muche surer and stronger than *Sylla*.

He shewed himselfe to be a King in spight of them al, though he wolde not receiue the name. And he also hauing made deter- mination of other warre, was taken away. Besyde forth, their armies were alike: prompte to them bothe with a beneuolente minde: and in sighte, of lyke fiercenesse: disobedient many times to them both, and ful of sedition for their long laboures. Fewer theleste, when they were deade, bothe after one sorte did lament and mone, and thought them wo:thy diuine honours. They were both in body of good complexion and sayze: bothe of them hadde

At ages and de-  
grees must thine  
against the frich.

Cæsar had losse  
sometymes.

Euphrates a floud  
of Macedons,  
running into the  
redde Sea by  
Babylon.

Caesar and Alexander lyke.

their petigrée from *Jupiter*, *Alexander* from *Atacide* and *Hercules*, and *Caesar* from *Anchises* and *Venus*. As both were desirous to conquere with whome they contended, so easy to be entreated and to forgive them whom they had subdued, and beside forgiveness, would do them good also, seeking nothing else but victory.

Alexander and Caesar vnyke.

Thus farre they were alike, but in rising to their rule, they were not of lyke power: for the one rose from a Kingdome increased by his father *Philip*, the other from a private estate, yet noble and renowned, and very needy of money. Of tokens, whiche to them both were great, they were alike contempters, yet neither of them angry with the Diviners, that didde foresee their death. The tokens were like many times to them both, & to like effect. Twice to them bothe were unlucky signs, in the whiche the first shewed to them both doubtfull danger. *Alexander*

These people he of India and called Mall of Thatarech.

Perill of Alexander.

Perill of Caesar.

among the *Oxulimes*, scaling the wall befoze the *Macedonians*, being utterly destitute by breaking of the ladders, leapt boldly among his enemies within, where he was soze hurt in his breast, & in the necke, & beaten down with a mighty mace, so as he was hardely saued by the *Macedonians*, that for very shame burst open the gates. *Caesar* in *Spain*, when his army was very fearful of *Pompey* the young, and refused to go to the fight, ran betwene them both, & receyued. ii. C. darts vpon his Target, his army ran in for feare and shame, and saued hym. So the firste unlucky sacrifices didde signifie perill of death to them both, and the seconde, death it selfe indoe.

*Pythagoras* a Soothsayer, tolde *Apollodorus* that was afraide of *Alexander* and *Ephestion*, that he shoulde not neede to feare, for by the sacrifice, he founde that both of them shoulde shortly be dead. And coming to passe, that *Ephestion* died by and by after, *Apollodorus* was afraide that some treason had bin wroughte againste the King, and tolde hym what the Soothsaier had sayde: he smiled, and asked of *Pythagoras* what the token did pretende, he answered the laste day, whereat he smiled agayne, and thanked *Apollodorus* of his faithfulness, and the Soothsayer of his confidence. To *Caesar* (as we have sayde) the laste tyme that he went

wente into the Senate, the same tokens happened. Whereat he laughed, and saide: The like was seene in *Spain*, and when the Divinour answered, that then he was in daunger, but now the token signifieth moze certaine death, then relenting somewhat to this free spæche, he sacrificed againe, till he tarried so long aboute the sacrifices, that he was angry, and went in and was killed.

The like happened to *Alexander* when he came from *India* to *Babylon* with his army, where being nigh, the *Chaldeans* exhorted hym to refraine at this presente, to whome he rehearsed a verse.

The best Prophet is he, that coniectureth honestly.

When the *Chaldeans* warned hym the second tyme, not to go with his army on his weast side, but to compass & take the City on the East, and stay there: with that (they say) he was content, and beganne to go about, but being angry at the moze and sensory way, he contemned the seconde warning, and went in at the Weaste. Then he sayled vpon *Euphrates* to the floud *Pallacotta*, that receyueth *Euphrates*, and runneth into the *ffennes*, whereby *Ashria* is kept from ouerflowing. He minded to haue defended this floud with a wall, and whiles he was sayling vpon it, they say he scorned the *Chaldeans*, bycause he safely had entred *Babylon*, and was come forth againe to saile, but it was but deferred till he came againe, for then he dyed out of hande.

Alexander contemned tokens.

Euphrates, & Pallacotta, floudes.

The lyke contempt *Caesar* seemed to vse, for the Soothsayer & bidde appoynted the daye of his death, and saide he shoulde not passe the Ides of March: when that day was come, he laughed at hym, and sayd, the Ides were come, but that very day he was killed. Both they despised his Propheties alike, but were not angry with the Prophets, yet they both dyed as they were tolde. They were both studious of learning and vertue, aswel of their owne coutry, as of Greke & other strangers. *Alexander* delighted in

Caesar contemned tokens.

v. ij.

the

*Prachinas* vver  
the vntil Philo-  
sophers of *India*,  
chosen to it by  
consent.

the *Brachmanes*, whiche among the *Indians* be reputed mosse lear-  
ned and wise men, as the *Magies* among the *Persians*, *Cesar* deale  
with the *Aegyptians*, when he putte *Cleopatra* in hys kyngdome,  
wherby he directed many ciuil things in *Rome*: & among other, he  
turned the order of the yeare, being without certaintie, bycause  
of the odde moneths (for they measured it by the Moone) to the  
course of the Sunne, as the *Aegyptians* doe. It was hys  
happe that none dydde escape that foughte hys death,  
but by hys heyre receyued worthye punishmente,  
as *Alexander* dydde them, that kyled *Phil-*  
*ippe* hys father. Howe that was done  
the booke in order shall  
declare.

(.)

The end of the second booke  
of Ciuill dissentions.



Thus *C. Cesar*, & was most worthy of rule among  
the *Romaines*, was slayn of his enemies, & buried of  
the people. Of al his killers punishment, & how  
the best of them sonest receyued it, this booke &  
the next shal declare, & likewise comprehend  
the other Ciuill strifes, that the *Romaines* had among theselues.

The Senate blamed *Antony* for the funerall of *Cesar*, by  
the which the people was so stirred, as they did forthwith de-  
spise the law of Oblition, and ranne with fire to the houses of  
the strickers. This unkindnesse, with one inuention, he turned  
into beneuolence. *Amatius*, a counterfeit *Mariane*, pretending  
to be *Marius* sonne, was for that name accepted of the people, &  
by this counterfaiting, being taken as a kinsman to *Cesar*, he  
made most mone for his death, and set vp an Altar where he  
was buried. He had a rowte of *Russians* about him, & was e-  
uer terrible to the killers, of the whiche some were fled out of  
the citie, and so many as had by *Cesar*, the gouernment of pro-  
uinces, were gone to their charges. *Decimus Brutus* was gone  
to *Fraunce* next *Italie*; *Trebonius* into *Asia* aboute *Ionis*; *Tullius*  
*Cimber* into *Bythinia*. But *Cassius* & *Marcus Brutus* with whome  
the Senate bare most, and were likewise chosen of *Cesar* to be  
Presidents for the yere to come, as *Cassius* in *Syria*, & *Brutus* in  
*Macedonia*, being yet officers in *Rome*, of necessitie and law, (as  
Proctors) must attend vpon the dispatch of the that should haue  
places appointed to liue in, & gaue audience to anye other that  
made sute to sell the partes of their places, which by law was  
forbiddē to be done within .xx. yerres. With these *Amatius* did  
conspire, & only expected occasiō. At the talke of this cōspiracy,  
*Antony*, as Consul, came vpon them, & apprehended *Amatius*, &  
without iudgemēt, put him to death very stoutly. The Senate  
marueled at this matter, as great & befoe law, yet the commo-  
ditie of it, they embraced very ioyfully: for without such stout-  
nesse, they thought *Brutus* & *Cassius* could not be in safetie. The  
companions of *Amatius* and other people with them, for the

P. iij.

loue

*Tullius*  
*Antony* the sonne  
of *Marius*.

*Embarly*  
*Antony* the selfe.

*Amatius* put to  
death by  
*Antony*.

loue of him, were much greued at this fact, chiefly that *Antony* should so dispatche one that was honoured of the people. They could not abide so to be despised, wherefore, with shoutes they went crying out of *Antony*, & commaunded the Magistrate to erect an aulter to *Amatio*, & there to make the firste sacrifice to *Cesar*. They were driven out of the common place by the soldours that were sent of *Antony*, wherewith they were moze greued and made greater noyse: some of them brought forth the settles of *Cesar's* pictures pulled downe, and whereas one sayde he could bring them to a shop where his images were defaced, they straight way followed him, & when they saw it, they set al a fire, till other were sent of *Antony* which killed parte of the that stood to their defence, and parte they tooke, & as many as were bonde they hanged, and the free men, they threwe downe headlong: and thus, this tumult ceased. But extreme hate of exceeding loue, was now wrought in the people, agaynst *Antony*. The Senate was glad, as though there was none other feare to be had touchyng *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

And further, where *Antony* purposed to call home *Sextus Pompey*, sonne to *Pompey* the great, who yet was loued of al mē, out of *Spayne*, where still he made warre with *Cesar's* Captaynes, and for his fathers goods confiscate, to giue him of the common, fife thousand millions of *Drammes* of *Athens*, and to make him admirall of the sea as his father was, and to vse the *Romane* nautes, where so euer they were, to al occasions: The Senate not a litle marueled, & accepted his offer, spending an whole day in the prayse of *Antony*, for they knewe no man more accepted, nor better beloued of the people, than *Pompey*.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* the most honorable of all other, & of *Pompey's* faction, thought to holde their safetie with sure hande, and that the course that they had take should pzenayle, and the peoples authoritie be surely confirmed, and that their estate should stande. *Cicero* for this, made continuall prayse of *Antony*, and the Senate considering that the people evidently tooke meane euill to him, gaue him leaue to chese him a gard for his person of the olde soldours that resorted to him: he, eyther because he

The complices of *Antony's* punishment.

*Antony* pretended to call home yong *Pompey*.

Millions he here ten thousand.

*Cicero* prayseth *Antony*. The Senate voucheth a garde to *Antony*.

he had done all to this ende, or for that he would embrace this occasion so fauourable, picked out at length a garde of .viij. M. <sup>*Antony* choseth a legion for his garde.</sup> not of the common Citizens, whom he knew he might haue at his pleasure at any other time, but of all the leaders and Captaynes of experience and estimation in *Cesar's* army. Of these, he chose chiefe officers in comely order, whom he vied honourably, and made them partakers of ordinary Counsels. The Senate dyuen into a ieaousie for this number and choise, <sup>The Senate in a ieaousie of *Antony*.</sup> counsailed hym to reduce this garde as enuious, to a conuenient number: he promysed so to doe, when he had quieted the tumultes of the people.

Howe where by decree he had stablished all that *Cesar* had done and would doe, and had the wyptings of memorizall in his custodie, and *Phaberius* *Cesar's* Secretary at his commaundement, for *Cesar* going away, left all his determinations with *Antony*, he added many things to the behaue of many men: he gaue graunts to Cities, Princes, and to his owne garde. And he made knowne to all them, that coulde clayme any thyng by *Cesar's* assignation, that they takyng the benefite, might payde him the thankes, and by this meane he brought many into the Senate and degree to himselfe, & the other, he wan with faire promise, that they did no moze maligne agaynst his garde.

*Antony* abuseth *Cesar's* testament.

*Brutus* & *Cassius* perceiuing nothing, neither of the people, nor of the soldours to appeare peaceable for the, neither unlikely but y<sup>e</sup> conspiracie of *Amatio* might be done agaynst the by some other, neither well abiding variable *Antony*, that bare himself so boldly of his army, nor seying that the peoples rule could be confirmed by these doings, but suspecting that *Antony* wrought agaynst it, they put their chiefe trust in *Decimo*, who had three Legions, lying in the sides of *Italy*. They wrote secretly to *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and to *Tullius* in *Bythinia*, to gather money closely, and loke aboute for an armie. They were desirous to take the prouinces that *Cesar* had appointed the, but y<sup>e</sup> time did not yet suffer them. They thought it not conuenient to leaue their office in the Citie, before the end of the same, and to run into suspicion of desire of rule of nations. They chose rather for the

their necessitie, to spende the meane time, as priuate men, than to be officers in the Citie, where they could neyther be sure of themselves, nor do anye thing to their honour, in the seruice of their countrey. Being in this case, and the Senate perceyuing their minde, they thought good to make the purueyers of grain for the Citie, from euery countrey, til the time might serue the to take the charge of their prouinces: and thus they did, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* shoulde not seeme to flee. So great a care and reuerence was there of them, that for them chiefly they maintained the other killers. When *Brutus* and *Cassius* wer gone out of the Citie, and *Antony* now alone ruled all, he coveted the presidentship of some prouince, and the armye therof: he was chiefly desirous of *Syria*, but knowing he was alrede suspected, he thought he should be more, if he required any, for the Senat had secretly wrought *Dolabella* to be against him, who was the other Consul, and alwayes at strife with *Antony*. *Antony* seeing that *Dolabella* was a yong man and ambitious, perswaded him to aske *Syria*, in *Cassius* place, and their army that was made against the *Parthians*, but not to aske it of the Senate, (for that was not expedient) but of y<sup>e</sup> people, by a law. He was perswaded by and by, and propounded the lawe. The Senate alledged that he brake *Casars* aces: he answered, that the war of *Parthia*, was appointed to no man by *Caesar*, and that *Cassius*, who was sent to *Syria*, was the first that had altered *Casars* decrees, in giuing leaue to them that wer assigned dwellings in the coutry, to sel their portions before twenty yeares determined by law: that he could not take it wel, being *Dolabella*, not to be thought worthy of *Syria*, before *Cassius*. The Senate perswaded *Asprina* one of the Tribunes, to find a fault in the assēby by some tokē, hoping that *Antony* would haue allowed it, being Consul, and officer of the tokens, and stil (as they thought) at variance with *Dolabella*.

The electiō now being come, & *Asprina* affirming the tokē to be unlucky, & then the manner was to send other into it. *Antony* was angry at the subtilty, & commaunded the cōpanies to make choyce for *Dolabella*. And so was *Dolabella* made president of *Syria*,

*Syria*, and generall of the army against the *Parthians*, and of the legions that *Caesar* had gathered for this purpose, and left in *Macedonia*. This was the first time that *Antony* seemed to fauoure *Dolabella*. This being done of the people, *Antony* required *Macedonia* of the Senate, thinking they would be ashamed to chuse it him, seeing *Dolabella* had *Syria*, and nowe voyde of an host. The Senate gaue it him vniwillingly, and marvelled that he would deliuer the armye that was there to *Dolabella*, whome yet they were glad shoulde haue it before *Antony*. Some *Brutus* friends thought good to aske *Antony* other prouinces for *Brutus* and *Cassius*, so *Cyrene* and *Creta* was giuen them, or as some saye, both *Creta* and *Syrene* to *Cassius*, and *Bythinia* to *Brutus*. And these were the doings at Rome.

*Octauim*, *Caesar*'s sisters nephew, was made of *Caesar* generall of the horsemen for one yeare, and this honoz *Caesar* vsed to grue to his friends from yeare to yeare. He being yet yong, was sent of *Caesar* to *Velona* to apply his booke, and to be trayned in seates of warre, there to remayne whilest he wente againste his enimies, and to exercise himselfe with the banda of Horsemen that came from *Macedonia*, with other great Captaynes of the armie that resorted thither to visit hym, as *Casars* kinsman, whereby he was knowen to many, and wanne the loue of the army, for he receyued them that came to him with great curtesie. Hauing bin now stre monethes in *Velona*, about the euening, it was told that *Caesar* was slayne in the Senate house, of them that he loued best, and might doe most with hym. Of further matter nothyng being yet tolde, he stode in feare and doubt, whether it were the whole publike worke of the Senate, or some priuate practise, or whether the doers were punished of the more parte, or whose acte it was, or whether the multitude did ioyne with them. After this, his friends sente to hym from Rome, wishing him to goe to the host of *Macedonia* for his suretie, in the which place, after it shuld be knowen, that it was no common fact, he might be a terroz to his enimies, in reuenging of *Caesar*, and diuers of the Captaynes promised him, that if he would come to them, they would see hym safe. His mother, and *Philip* his father in law, wrote vni-

to him, to take nothing vpon him, nor to be encouraged, remembryng that after *Caesar* hadde ouercome his enemies, he was thus vsed of his dearest friends. The priuate life at this present was further off from perill, and nowe rather to be chosen, and if he were with them at *Rome*, he should be well kept. *Octavius* by these perswaded, without further knowledge, what was done after *Caesar*'s deathe, embracing the Captaynes, sayled ouer the *Ionian* Sea, not taking land at *Brundise*, bycause he did not trust the army that was there, and therefore was well ware: but at another Citie not farre off, called *Lupio*, where he stayed, and receyued aduertisements from his friends, of *Caesar*'s deathe, of the peoples tumult, of the publication of his testamente, and of the orders taken, and was aduised to beware of *Caesar*'s enemies, by cause he was named his sonne and heire, & counsell'd him not to take the inheritance vpon him. But he thinking it a dishonour, as wel of this, as not to reuenge *Caesar*'s deathe, wēt to *Brundise*, stodyng afoze to search, that there should be none of the strikers in anye awaite. The army of that place did mete him, and receyued him as *Caesar*'s sonne, where with good courage he made sacrifice, and straightway accepted the name of *Caesar*, for the *Romaines* vsed to giue their name to them whome they made their chyldren by adoption, which he did not only admytte, but changed his name frō *Octavius*, *Octavius* sonne, to *Caesar*, *Caesar*'s sonne, which continued till his ende. By and by was there great repaire of mē to him, some as *Caesar*'s friends, some as his seruantes, and frēmade men, and some souldiours with them, some brynging preparation & money toward *Macedonia*, and some other reuenues of other prouinces to *Brundise*. He then trustyng vpon the multitude that came vnto him, and in *Caesar*'s glory, and in the beneuolence of all mē to him, toke his iourney toward *Rome*, accompanied with a conuenient number, which dayly like a streame did increase, being safe from open force, by the multitude of people, not without suspit of deceipt, bycause all that came with him almost were of new acquaintance, and euery citie did not fauour him. But *Caesar*'s souldiours, and such as were by his appoyntmēt placed, came from the habitations to the fauour of this yong man. They lamented

*Octavius sayled into Lupio.*

*Lupio* was a port Towne.

The army at *Brundise* receyued him as *Octavius*, Adoption.

*Octavius* receyued the name of *Caesar*.

Refert to yong *Caesar*.

for *Caesar*, and complayned of *Antony* that woulde not reuenge so great a mischiefe, affirming that they, if any man would be their guide, woulde reuenge his deathe. *Octavius* *Caesar* gaue them great prayse, and willed thē to be quiet for the tyme, and came to *Terracina*, about fiftie miles from *Rome*, where it was told him, that *Syria* and *Macedonia* was taken from *Brutus* & *Cassius* by the Consuls, and that to comfozte them, *Creta* and *Syrene* were graunted them, and that certayne banished men were reuoked, and that *Pompey* was restozed, and that many were made Senatoures by *Caesar*'s determination, and diuers other things. Being come to *Rome*, his mother, & *Philip*, and their friends came vnto him, and againe prayed him, not to dissent from the Senate, bycause it was decreed, that there should be no question of *Caesar*'s deathe. Further, they feared *Antony* and his power, who neyther came himselte to mete *Caesar*'s sonne, nor sent any man to receyue hym, all the whiche *Octavius* toke very temperately, and said, it was mete that he should goe first to *Antony* as a yong man to an elder, and a priuate man to a Consul, and that he would obserue the Senate as should be conuenient. And though (quoth he) there be a decree, that no man should persecute the killers, and yet if anye mā durst take it in hand, both the people and the Senate by law, and the gods by iustice, yea and peradventure *Antony* also wyll be helpe to it, & if he did refuse the inheritance & adoptiō, he should offend against *Caesar*, & defraude the people of their distribution. In the end he knyt by his speech, that it was not onely honest for him, to put himselte in dāger for this matter, but also if nēde be, to lose his life, otherwise he should seeme vnworthy the choyce of *Caesar* had made of him in so great matters, seeing he himselte was wont to contemne all maner of perill. When turning to his mother, he rehearsed those words that *Achilles* spake to *Thetis*.

*Terracina*, was a towne.

In desire of *Octavius*.

*Octavius* woulde st to his mother.

*I do rather wish of my life: an ende,*

*Than I should omitt reuengement of my friend.*

This word (quoth he) did winne *Achilles* immortall fame, but much moze the dēde, and that he ought to reuenge *Caesar*, not as a friende, but as a father: not as a fellowe souldiour, but as a Generall: not dyng by lawe of warre, but murdered

*Z.ij.*

wickedly

wickedly in the Senate house. For this speche, his mother, from teare, turned to ioy, embraced him, affirming he only was worthy for *Caesar*. This talke being ended, he prayed that all myghte haue lucky and prosperous successe with speede, yet he perswaded him at the firste, rather to vse policie and sufferance, than plainnesse and boldnesse, when he, commending hir, answered he would so do. In the nighte, he sent to his friends, and prayed them the next morning to be with him in the common place with the other multitude. In that place meeting with *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Marcus Antonius*, a Pretor of the Citie, he sayde vnto him, that he did accept the adoption of *Caesar*, for it was the manner of *Rome*, that the adopted childzen should exhibite testimonie to the Pretors, which being registred, he straight wente out of the common place to *Antony* the other Confull, who was then in *Pompeys* gardings, whiche *Caesar* had giuen him: and when he had tarried at the gate a long whyle, he entred into a suspicion of *Antonies* alteration. Being at length lette in, due salutations and intertaynments were betwene them, and because they must talke of things that were expedient, *Octavius Caesar* sayd thus.

*I* (father *Antony*) for the benefites that *Caesar* shewed to thee, and the thanks thou gauest to him, requesting thee to be a father to me, so praye thee for the things thou hast done for him, and I will be thy debitor of thanks for them, but wherein I maye blame thee, I will speake it frankly, for voboth thereto oblige me. When he was slayne, thou wast not present, the quellers holding thee withoute the doores, for either shouldst thou haue saued him, or haue bin in the like daunger thy selfe: of the which if the latter must haue happened. It is well now that thou wast absent. When some desired them to be honored as againste a tyrant, thou deniedst it effectually, for the which I know thou deseruest clere thanks: but if thou knowest that those men did conspire thy death, not as one that would renenge *Caesar* (as we thinke) but as a successeur of his tyrannie as they saye, then were they not tyrantkillers, and for that they shoulde to the Capitall, as to a Sanctuary like offenders craving mercy, or vnto a foyle, as cruellies for their strength, wherefore obli-

uion

uio and acquittall of the murther, was required for thee, through some of the Senate or the people were corrupted of them, and if thou hadst bin otherwise minded, thy office did require thee to, punish so great a fault, and to correct them that did erre, yet didst thou send pledges of thine owne into the Capitoll, for the assurance of the manqueillers. Well, graunt the corrupted sort did, force thee to it, but when *Caesars* Testament was redde, and thou madest his funerall Oration as righte was, and the people for the fresh memoirie of *Caesar*, carryed a fire againste them, and for their neyghbours sake, spared them, and agayne, they were in armes twice the next day, why didst not thou help the people as their leader, with fire or armour, to punish the murderers: if any punishment ought to be of them that are euident offenders, by thee, a friende to *Caesar*, a Confull, and *Antony*. *Marius Antonius*, by commendement of thy great power, was put to death, but the quellers thou sufferedst to live, and to runne to certayne prouinces, which wrongfully they holde, hauing killed him that gaue them. *Syria* and *Macedonia*, thou and *Delabella*, doyng well, when thinges were settled, toke from them, for the which I would thanke thee, if thou hadst not straight appoynted them to, *Creta* and *Cyrene*, and thought fugitiues worthy prouinces, euer to be as garrisons against me. *Decimus* hauyng *France*, our neybour, you haue suffered, he also being made ruler of that, and of ther by my father, but some will say, the Senate did determine it, yea and thou didst consentie it, and latest as chiefe in that Senate, the which thou chiefly of all others for thy selfe, oughtest to haue resisted. To giue them oblivion of their faulte, was as a granting only of their liues, but to assigne prouinces and honor, was a contumelie of *Caesar*, and an ouerthrow of the iudgement. Therefore as passion dothe carrie me peraduenture beyonde the due respect of my peares and reuerence to thee, I will speake it, both as to a sure friende of *Caesar*, and of him, thought worthe much honor and power, and also, as to one, that mighte haue bin his heire, if he had knowen that thou hadst come of *Aeneas*, rather than *Hercules*, for that did he muche consider, when he toke order for his succession. But for the tyme to come, *O Antony*,

Z. iij.

for

for the Gods of friendship, and for the dutie to *Caesar*, if thou wilt change any of the things done, as thou must if thou wilt, if not, at the least help to further me, that minde to be reuenged of y<sup>e</sup> quellers, with the people, and such of my fathers friends as I haue: and if any respect of men, or of the Senate both moue thee, be not angry with me. Thou knowest what a charge I and my house haue about these matters, for the performing of the distribution that my father gaue to the people, and for the care thereof, that by delaying of them, I might not seeme vnthankfull, nor they should receyue habitations in the countrey, shoulde be consumed by me, tarrying in the Citie. Of al that was to thee brought immediately after y<sup>e</sup> death of *Caesar*, to be in safetie for danger of his house, the iewels & apparel, I thinke good thou shalt haue, and al other things which thou wilt, but for the distributiō, glue me the coyned gold which he had gathered for his determinate warres, which shall suffice me to deuide amōg thre hundred thousand mē. The residue of the charges, if I may be so bold, I will eyther of thee, or by thy helpe, bozowe it of publike money, and so with make sale of my priuate substance. Whilēt *Caesar* spake thus, *Antony* was astonished at his courage and boldnesse, farre beyond the opiniō of his peeres, and being grāued with his speech, made without reuerence of him, & specially for that he required the money, he answered him sharply after this manner.

If *Caesar*, together with his inheritance and name (as sonne) had lest thee also the State, thou mightest well haue required an account of common things, and I must haue answered; but if the *Romaines* haue by oth decreed, that no man shall receyue rule by inheritance, nor no man be a successour to Kings, whome they did expell, whiche was chiefly obiected againste the father of the quellers, affirming they killed him as a King, and not as a Captayne, I ought not to aunswere thee touching any of these publike causes, and by the same reason, I do deliuer thee of the giuing of thanks, whiche thou owest to me therefore, for it was done not for thy sake, but for the peoples, yet one of the greatest actes that cuer was done for *Caesar*, and for thee: for if I of mine owne boldnesse and hate to them, had ouerpast the honours

for the striker, as killers of a Tyrante, *Caesar* had bin iudged a Tyrant, to whome, neyther glozy, nor honoz, nor establishmente, of his actes had bin made, neyther Testament, sonne, or substance, had bin staped, nor his bodye bin thought woorthie buriall, no not, as a priuate man, for the law both commaund the bodies of Tyrants to be cast vnburiēd, their memorie to be rased, and theyr goddes to be made common, all the which I fearing, did contend, for *Caesars* inmostall glozye, and for his publike buriall, neyther without perill nor ennie of mine owne person, of men fierce and full of bloudshed, and as thou mayst know, conspiring agaynst me, and of the Senat that could euill beare thy fathers gouernement: but I thought rather to offer my selfe to perill and trouble, than to suffer *Caesar* to be dishonored and vnburiēd, the best of all other men, most fortunat in his affaires, and of all other vniūg me most honorably. By these mine onely perills, thou hast presently these singulare benefites of *Caesar*, his blood, his name, his dignitie, and his substance, for all the whiche, thou oughtest rather to giue me thanks, than to reprehende me for anys thyng done for the appeasing of the Senate, for the recompence of such, as had deserued, or for other commodities and considerations, seeing thou art yong in respect to me: therefore this shall be sufficient, for that thou spakest herein. Thou doest glance at mee, as though I were desirous of rule only, which I neuer coueted, and yet haue bin thought not altogether vnwoorthy of it. Thou sayest I am soye, for that I was not made heire by his testament, yet by thine owne confession, I am content with the petition of *Hercules*. For thy necessitie, that thou wouldest borrow of the common treasure, I thinke thou didst but dissemble, because, thou canst not be ignorant, that all is consumed, & that thy father, had y<sup>e</sup> receypt of all the reuenue, since he came to his authoritie, being brought to him in steade of y<sup>e</sup> treasure house, & to be found in his substance, whē we had determined to search for thee. This can be no wōg to *Caesar* being dead, nor be called vniūst, though he were alive, y<sup>e</sup> being required, would yeld thee accōpts: & whē thou shalt find y<sup>e</sup> many priuate men will contend w<sup>th</sup> thee for his goddes, thou shalt wel perceiue thou shalt not obtaine the without great contrō,

controuersie. As for the money which thou sayest was left with me, neyther was the summe so greate, nor nowe they be in my handes, for all were distributed to officers and magistrates, as Pyrrants goods, Dolabella and my byerthyen onely excepted, and by me bestowed vpon such purposes, as Caesar had appointed: whē thou shalt haue the rest, thou shalt bestow it rather vpon the that may hinder thee, than on the people, if thou be wise, whome they will sende away (if they be wise) to their habitations. For the people as thou oughtst to know (being lately trayned in Greeke letters) is vnstable, and euer mouing as waues in the Sea, now coming, now going. After the which sorte, the people haue set alofte oure ambitious men, and broughte them downe as lowe agayne.

The people vn-  
stable.

Others collected  
his substance.

Others being greued with many of these things that tended to contumelie, wente his way, often calling vpon his fathers name. He put to sale his whole substance by and by that came vnto him by inheritance, coniecting to winne the people by this liberalitie, because Antony appeared a manifest enemie vnto him. The Senate intending to make enquire by decree for the publike treasure, many of them were afrayde of yong Caesar, for the beneuolence of his father had with the Souldyers and the people, and for the present largesse in alluring of them, by consuming of his substance which was verie greate, many thinking that he would not liue in the rate of a priuate man, and chieflie for that Antony would agree with him, because he was yong, famous, and rich, and would still vsurp Caesars former dominion. Some were ioyfull of these things, that these men shoulde be at variance, and by the inquisition of the moneys, Caesars riches shoulde wack, and they haue abundance of the common treasure, because much of the publike stoe would be found among Caesars goods. Many of them called Caesar into the lawe for their lands, every one clayming his owne, and for that much was common, by reason of condemned, banished, and attainted men. These controuersies they brought before Antony, or before Dolabella, the other Consul. If any matter were heard before other Iudges, Caesar had euer the worst, because of Antonys friends

ship,

ship albeit he shewd by record what his father had purchased: that al his acts were ratifyed by the last decree of the Senate. Many other actions of iniurie were put by against him extraordinarily, and they grew infinit, in so much as Pedius and Pinaris, to whom Caesar had giuen a portion of land, complayned of Antony for themselves and for Caesar, as they that suffered wrong by the Senates decree, affirming he ought to reiect onely matters of despight, and al other of Caesars doings he should consent. He answered, that things done peradventure, had some contrarietie with the Senates decree, and (quoth he) the decree may be written contrary to the meaning. For where only obliuion of iniuries was graunted, there was no alteration of the former proceedings, neyther for his sake, nor to be playne, for any of their sakes, rather than a deuice to appease and stay the people which was in tumulte, and that it were more iuste to vie the meaning of the decree, rather than the wordes: neyther was it meete to resist so many men, that by sedition were fallen from their owne, or their auncetours possessions, for one yong man that beyonde all hope had gotten so much of other mens substaunce, and none of his owne, vsing fortune not for honoure, but for insolencie. Yet he sayd he would fauour them, whē they had diuided with Caesar. Thus did Antony answer Pinaris, who straight made diuision, least their partes shoulde be consumed in lutes, not for themselves but for Caesar, whom not long after they must gratify in all.

The time of playes drew nygh, which Caius Antonius, brother to Antony, shoulde exhibite for Brutus as Pretor, being absent, in as good sort as might be, because Brutus had made great preparation for the same, thinking by this liberality & pastime, the people would be wonne to cal him and Caius home again. But new Caesar working y<sup>e</sup> multitude to the contrary, did glue among the ambitious sort (as euery man first came) al the money that he had got by his sale, to prevent the others whole purpose. He went into euery common market, commaunding to be proclaimed, y<sup>e</sup> they shoulde sel al his goods, thought that he had were neuer so good cheape, because of the doubtful and sus-

Plays for  
Brutus.

As.

pitious

pitious controuersie of the lawe and of his harte. Whereby hee turned all the people to beneuolence and pittie, as unworthye to suffer so muche. For whereas before his owne heritage he had solde his private substaunce that came to him by his father *Octavius*, or by any other waye, and all that his mother and his husband *Philip* hadde, and clayning a portion of moze goods of *Pedius* and *Pinarus*, he determined to sell all, as though *Casars* substaunce would not suffice, onely because of his veratiōs. The people thinking no longer to be *Casars* giste, but *Octavius* liberalitie, they had inward compassion of him, wondering at his great attemptes, and well perceyuing that he would not long passe for *Antonies* displeasure.

Now were the playes of *Brutus* shewed in most ample manner. When certaine hyed men, did cry that *Brutus* and *Cassius* might be called home, and the rest of the Theatre did agree vnto them for their pardon, the other rushed in by heapes, and marred all the playe, and quenched their instant request. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding that *Cesar* had dashed their hope in the shewe, they determined to goe to *Syria* and *Macedonia* by force, as prouinces appointed to them before *Antony* and *Dolabella*.

This being euident, *Dolabella* also went into *Syria*, and made hast by the way, to make money in *Asia*. *Antony* desired much to haue the army of *Macedonia*, as very fit for the maintenance of his power, being in vertue best, and in power most, (for they were sixe legions) beside other number of Archers, Darters, and light armed, with many horsemen and other greate furniture for the warre, al the whiche he feared should follow *Dolabella* into *Syria*, going against the *Parthians*, whether *Cesar* had appointed them. He minded to haue them himself, because they were nyghe to the sea of *Ionia*, fro whence he might come bying them into *Italie*. In the meane time a sodaine rumour came, that *Geetes*, knowing of *Casars* death, did invade *Macedonia*. Wherefore *Antony* required his armie of the Senate, that he myght punish the *Geetes*, because they were first appointed against the of *Cesar*, & so that all was now quiet wth the *Parthians*. The Senate

Senate suspected this rumour, and sente to vnderstande the certainty of it.

*Antony*, to deliuer them of feare and suspicion hereof, decreed that for no cause it should be lawfull to create a Dictator, nor that any man should take it, though it were giuen him: and if any man did perceyue anye to contemne this order, it should be lawfull to kill him wheresoeuer he were mette. By this meanes he did temper the hearers, and practising with *Dolabella* friend to giue him one legion, he was chosen capitaine of the army, & Lieutenant of *Macedonia*. Having now what he would, he sent his brother *Caius* in all hast to cary the decree to y<sup>e</sup> army.

They that wente to vnderstande of the *Geetes* being returned, affirmed that they sawe no *Geetes* in *Macedonia*, but they added (either saying true, or being taught of *Antony* what they shold say:) It was to be feared, if the army were taken away, the *Geetes* would ouerturne *Macedonia*.

Whiles this was doing in *Rome*, *Cassius* and *Brutus* did gather money and men, and *Trebonius* that was gouernour in *Asia* did make Cities strong for them, and would not admit *Dolabella* neither at *Pergamo* nor at *Smirna*, onely he appoint him a market place out of the walles as to a Consul. He therfore went about with anger to winne the walles: *Trebonius* not obtayning, promised he should be receiued at *Ephesus* the going thither, *Trebonius* sent certaine alowe to see his doings: who, when night was come, seeing him going on, not suspecting anye thing else, leste a fewe to followe him, and returned to *Smirna*. *Dolabella* having layde wayte for this matter, turned vpon these selue, and slewe them, and brought in that nighte earie to *Smirna*, whych knowing without watche, he took with a shale. *Trebonius* was sounde in bedde, and despyed he might be brought to *Dolabella*, and that he would be willing to followe them. One of the Captaynes looked on him, and sayd: Come on, giue vs thy heade, for thy heade, not thy, are we commaunded to bying: and when he had thus sayde, he stroke off his heade streight. When daye was come, *Dolabella* caused

*Antony* desired to stoppe the creation of a Dictator.

*Dolabella* kept out. *Ephesus*, now *Egheia* in *Ionia*. *Dolabella* taketh *Smirna*.

The playes disturbed.

The *Geetes*, bea people of *Sythia* in *Europe*. The name now is turned into the *Thracians*.

Trebonius killed  
and spitefully  
vied.

Trebonius one of  
the conspirators  
was the first  
that was killed.

Celtica novv  
Lombardy.

Senate wor-  
keth secretly a-  
gainst Antony.

Crispinus shewes

Edict Cerealis, &  
oth houses as well  
private as holy.

caused Trebonius heade to be set vp ouer the iudgemente place wher he was wont to giue audience. The army (in surp) followed þe cāpe, & the people (because Trebonius was priuie to Cæsars death, and helde Antony with a tale without, when they killed Cæsar in the Senate house) did vse his body very spightfully, & threwe his head vpon a pauement of stone, like a bal frō one to another, which whē they had scornefully vied, they crushed and brake it a pecies. And this was the first of Cæsars strikers that receiued this punishment.

Antony intended to bring the army from Macedonia into Italy, and wanting other pretence ther vnto, desired the Senate, that in steade of Macedonia he might haue Fraunce within the Alpes, of the which Decimus Brutus Albinus was ruler, remembryng that Cæsar brought his army from thence, when he ouercame Pompey: but when it was perceyued, that he minded to bring that army not into Italy but into Fraunce, and the Senat considering that part of Fraunce to be as a strong fort for the, was grieved, and now vnderstode the deceptes of Antony, repentyng they had giuen Macedonia vnto hym. Wherefore they sent priuie messengers to Decimus, to kepe his prouince strongly, and to gather other army and money, that he might resiste Antony. So muche were they troubled and in anger against Antony. And he, contrary to the Senats minde, entending to aske it of the people by laue, as Cæsar once obtayned it before, and as Dolabella had Syria, now of late. And to asray þe Senate, he commaunded his brother Caius to transport the army of Macedonia by the Ionian Sea to Brundise, and there to doe what Antony should requyre.

At this tyme there playes to be shewed by Crispinus the ouerser of vicinals. At the whiche Cæsar hadde prepared a crowne, and a charye of golde for his father, as in al shewes they had adomyed, so to honour him.

Crispinus sayde he woulde not admytte Cæsar to be honoured in the charges he should make. Wherefore Octavian brought him before Antony the Consul: Antony sayd he woulde put it to the Senate. Whereat Octavian being offended, Doe

fo

so (quoth he) and I will set the Chaire till thou haste made the decree.

Antony was angry and forbade hym. He forbade it also in other playes after to be made, and that was somewhat vnreasonable, for Octavian hymselfe did exhibit it, being instituted of his father, to Venus his parent, to whome in the common place, he builded a Temple wyth a Courte.

Of this did manifeste hate growe agaynst Antony of all men, as though he did not rather enuy Octavian Cæsar now, than contemne the former vnthankfully. Young Cæsar with a multitude as a garde wēte among the people, and such as had bin benefited by his father, or serued hym in the wars enuiously, he besoughte them, that they woulde not suffer hym thus, to be so many waies despised, but both reuenge Cæsar their chiefe, sayne and benefactour so dishonoured of Antony, and defende themselves, who shoulde haue none assurance, vnlesse the things that he had decreed were established. He went vp to euery highe place of the Citie, and cried vpon Antony:

Be not angry with Cæsar for me, nor dishonour him that hath moste honoured thee. O Antony, and was moste affectionated to thee, do me what injury thou wilt, but saue his substance from spoile, till the Citizens haue their parte, all the reste take vnto thee. It shal be sufficient for me, though I be poore, to be successful to his glozpe, so thou wilt suffer the people to haue their portion.

After these wordes, there was euident and continuall exclamation agaynst Antony, and although he sharpe lye threatened Octavian, and that his threats were openly knowen, yet did they the more stirre it. Wherefore the chiefe of the Capitaines that serued in Antonies guard, in great estimation woth hym, and had bin before with Cæsar, desired him he woulde leaue his dispyght, as well for their cause, as for his own, hauing serued vnder Cæsar, and receyued so many good turnes of him.

Which thing Antony considering, and confessing them to be true, and halfe ashamed they shoulde be laped vpon hym, and nowe shoulde haue neede of Octavians helpe, for the prouince of

Gallie.

Fraunce,

Antony agaynst  
Cæsar.

Hate agaynst  
Antony.

Cæsar to the  
people.

Cæsar exclamation  
agaynst  
Antony.

The Capitaines  
of Antony in fa-  
uour of Octavian.

Antony telleth

France, he beganne at lengthe to bee quiet, and to shew, that some thyngs were done againste his will,

But bycause the young manne was so hartie at those yeares, he dydde reuoke certaine thynges, so that he hadde no regarde nor reuerence to the Capitaines and olde officers: yet for theyr sakes he woulde refraine his anger, and returne to his olde conditions, if he also woulde leaue his insolent behauiour.

Reconciliation  
of Antony and  
Octavius.

The Capitaines being gladd of this, brought them together, & when they had declared their griefs they set them at one. Now was the law called vpon for France, the Senate being against it, and intending to prohibite it, if Antony woulde propounde it to them, and if he didde not, but require it of the people, they woulde set the Tribunes to be against it, and some there were, that woulde haue it free from al Lieutenants ouer that nation, so muche afraide were they of it.

Antony did obiect vnto them, that they woulde truste Decimus with it, that was one of Casars killers, and distruste hym that did not kill hym that wanne that prouince, and made it fall to his knees, casting forth openly against them al, as though they had bin desirous of that was done to Cesar.

The Senatour  
beth a guard:

The court daye being come, the Senate willed the assembly of the companies to be gathered, and in the night, they sette vpp Centes in the common place, and called a band of Shoulidiours to defende them from all happes.

Octavius nowe  
speaketh for  
Antony.

The people being offended, laboured for Antony by the helpe of Octavius, that sat among the Centes, who entreated for hym: for he was very much afraid, lest Decimus shoulde be Gouvernour of a Prouince of suche importance, and an arme so greate, being one that hadde kylled his father: and for this cause he beganne to fauoure Antony, to whom he was reconciled, trusting to gette some good at his hande.

Tribunes cor-  
rupted.

The Tribunes being corrupted of Antony, and keeping silence, the lawe toke place, and the arme being nowe at the sea,

was for reasonable consideration assigned to Antony.

One of the Tribunes being dead, Octavius much fauoured Flaminius against the next election, and bycause the people thought himselfe woulde haue the office, but refused to aske it, bycause of his yong yeares, they determined neuerthelesse at the election, to make him Tribune. The Senate had enuy at his increase, & were afraide, if he were Tribune, he woulde accuse his fathers killers to the people. And Antony not regarding to breake friendship with Octavius, whither it were to please the Senate, and to quiet their minds, for the late lawe made for his prouince, or for their sakes that shoulde go to inhabite as Consul, he decreed that Cesar shoulde deale with no man but lawfullye, other wise he woulde further by al means his auozitie against hym.

Flaminius.  
The people  
minded to  
make Octavius  
Tribune.

Antony against  
Octavius againe.

This declaration being vnplesant to Cesar, and contumelious bothe to hym and the people, they were angrye, and intended to make stirre at the election, and to affraye Antony, and by the helpe of the other Tribunes, to reuoke the decree.

Sedition procur-  
ed.

Octavius Cesar, as one evidently deceyued, sente manie to the Citties that his father made for to inhabite, to shew them how he was vsed, and to knowe their minds therein.

He sent some also as carriers of victual into Antonies campe, to mingle among them, chiefely to deale with the boldest of them, and among the rest to scatter libells: and thus he dydde.

The Capitaines and chiefe men with Antony, finding time conuenient, saide thus vnto him:

Wee (wee Antony) that with thee haue serued Cesar, and gaue to hym chiefe authoritie, and till this daye haue remayned as assured seruauntes of it, haue knowne that his killers and the Senate fauouring them, didde as muche hate, and seek to dispatch vs. But when the people did disturbe them, we were encouraged agayne, bycause wee saue that Cesar, was

The oration of  
the Capitaynes  
to Antony.

' was not forgotten lacked no friendes, nor destitute of souldiers:  
' yet did we put all our truste in thee, as in *Casars* friende, and  
' nexte him, most acquainted in the service of warre, and now  
' our Generall and for al respects most fit for it. When our en-  
' mies did rise, and boldly forsooke *Syrta* and *Macedonia* and prepared  
' many and men against vs, and the Senate maintayning *Lucia*,  
' *mine*, and thou consuming the tyme in contention with *Casars* *Offa-*  
' *nium*, not without cause, we were afraide, that in tyme to come,  
' this dissention betwene you, woulde raise a greater warre  
' than hath bene, and geue occasion to our enemies to do what  
' they woulde against vs: all the whyche, seeing thy selfe doe  
' vnderstande, we beseeche thee, that for *Casars* sake, and for our  
' loue, whiche hath done nothing to offend thee, and for the com-  
' modities that may rise both to thee and vs, that whilst thou  
' mayest, thou wouldest agree with *Offanum*, whiche onely is suf-  
' ficient, intending to be reuenged of the Strikers. The whiche  
' thing, cleare of all care, shall stay thee in authoritie, and place  
' vs in securitie, that now are in doubt both for thee, and for our  
' selues.

The chieftaynes hauing sayd thus muche, *Antony* thus  
answered:

When Antony  
sweare to the  
Captaynes.

What beneuolence and loue I haue euer borne to *Casus*,  
in all his causes, offering my selfe to moste perills of all o-  
ther, you that haue bene in souldiour fare with me, and pre-  
sent to euery thing that hath bin done, can well testifie. How  
much loue and good will he shewed to me, euen till his last day,  
I shall not neede to repeate. For his quellers, swaying both  
these, meante to haue kyled me with him: as though I be-  
ing aloue, they coulde not thinke their intentes to consist  
in safetie. And if anye manne dydde affraye them from  
that mynde, it was not done for desire and care of my  
life, but for a respecte onely that they woulde not seme  
to persecute their enemies, but to dispatche a Tyrant. Who  
then can thinke that I doe forgette *Casus* my benefactour, or  
haue more esteemed his enemies than him, or woulde willingly  
forgyue them his death, that haue sought mine, as this new *Ca-*

far thinketh: How then cometh the obliuion of his death, and  
their aduancemēt to prouinces: for this he obiecteth against me,  
and not the Senate: heare you then how it hath come to passe.  
*Casus* being slayne in the Senate house, euery man was afrayd,  
and I most of all for *Casus* friendship, and ignorance of the facte,  
for I neyther hearde of the coniuration, nor vnderstode howe  
many were of the conspiracie. The people was in tumulte,  
and the strikers with the swordplayers toke the Capitoll, and  
made themselves fast, and the Senate was of their side, whyche  
is now more euident, bycause they decreed honours to them, as  
to the killers of a Tyrant, and if *Casus* were a Tyrant, then must  
we haue bin destroyed straght, as friends to a Tyrante. So I  
being troubled with tumult, with feare and sorrow, coulde not  
vse reason, nor bee without perplexitie, as you maye perceyue, if  
you will consider, for on the one side, was neede of boldnesse ve-  
hemente, and on the other dissimulation extream. Firste this  
was to be done (the residue easie following) to take away the  
honour to be giuen to the strikers, against the whiche I onely  
standing, resisted both the Senate, and then and broughte to  
passe with greate payne, vsing euident courage, onely offering  
my selfe to that perill, supposing that we, *Casus* friendes, shoulde  
be in suretie, if he were not condemned as a Tyrant. The lyke  
feare troubled our enemies and the Senate, that if he were not  
iudged a Tyrant, they shoulde be accompted manquellers. And  
for this contention, I thoughte it best to geue place, and to al-  
low obliuion of his death, in stead of honour to be giuen to them,  
that I mighte wyne of them, as muche as by necessitie I  
coulde. And this was the manner of my doings, that neyther I  
dyd suffer *Casus* name to be abolished, nor his substance to bee  
confiscate, nor his adoption (in the whiche this man nowe most  
glozyeth) to be dissolued, nor his testament to be frustrated. His  
bodye I caused to be buryed princely, and honours due vnto  
him before, to be consecrated as immortall, and all his actes and  
decrees to be kept firme and sure, and his soune and our friends  
the Captaynes and the souldiours, to be in good safetie, and to  
liue in honour in stead of rebuke. Thinke you the obteyning of  
these

these thynges of the Senate for Obluion, were but small and  
 'trides: or doe you thinke without Obluion the Senate would  
 'haue graunted them? whyche for these causes (I thinke) is  
 'plainely to be performed, for a true dealing with the strikers,  
 'and for an immortal gloz of *Cæsar*, and all oure weale and sure-  
 'tie. The whyche I haue not done of that purpose, but to turne  
 'the course to the contrarie. For when I hadde brought the Se-  
 'nate to that that was profitable to vs, and allowed the killers  
 'to remaine in quiet, I did ouerthrowe the Obluion, not by de-  
 'cree nor statute (for that I coulde not) but by an earnest reaso-  
 'ne of the people, bying *Cæsars* bodie to be buried in the com-  
 'mon place, and causing hys woundes to be seene of the multi-  
 'tude, shewing his vesture bloudy and mangled, and declaring his  
 'vertue and beneuolence to the people, weeping when I made the  
 'mourning Oration. I called hym by the name of a kyled God.  
 'These were my wordes and workes, whereby the people was so  
 'prouoked, as in stead of Obluion, they toke fire, and wente to  
 'the quellers houses, and in the ende droue them out of the Citie.  
 'Howe thys was contrarie to the Senate, they beeing graued  
 'wth it, it was evidently seene. For they accused me first of am-  
 'bition, and appoynted prouinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria*, and  
 '*Macedonia*, whyche were full of greate armyes. And least they  
 'shoulde seeme to make hast before theyr tyme, they gaue them  
 'pretence to prouide grayne for the Citie. Wherefore a greater  
 'feare dyd yet trouble me, for lacke of an appoynted armie,  
 'as menne naked to fight wth so manie well armed, my sel-  
 'foue beeing a man suspected, and disagreying from me, and  
 'one of the conspirators agaynst *Cæsar*, and appoynted to be  
 'here at the dawe of hys death. For these thyngs beeing in great  
 'trouble, and seeking with speede to disarme oure enemies, and  
 'to arme oure selues, I kyled *Amatium*. I thoughte good to call  
 'home *Pompey*, that by thys meane I mighte ioyne the Senate a-  
 'gayne. Yet not much trustyng them, I perswaded *Dolabella* to  
 'aske *Sylla*, not of the Senate, but of the people, by a lawe to be  
 'made: and in hys sute I furthered hym, of a frende to make  
 'hym an enemie to the strikers: and that it shoulde seeme verie  
 vnsytte

vnsytte for the Senate to denye me *Macedonia*, seeing they hadde  
 graunted *Sylla* to *Dolabella*, for otherwise woulde they not haue  
 graunted mee that prouince, nor deliuered me that armie,  
 excepte they hadde firste graunted to *Dolabella* the same, to goe  
 agaynst the *Parthians*: nor they woulde not haue taken from  
*Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria* and *Macedonia*, vntill they hadde ap-  
 poynted some other prouinces to them for theyr suretie.  
 Besides must they appoynte one for another, but what man-  
 ner ones, *Cyrene* and *Creta*, boyde of armies, whyche they cure  
 enemies, in contempte, haue leste as vnprofitable, and by vio-  
 lence, haue entred the other, whyche we toke from them.  
 Thus was oure armie putte from oure enemies to *Dolabella*, by  
 deuice and sleight, and exchange of other prouinces: for where  
 warre was not, there must thynges be done by lawe. This  
 beeing thus brought to passe, and oure enemies gathering a-  
 nother armie, I hadde neede of the same my selfe, that was in  
*Macedonia*, yet wanted occasion to require it. When the same  
 came that the *Getes* woulde inuade *Macedonie*, whyche not bee-  
 yng beleued, espies were sente to vnderstande the truth, I de-  
 creed, that no man ought to aske the Dictatorshippe, nor to take  
 it though it were gyuen hym. By the which thyng they beeing  
 chiefly allured, appoynted me the armie, and then dyd I thinke  
 my selfe equall with mine enemies, not these that be euident, as  
*Otharius* thynketh, but other moe in number, greater in po-  
 wer, and not yet appearing. When I had done this, one of the  
 strikers remainyd still hard at our sides, *Decimus Brutus*. He bee-  
 yng a gouernoure of a greate countrey, and a mighty armie  
 berre bolde, I deuised to take hys prouince from hym, yet  
 wth a regarde of the Senate, promising to deliuer *Mace-*  
*donia* boyde of armie. The Senate takyng the thyng euill,  
 and perceuyng some deuice to be hadde, what and howe  
 greate matter was wrytten to *Decimus*, you knowe, and  
 to stirre the Consulles agaynst mee, wherefore wth  
 the moze boldenesse dyd I practise to wyne that prouince,  
 not by the Senate, but by the people and lawe, and  
 to haue the armie of *Macedonia* come to *Brundise*, to  
 Bb.ij. vsc.

use at all opportunities, and with the Gods help, we will use them as necessitie shall compell vs. Thus from muche feare, wherein we were at the first, we be turned into safetie of them that haue to doe with vs, and into boldnesse agaynst our foes, whose courage becommes to shrinke, and ours to increase. You see what repentance they make of their decrees, and what payne it was to me to take *France*, giuen to another man. You knowe what they wrote to *Decimus*, and what they perswaded the Consuls agaynst me for that matter, but with the Gods of our Countrey, with dutifull mynde, and with our valiante actes, by the which *Cesar* was a conquerour, we will reuenge him, labouring with our bodies, and counselling with our myndes. These things (O Souldiours fellows) I would haue secrete, although holwe I haue done them, I haue tolde you, with whome I will participate all thyngs both in worde and dede, the which you may shewe to any other that do not knowe it, onely *Octavius* except, who is most vnthankfull to vs.

When *Antony* hadde thus saide, it seemed to the Captaynes that he had done all things with great art and policie, to deceiue the quellers whome he hated, and therefore they were desirous to reconcile them with *Cesar* once agayne, and perswaded them to meete in the Capitoll.

Not long after, *Antony* did cause some of his gard to be apprehended by his friends, as entiled by *Octavius* to destroy him, eyther to discredit *Octavius*, or for that he thoughte it true, learning it of such as were sente to his Campe. He declared this to be done by all coniecture, to dispatche his person, whiche matter being quietly heard, caused muche adoe and indignation among the people. A felwe that were grounded vpon reason, were glad that *Antony* myghte doe *Cesar* good, and also hurte at his pleasure, because hee was terrible to the strikers, and if hee were once dispatched, they myghte with the more securitie, doe their feates, because the Senate chiefly fauoured them. Thus the worse sorte did thinke; but the multitude seeing that despight and hinderance was dayly offered to *Octavius*, they thoughte it not vnlike to be a calumination, and yet supposed it not good

nor honest, that *Antony* being Consul, shoulde bee in daunger of his person. *Octavius Caesar* with greate anger and furie wente among them that were of this opinion, and cryed, that hee was circumuenced of *Antony*, for the frendshyppe that he onely had with the people, and came to *Antonys* house, and there he exclaimed and called the Gods to witnesse, with all execrations and othes, prouoking hym to come to tryall: and because no body came to hym, he sayde to his friends, I am contente to be iudged by his owne people. And with that, he brake in at the doores, but being kepte backe, he sware, and rebuked them that kepte the gates, because they stopped hym from making further tryall with *Antony*. He wente his way, and protested to the people, that if any hurte came vnto hym, it shoulde come by *Antonys* meanes.

Having spoken this with greate vehemencie, it græued the people, and some of them repented of their former opinion. Some stood in doubt, and trusted neyther of them. Some thoughte it a dissimulation betwene them, the better to bring to passe, that they had agreed vpon in the Temple agaynst their enemies: and some thought *Antonie* deuised it, to haue a greater garrison about him, and to turne mens good will from *Octavius*.

There was there secrete intelligence giuen to hym, that the armye at *Brundise*, and the ordinarie Souldiours, were angrey with *Antonie*, because he neglected *Cesars* death, and that they would reuenge it to their power, and that *Antonie* was gone in hast to *Brundise* for this cause. *Octavius* was afrayde, least he returning with his armye, shoulde finde hym vnprouided. He took money, and wente to *Campania*, to winne the Cities that were inhabited by such as had serued his father, and first he perswaded *Celatis* and *Silii*, two Colonies about *Capua*. He gaue euery man five hundred drammes, and had tenne thousande menne, neyther armed, nor distributed into due bands and order, but onely as a gard of his person vnder one ensigne. They in the Cities were afrayde of *Antonies* comming with his armye, and when they heard that *Octavius* was comming with another, they were in a double feare, and some took it well, that they mighte use

*Cesar* exclaims  
meth agaynst  
*Antony*.

*Antonys* armye  
at *Brundise*  
discontented.

*Antony*es goyng  
to *Brundise*, suspected to *Cesar*.

*Octavius* goeth  
to make men.  
*Celatis* in *Latio*,  
*Silii*, *Capitulum*  
in *Campania*, not  
farr from  
*Capua*.  
Feare in the  
Cities.

*Octavius* against *Antony*. Some that sawe theyr reconciliation in the Capitoll, thought it but a dissimulation, and a recompence of the one to be in authoritie, and the other to persecute the quellers.

In this disquietnesse, *Cornelius* the Tribune, enemie to *Antony*, and friende to *Octavius*, wente to knowe the truth, whiche being done, he declared to the people that there was playne variance betwene *Antony* and *Octavius*, and that it stood them in hande to make *Octavius* theyr friende, seeing they had none other arme to resist *Antonyes* Tyrannie. When he had sayde thus, he willed *Octavius* to enter, who lay a little withoute the Citie at the Temple of *Mars*. He dyd so, and came to the Temple of *Iupiters* chylde, about the whiche the Souldiours stood with theyr weapons openly. *Cornelius* spake firste against *Antony*. Then *Octavius* hymselfe requied the memorie of his father, and shewed what iniurie *Antony* hadde done hym, whereby he was forced to gette an armie for his suretie, wth the whiche he would obey, and serue his Countrey in all thyngs, nowe readye agaynst *Antony*. When he hadde thus sayde, the Counsell was broken vp.

The armie that thoughte otherwys, because of theyr reconciliation, and that they were onely broughte to preserve *Octavius* person agaynst his quellers, seemed to be græued, that suche wordes shoulde be spoken agaynst *Antony*, then being a Generall of an armie, and Consull of the Citie: and some desired to goe home, as to arme themselves, for they coulde abyde none other, but theyr owne armies: and some tolde the very truth.

*Octavius* beganne to doubt agayne, seeing it came otherwys to passe than he thought, and therefore gaue place to the occasion, trusting to wyne them rather by gentlenesse than by force, wherefore some he sente to be armed, and some to theyr home agayne, promising them all for theyr laboures, and by dyng his griefe, he gaue them newe giftes, and promised them moze liberally to requite them, and that he would vse them in all his enterpryses, rather as his fathers friends, than as his

Soul

Souldiours: When he hadde so sayde, one thousande, or thye at the most (for in this the Writers vary) he wanne to carrie, the rest wente awaye. They remembryng the toyle of tyllage, and the gayne of warfare, and the wordes of *Caesar*, that easlie dyd drawe them, and the giftes they hadde receyued, with the hope of that they shoulde receyue, as the variable nature of people is, beganne to repent, and turning occasion to dutie, they armed themselves, and returned to him, and he went to *Raenna* for moze reuenuie, and when he hadde gone ouer the Countrey, and gotten moze menne one after another, he sente them to *Ar-*

*Octavius* armya  
returneth  
to him.

*Arenna* a Citie  
in *Tuscan*, thirty  
myles from  
*Florence*.

In this meane time, of the five Legions of *Macedonie*, foure were come to *Antony* to *Brundise*, accusing him, as one that neglected *Caesars* deathe: and because they gaue no grætyng to hym when they broughte hym to his seate, as to heare somewhat firste sayde of themselves, he was offended with their silence, and coulde not refrayne, but rebuked them of vnthankfulnessse, that where by hym they were called from the iourney into *Par-*

*Antony* offended  
with the  
Souldiours.

A writing in  
*Antonyes* Camp.

*thia*, to remaine in *Italie*, they did not acknowledge anye thanke for it. When he blamed them for bearing with the rashe yong man, (for so he called *Caesar*) that they would not discouer to hym suche persons, as he had sente to make difference betwene them: but he would fynde them out hymselfe, intending to leade them to the wealthie prouince of *Celtica*, and to gyue e- uery one that would abide with hym, one hundred drammes. The Souldiours laughd at his miserable offer, and the more

The Souldy-  
ours laughd  
at the offerre  
of *Antony*.

he was angry, the more were they in disorder and tumulte, wherefore he rose and sayde, *You shall learne to be ruled*.

Then he enquired of the Chiefestaynes, who were the se-

*Octavius*,

The proffes  
of Octavius  
to Antony in  
the Camp.

*Octavius*, they thyelwe billes aboute the Campe, concerning the  
murther and crueltie of *Antonie*, with an vnthankfulnesse  
to *Cesar* that dead was, and the liberalitie and gentlenesse of him  
that now they might help. *Antonie* with great diligence soughte  
out the authours, with threathning of greate payne to them that  
dyd not disclose them, but when he coulde not finde anye out, he  
was muche offended, that the whole army should fauoure them:  
and when he hearde of the extraordinarie bands that were gone  
to *Cesar Octavius*, and what was done for him at *Rome*, he was  
troubled, and came agayne to the army and sayde. It did graue  
him to doe that he had done for the necessitie of shuldous disci-  
pline, taking but a few, in stead of many, according to the lawe,  
and that they did well knowe, that *Antonie* was neyther cruell,  
nor sparing, but (quoth he) let anger go, let this be ynough, both  
of punishment, and of offence, and as for the hundred draynes;  
he meante it not as a gifte, (for *Antonies* fortune requyzed o-  
therwyse) but as a welcome of fyrste acquayntance betwene  
them, rather than a gifte, he wylled them to haue it, and that  
by the lawe of their Countrey and shouldpoures order, they  
oughte to be obedient to hym in this, and in all other  
thyngs.

Thus he sayd: yet dyd he not adde anye more to the somme,  
least the Captayne shoulde seme to giue place to the shoul-  
doure, and they eyther for repentance or for feare, accepted it,  
and he changed the officers of his Campe, eyther for the dis-  
pleasure of this sedition, or for some other suspition. The rest,  
with suche furniture as he had, deuiding his host, he sent by sea  
to *Armeno*.

He takyng one bande of the most likely men, both in bodey  
and obedience, wente towarde *Rome*, from thence to goe also  
to *Armeno*. He proudey entred the Citie, leauyng one bande  
without the Citie in Campe, and wyth them that were a-  
bout him armed, he caused his house to be garded in the  
myghte for his safetie, to whome he gaue watchwordes, in dy-  
uers parts, as a garrison in the Citie. He assembled the Senate,  
intending to haue accused *Octavius* for his doings, but at  
his

*Armeno* in  
the night.

his entrie, it was tolde him that the martiall legion by the way  
was gone to *Octavius*. And as he stode in doubt and feare what  
to doe, it was also shewed hym, that the fourth legion follo-  
wing the *Partials* example, was likewise reuolted to *Octa-  
uius*. Being much troubled, he entred, and made a shew as he had  
called the Senate for an other purpose, & tarried not long there,  
but went to the gates, and from thence to the Citie of *Alba*,  
to stay the reuolters. But being put from the walles, he re-  
toured, and to the other legions he sente siue hundred draynes  
a man, and with them that he hadde, he wente to *Tiburo*, ha-  
uyng suche prouision as they be wonte that goe agaynst theyr  
enemies.

Two legions  
reuolted to *Octa-  
uius* from *Antony*.

*Tiburo*; now  
*Tuole*.

Nowe was it euident that warre woulde followe, for  
*Decimus* meante not to leaue his prouince.

*Antony* beeyng in this place, almoste all the Senate, and  
manye of the Gentlemen came to do hym honoz, and so dyd a  
great part of the people. Synding hym gyuyng othe to his soul-  
dours that were presente, and of other that hadde serued  
him before, whiche resorted to hym in greate number. And  
they freely swore to *Antony*, that they woulde not breake  
fayth and beneuolence wyth hym. So as nowe a man mighte  
doubte, who they were, that a little before hadde spoken a-  
gainste *Antony* for *Octavius* *Cesar*'s sake.

The Senatours  
and Citizens  
sworne to *Ant-  
ony*.

*Antony* thus wyth great pompe, approached *Armeno*, where  
was the beginning of *Fraunce Celtica* his armye. Beside these  
newe shouldiours, was thre legions from *Macedonia*, for  
nowe all were come vnto hym, and the olde shouldiours  
that then serued, were counted twice so good as the yong.

So hadde *Antony* an armye of foure legions of experie  
shouldiours, beside suche as be wonte to followe as ven-  
turers, and the olde garde of his person, wyth other newe  
chosen.

*Antonies* armye;

*Lepidus* in *Iberia*, hadde thre legions, *Asinius Pollio*, two, and  
*Planus* in further *Fraunce*, thre, all the whiche seemed to  
take *Antonies* parte.

*Lepidus*,  
*Asinius Pollio*,  
*Planus*.

*Octavius* *Cesar* had two choise legions that wente from *An-  
tony*,

Et.

sony, one of yōg souldiozs, and two of them that serued him first, neyther full in number, no; furnished in armoure, yet supplied of the newe commers. He gathered these together at *Alba*, and sent them to the Senate.

They dydde so muche reioice in *Octavius*, as a man myghte double that anye dydde before honoure *Antony*: yet were they not content that the legions that went from hym, shoulde goe to *Octavius*, and not to them. Neuer thelesse, they praysed them and *Cesar*, promising shortly after to determine by decree what was to be done, when the newe Magistrates hadde theyr offices.

It was euident in the ende, that they woulde bend against *Antony*, and bycause they had no army, and coulde gather none wpythout the Consuls auctoritie, they deferred all till the newe election.

*Casars* army offred him *Maces* and *Sergeants* prepared, and prayed him to take vpon hym the Lieutenantship and leading of their warre, they being euer vsed to such auctoritie.

He thanked them for the honoure, but referred the matter to the Senate, & them that wolde haue gone by heaps for this purpose, he forbade, and staied them that would haue sent Ambassadors, that the Senate (quoth he) maye take order for it of themselves, vnderstanding of your offer, and my refusall. They hardly being contented this waye, and the Capitaines construing it as men had in some suspition, he declared vnto them, that the Senate dyd not rather encline to him for good will, than for feare of *Antony*, and want of army, til we (quoth he) haue dispatched *Antony*.

The murderers being friends and kinsmen to the Senate, wil'gather power for the, whych I perceyuing, wil pretend to obey them. And this is not to be disclosed, for if we take power vpon vs, they will call it violence and contumelie: but if we make daunger of it, they will peradventure giue it vs, fearing otherwise we shal haue it by you.

When he hadde thus sayde, he saue the two legions that

that came to him from *Antony*, shewing the shape of battayle, contending together in as vehement wise, as though they hadde bene fighting inderde (kyllyng onely excepted) and hee being delighted with this feate, and glad to take the occasion, dydde giue to euery man other fye hundred drammes, and if anye necessitie by the warre shoulde followe, hee promised to them, hauing the better hande, fyue thousand drammes a man.

Thus did *Cesar* with liberalitie of rewarde, winne them that were hys hyzed menne, and these were the towngs in *Italy*.

In *France*, *Antony* commaunded *Decimus* to go into *Macedonia*, to obey the people, and saue himselfe.

*Decimus* sente him the letters of the Senate verie well written, signifying, that as well oughte hee to obey the Senate, as he the people. *Antony* appoynted hym a daye when hee woulde vse hym as an enemie. *Decimus* requyred hym to appoynt a longer daye to hymselfe, that hee shoulde not too sone be made an enemie to the Senate. *Antony*, that was too good for hym in the fiede, yet thoughte it better to goe vnto the Cities, and they receyued hym.

*Decimus* being afrayde that hee shoulde not when hee woulde, enter anye of them, sayned he hadde receyued letters from the Senate, to returne to *Rome* wpyth hys army, and so as one goyng home into *Italy*, he was recetaed in euery place.

But when he came to *Mutina*, a plentifull Citie, he shutte the gates, and commaunded the Citizens to bying all thynges fwythe, that was necessarie for fwyde, and caused al their beasts to be kylled and poudzed, for feare the siege woulde laste long, and so he tarried for *Antonies* comming.

Hys armye was a number of *Swoorde*-players, and thre legions armed, whereof one was of new souldiours withoute experience, the other two of former seruice, and very faithfull to hym.

Cc.ij.

Antony

A shewe of  
fight by two  
legions.

Antony vnder-  
neth Decimus  
oute of his Pro-  
uince.

Mutina a Citie in  
Lombardy, now  
Modena.  
Decimus taketh  
Modena for hys  
defence.

The Senate mi-  
like of Octavius  
and Antony  
bothe.

of him, they shewe billes aboute the Campe, concerning the  
 ingg and the end of *Antony*, with an *Antony* in the  
 to *Caesar* that dead was, and the liberalitie and gentlenesse of him  
 that now they might help. *Antony* with great diligence soughte  
 out the authors, with the eating of greates payne to them that  
 dyd not disclose them, but wher he coulde not finde anye out, he  
 was muche offended, that the whole army should fauoure them;  
 and when he hearde of the extraordinarie bands that were gone  
 to *Caesar* *Othman*, and what was done for him at *Rome*, he was  
 troubled, and came agayne to the army and sayde. It did graue  
 him to doe that he had done for the necessitie of *Souldiours* disci-  
 pline, taking but a few, in stead of many according to the lawe,  
 and that they did well knowe, that *Antony* was neyther cruell,  
 nor sparing, but (quoth he) let anger go, let this be ynough, both  
 of punishment, and of offence, and as for the hundred *Othmans*;  
 he meante it not as a gifte, (for *Antony*es fortune requyred o-  
 therwyse) but as a welcome of frende acquaintance betwene  
 them, rather than a gifte, he wylled them to haue it, and that  
 by the lawe of their Countrey and *Souldiours* order, they  
 oughte to be obedient to hym in this, and in all other  
 thyngs.

Thus he sayd: yet dyd he not adde anye more to the somme,  
 least the Captayne shoulde seme to giue place to the *Souldi-  
 ours*, and they eyther for repentance or for feare, accepted it,  
 and hee changed the officers of hys Campe, eyther for the dis-  
 pleasure of this sedition, or for some other suspition. The rest,  
 with suche furniture as he had, deuising his host, he sent by sea  
 to *Arimeno*.

He taking one bande of the most likely men, both in bodey  
 and obedience, wente towarde *Rome*, from thence to goe also  
 to *Arimeno*. Hee proudly entred the Citie, leauyng one bande  
 withoute the Citie in Campe, and with them that were a-  
 boute hym armed, hee caused hys house to be garded in the  
 myghte for hys safetie, to whome he gaue watchwordes, in dy-  
 uers parts, as a garrison in the Citie. He assembled the Senate,  
 intending to haue accused *Othman* for his doings, but at  
 hys

his entrie, it was tolde him that the martiall legion by the way  
 was gone to *Othman*. And as hee stode in doubt and feare what  
 to doe, it was also shewed hym, that the fourth legion follo-  
 wing the *Partials* example, was likewise reuolted to *Oth-  
 man*. Being much troubled, he entred, and made a shew as he had  
 called the Senate for an other purpose, & tarried not long there,  
 but went to the gates, and from thence to the Citie of *Alba*,  
 to stay the reuolters. But being put from the walles, he re-  
 tourned, and to the other legions he sente fye hundred *Othmans*  
 a man, and with them that he hadde, hee wente to *Tibur*, ha-  
 uing suche prouision as they be wonte that goe agaynst theyr  
 enemies.

Nowe was it euident that warre woulde followe, for  
*Decimus* meante not to leaue hys *Prouince*.

*Antony* being in this place, almoste all the Senate, and  
 manye of the Gentlemen came to do hym honoz, and so dyd a  
 great part of the people, synding hym gyuyng othe to hys *Soul-  
 diours* that were presente, and of other that hadde serued  
 him before, whiche resorted to hym in greates number. And  
 they freely swore to *Antony*, that they woulde not bzeake  
 faith and beneuolence wyth hym. So as nowe a man mighte  
 doubt, who they were, that a little before hadde spoken a-  
 gainste *Antony* for *Othman* *Caesars* sake.

*Antony* thus wyth great pompe, approached *Arimeno*, where  
 was the beginning of *Fraunce Celtica* his armye. Beside these  
 newe *Souldiours*, was thre legions from *Macedonia*, for  
 nowe all were come vnto hym, and the olde *Souldiours*  
 that then serued, were counted twice so good as the yong.

So hadde *Antony* an armye of foure legions of experte  
*Souldiours*, beside suche as be wonte to followe as ven-  
 turers, and the olde garde of hys person, wyth other newe  
 chosen.

*Lepidus* in *Iberia*, hadde thre legions, *Asinius Pollio*, two,  
 and *Plancus* in further *Fraunce*, thre, all the whiche seemed to  
 take *Antony*es parte.

*Othman* *Caesar* had two choise legions that wente from *An-  
 tony*,

Two legions  
 reuolted to  
*Othman*.

*Tibur*, now  
*Tivoli*.

The Senators  
 and Citizens  
 sworne to *Antony*.

*Antony*es armye;

*Lepidus*,  
*Asinius Pollio*,  
*Plancus*.

*Antony* to his  
*Souldiours*.

*Antony* to his  
*Souldiours*.

*Arimeno* in  
*Francia*.

teny, one of yōg souldiours, and two of them that serued him first, neyther full in number, nor furnished in armoure, yet supplied of the newe commers. He gathered these together at *Alba*, and sent them to the Senate.

They dydde so muche reioice in *Octauus*, as a man myghte doubt that anye dydde befoze honoure *Antony*: yet were they not content that the legions that went from hym, shoulde goe to *Octauus*, and not to them. Neuerthelesse, they prayed them and *Caesar*, promising shortly after to determine by decree what was to be done, when the newe Magistrates hadde theyr offices.

It was euident in the ende, that they woulde bend against *Antony*, and bycause they had no army, and coulde gather none wpythout the Consuls autoritie, they deferred all till the newe election.

*Caesar*'s army offred him *Places* and *Sergeants* prepared, and prayed him to take vpon hym the Lieutenantship and leading of their warre, they being euer vsed to such autoritie.

He thanked them for the honoure, but referred the matter to the Senate: & them that wolde haue gone by heaps for this purpose, he forbad, and staied them that woulde haue sent Ambassadors, that the Senate (quoth he) maie take order for it of themselves, vnderstanding of your offer, and my refusall. They hardly beeing contented this waye, and the Capitaines construing it as men had in some suspicion, he declared vnto them, that the Senate dyd not rather encline to him for good will, than for feare of *Antony*, and want of army, til we (quoth he) haue dispatched *Antony*.

The murderers being friends and kinsmen to the Senate, wil gather power for the, whych I perceyuing, wil pretend to obey them. And this is not to be disclosed, for if we take power vpon vs, they will call it violence and contumelie: but if we make daunger of it, they will peradventure giue it vs, fearing other wise we shal haue it by you.

When he hadde thus sayde, he saue the two legions that

that came to him from *Antony*, shewing the shape of battayle, contending together in as vehement wise, as though they hadde bene fighting indoe (kyllyng onely excepted) and hee being delighted with this seate, and glad to take the occasion, dydde giue to euery man other fye hundred drammes, and if anye necessitie by the warre shoulde followe, hee promised to them, hauing the better hande, fyue thousand drammes a man.

Thus did *Caesar* with liberalitie of rewarde, winne them that were hys hyzed menne, and these were the towngs in *Italy*.

In *France*, *Antony* commaunded *Decimus* to go into *Macedonia*, to obey the people, and saue himselfe.

*Decimus* sente him the letters of the Senate verie well written, signifying, that as well oughte hee to obey the Senate, as he the people. *Antony* appoynted hym a daye when hee woulde vse hym as an enemie. *Decimus* required hym to appoynt a longer daye to hymselfe, that hee shoulde not too sone be made an enime to the Senate. *Antony*, that was too good for hym in the fiede, yet thoughte it better to goe vnto the Cities, and they receyued hym.

*Decimus* beeing afrayde that hee shoulde not when hee woulde, enter anye of them, sayned he hadde receyued letters from the Senate, to returne to *Rome* wpyth hys army, and so as one goyng home into *Italy*, he was receiaued in euery place.

But when he came to *Mutina*, a plentiful Citie, he shutte the gates, and commaunded the Citizens to bying all thynges forthe, that was necessarie for foode, and caused al their beasts to be kylled and poudzed, for feare the siege woulde laste long, and so he tarried for *Antony*'s comming.

Hys armye was a number of *Swoorde* players, and thre legions armed, whereof one was of new souldiours withoute experence, the other two of former service, and very faithfull to hym.

Cc. y.

Antony

A shewe of  
fight by two  
legions.

Antony vear-  
neth *Decimus*  
oute of his Pro-  
uince.

*Mutina* a Citie in  
*Lombardy*, now  
*Modena*.  
*Decimus* taketh  
*Modena* for hys  
defence.

The Senate mi-  
stake of *Octauus*  
and *Antony*  
bother.

Antony with anger came againſte *Decimus*, and caſte a trench aboute the Cittie, and ſo was *Decimus* beſieged. In *Rome*, the Conſuls according to the yeare, being choſen, dydde ſtraighte aſſemble the Senate with ſacrifices in the Temple agaynſte *Antony*.

Cicero againſte  
Antony.

*Cicero* and his friends, did require he might be iudged an enemy, bycauſe, he by force of armes, didde take the Prouince of France, contrarie to the Senats pleaſure, to trouble hys countrey, and bycauſe he had brought that army into *Italie*, that was appoynted hym againſte the *Thracians*.

They alleadged alſo againſte hym, that after *Cæſar* he ſought to rule, being armed in the Cittie with ſo many band-leaders, and vſing his houſe as a forte full of ſouldiours and Enſigns, and in all hys doyngs moze insolent, than became a yearely officer.

Lucius Piſo againſte  
Cicero.

*Lucius Piſo*, one that fauoured *Antonies* faction (and a man verpe notable among the *Romaynes*) and other that fauoured *Piſo* for *Antonies* cauſe, required hē myghte bē called in to iudgement, bycauſe it was not the manner of theyr countrey to condemne anye manne befoze hē were hearde, nor conuenient, that hē that was yeſterdaye a Conſull, ſhould this daye be an enemy, eſpecially hauing bene ſo ofte prayſed bothe of *Cicero* and of other.

Senate againſte  
Antony.

The Senate ſtoode doubtfull in the cauſe all the night. The nexte day in the morning, beeyng agayne aſſembled, the *Ciceronians* wpyth greate inſtaunce, hadde decrede *Antony* an enemye, hadde not *Saluius* the Tribune diſſolued the counſell till the nexte daye. In theſe offices hē hath moſte power that maye prohibite.

Antony againſte  
Antony.

Saluius.

The *Ciceronians* dydde ſpitefully labour agaynſte hym, and ranne among the people, to ſtyre them vpypon hym, and cited *Saluius* to aunſwere. He wythoute feare came ſorth, till the Senate ſtayed hym, fearing leaſte he ſhould incenſe the people to drawe them to the memozye of *Antonie*, they were not ignoraunte, that they condemned a noble manne wythout iudgement, nor that the people had gyuen hym France: but

but for feare of the ſtyphers, they were angry with hym, bycauſe he firſt brake the lawe of Obluion, & therefoze they choſe *Octavius*, agaynſt him befoze, who not being ignoraunte therof, was deſirous to diſpatch *Antony*.

The Senate being thus affected, the voyces notwithstanding were deferred to the Tribunes. Yet it was determined, that *Decimus* ſhoulde be prayſed for that he had not giue place to *Antonie* in *Celtica*: And that *Cæſar* with the Conſuls *Uincius* & *Panſa*, ſhould ioyne with ſuch armies as he now had, & that an Image of gold ſhoulde be made to honour him, & that he might giue voyce among the Senatours, and be allowed to be Conſull ten yeares befoze the lawe: and that the legions that went from *Antony* to him, ſhoulde haue as muche giuen them of the Treasuſe, as *Cæſar* had appoynted to them after the victorie: all the which being decreed, they brake vp, euen as already *Antony* had, being an enemy in dedde, no Tribune daring ſpeake for him the next daye.

How Antony  
to Octavius.

Wherefoze his wiſe, and hys mother, wpyth his ſonne being yet yong, and his other friends and familiars, all the night went to the great mens houſes, to beſeech them, and the next daye came to the Senate houſe, ſuing to euerye man, falling to their ſete, with weeping and wailing in blacke habite, they cryed out at the counſel doze: and ſome, for the lamentable voyces and behauiour, & for the ſodenneſſe of the matter, were moued with compaſſion: wherefoze *Cicero* being aſrayde, he ſpake thus vnto the Senate.

What we ought to decree of *Antony*, yeſterday we did determine, for when we gaue honour to his aduerſaries, we condemned him as an enemy. *Saluius*, was only an impediment agaynſt vs, eyther for that he thinketh himſelfe moze wiſe than we, or for the frienſhip he beareth to *Antony*, or for ignoraunce of the matter. Euerye one of theſe, is to our great ſhame, that al we ſhould haue leſſe wit than one: and alſo to *Saluius*, if he do prefer his frienſhip befoze the comon wealth. But whē he hath not well vnderſtand this preſent caſe, he ſhould haue giuen credite to the Conſul, the Pretors, and to the Tribunes,

Cicero againſt  
Antony.

Ec. iiij.

his

his fellowes, and to the other Senatours in number and woꝝ, thynke so manie, who for oure age and experience, ought to knowe *Antony* better than *Saluto*. In publique causes and iudgements the moꝛe parte euer hath the right, but if causes moule bee knowne, and nowe learned agayne, I wyll re- peate them byetelye, and touche the moſte principall mat- ter.

When *Cæſar* was deade, *Antony* toke away oure com- mon money, the rule of *Macedonia* he hadoe by vs, but into *ſſraunce* he entred violently without vs. The army that was oulquered hym againſte the *Thracians*, hee brought into *Italie* againſte vs, requiring theſe deceitfully of vs, and not obtay- ning, hee did them of himſelfe. At *Brundife* hee ordained a princelye bande to be aboute hym, and openly in *Rome*, men in armour byd garde and watche hym vnder enſignes. Hee broughte from *Brundife* an other armye to the Citty readye to all attemptes, aſpiring to the things that *Cæſar* (whom hee lamented) coucted: and when yong *Cæſar* prepa- red againſte hym another armye, hee was afraide and wente into *ſſraunce*, as a place fitteſt to uſe foꝛce a- gainſte vs, bycauſe *Cæſar* from that place did inuade vs, and got the rule ouer vs, and giuing terror to his armye, that they mighte ſticke to him in all hys vnlawfull do- yngs, by lotte, hee cauſed them to dye, neither making anye mutinie, noꝛ forſaking their charge and order in battell, foꝛ the whiche onelye the lawe of armes, (I thinke,) hath appoynted that puniſhement, whyche, ſelue Capſtaynes ſcarcelye in greate perills woulde uſe foꝛ ne- ceſſitie: But hee at a woꝛde and a teſte giueth death to Citizens, and death not of them that deſerue, but of ſuche as he woulde choſe: wherefoꝛe they that coulde, haue forſaken hym, and pou yeſterdaye byd determine to rewarde them, as thoſe that hadde done well. They that coulde not eſcape awaye, foꝛ feawe doe dwell with him, and as enimies inuade youre lande, and beſiege youre armye: and poure generall, and whom pou appoynted

to

to remaine in *ſſraunce*, *Antony* commaundeth hym to de- parte.

Whether then haue we iudged *Antony* an enimye, oꝛ doeth hee uſe vs as enimyes? Dure Tribune wyll not know this, tyll *Decimus* be deade, and tyll that prouince ſo greate, and ſonygh vnto vs, and after the prouince, the armye alſo of *Decimus* maye be in *Antonies* power, to woꝛke hys hope, agaynſte vs. foꝛ by lyke the Tribunes wyll not lo, ſome dectæ hym to be an enimye, tyll hee bee loꝛde o- uer vs.

Whyle *Cicero* was thus ſaying, hys friendes made a greate noyſe continuallye, and woulde not ſuffer anye manne to ſpeake agayne, tyll *Piſo* roſe vppe, when as the Senate foꝛ the reuerence of hym commaunded ſilence, and then the *Ciceronians* ſtayed, and *Piſo* thus beganne to ſpeake:

The lawe, (O Senatours) doth allowe the accuſed to haue hys cauſe heard, and when he hath answered foꝛ him- ſelfe, to be iudged accordynglye: *Cicero* the moſte vehement Oratoure, I doe chalenge, who durſte not accuſe *Antony* when he was preſente, and in hys abſence hath layde greate matter to his charge, the greateſt and doubtfulleſt whereof I wyll note, and wyth ſhoꝛte anſwere ſhewe them to bee falſe.

Hee ſayeth, that *Antony* after *Cæſars* deathe, byd take the publique money as hys owne, the lawe calleth ſuche one a Thæfe, and not an enimye, appointyng the payne. Therefore when *Brutus* hadde ſlayne *Cæſar*, and accuſed hym to the people, foꝛ ſpyling the common money, and leauing the Treauſure nothyng, *Antony* by and by did dectæ, that the matter ſhoulde be ſearched: you approued hys ſentence by publique proclamation, appointyng a rewarde of the tenth parte, to them that woulde declare it, whych we wyll double if any man can accuſe *Antony* of that. And thus much concer- ning the money.

The

The prouince of *Fraunce* we did not appoint to *Antony*: the people did by lawe, *Cicero* being present, in such sort as manye other be giuen, and heretofore gaue the same to *Cæsar* in like manner. Part of the decree is, that *Antony* should make warre vpon *Decimus* if he would not giue place vnto him, and that the army prepared against the *Thracians*, (who stirreth not) should be led against him, if he resisted. *Cicero* doth not iudge *Decimus* an enemye that maketh warre againste the lawe, but *Antony*, that obeyeth the lawe. If he condemneth hym, hee condemneth them that made the lawe, whome hee ought by persuation to pacifie, and not to prouoke by contumelie. Neither ought he to credite that place to *Decimus*, who the people haue banished for murder, & discredit *Antony*, to whom the people haue giuen it by law. It is no good counsel to make omission with the people, especially in dangerous times, nor to forget, that this belongeth chiefly to the people, to iudge of friends and foes: for by the auntient lawes, the people only is Lord of war and peace, in the whiche at this time notwithstanding they haue not appointed, nor commaunded, nor vsed their priuiledge ouer vs. But (he saith) *Antony* killed certain souldiours, being general and appointed therevnto by you. Fewer was there Captaine generall, that was charged wyth that office. For the lawes haue not thought it mete, that the Captaine should be subiect to the souldiours: and there is nothing worse in a campe, than disobedience, by the whiche some conquerours haue bene ouerthrowen. None of them that were punished, haue complained, nor none of their friends or kinfolk. But *Cicero* hath accused, and finding fault at their death, instead of such hono: as hath ben wont to be giuen to such executor, he wil haue *Antony* exclaime an enemy. How *Antonyes* army was disordered, & how they disdayned hym, it is euident, by the two legions y are fled fro him, who you commaunded to serue vnder him: & they, contrary to y lawe of souldiours, haue not fled fro him to you, but to *Octa. Cæsar*, which *Cicero* prayseth also, & yesterday would haue the rewarded of y common Treasure, whiche example I pray God you do not one daye repent,

to

to suche inconuenience hath enmity caried *Cicero*. He accuseth *Antonyes* Tyranny also, and murder of souldiours, where as they that seeke mischiefe to their countries, euer do please their armies, and not so punish the. And because he can accuse *Antony* of none other matter of Tyranny after *Cæsars* rule, go to, I wil aske him questions of euery thing. Whom hath *Antony* killed vnharde, as a Tyrant, who now himselfe vnharde is, in daunger to be condemned? Whome hath he banished? Whom hath he cast out? hath he bin so to euery particular man? hath he layde traynes for vs all at once when (*Cicero*) he decreed forgetfulnesse of all things done: or that no man should prosecute the murder? or that a search should be made of common Treasure? or when he called home *Pompey*, your *Pompeis* sonne? or when he wished he might be recompenced of the common, for his fathers substance? or when he dispatched the counterfayte *Marcius*? Whom then you al prayled, and now only, in that *Cicero* will not, you dispraise? or when he determined that no Dictator should be created or spoken of? or when he ordayned that he that would, should dye for it. These were the things that *Antony* did to vs in two monethes, when he alone remained in the Citie after *Cæsar*: when by and by the people pursued the strikers, when by and by we were astrayde of things to come. When, if he would haue taken his occasion, and haue bene vniust, he could not haue had a better, yet he dyd not vse his power to the contrary. What did not he alone rule, when *Dolabella* was gone into *Syria*? What dyd not he vse his army pcesse, to al purposes in the Citie, whiche you appointed to hym: did he not watch the Citie? was not he himselfe garded by night for feare of his enemies? had he not occasiõ by *Cæsars* death, his friend, and benefactor, and most deare to the people? Had he not another, more nere wher his body was, laid for of me, of whom he neyther banished, nor put to death, any but rather fauoured them as much as by reason & honesty he could, not enuying them? These you see, *Romaines*, be the greatest, and most doubtful matters that *Cicero* hath gathered against him, and to his accusations he ioyneth deuina-

Do.

tion

tion was thought. *Crassus* would haue broughte so greafe  
an army, against the *Eyttie*; but that hee was a-  
frayde of *Antony*, that prevented hym wth an  
other army. If to entende onely so, bee the parte of  
a manne that is an enemye, why doeth hee not counte  
hym one that can be and encamped in the Citty, and  
gaue you no warning. If it? If *Antony* would come,  
howe hapte it hee came not? Was hee afrayde of *Cesar*  
three thousand armed, he hauing thirty thousand well ar-  
med? They came onely to *Cesar* for to helpe to a pacification  
betwene them, but when they saw that warre would follow,  
they forsooke hym. If he were afrayde when hee had thyrty  
thousand: howe came he hither with one thousand? with  
the whyche goyng to *Fibine*, howe manye dyd wee sende  
vnto hym? howe manye of vs wente to bee sworne of  
hym, that were not sworne before? what prayles dyd  
*Cicero* make of hys good gouernemente and vertue? howe  
would *Antony*, if hee hadde knowen thys, haue lesse  
wth vs the pledges that now be without the Senate  
house, hys mother, hys wife and hys young sonne,  
whyche lamente and feare now, not of *Antony*s doyngs  
in the conunon wealthe, but for hys enemyes po-  
wer.

Thys I haue rehearsed vnto you, as an example  
of *Antony*s innocençe, and *Cicero*s mutabilitie. And to  
them that well wyll consyder, I wyll giue thys exhorta-  
tion: myther to charge the people nor *Antony*, ney-  
ther to bring in generall enimetie and daunger, the com-  
mon wealthe, being sickely, and wantyng them that spee-  
dily might relieue it: but to make the *Eyttie* strong  
before they abroade doe styre anye tumulte, whereby  
wee maye resiste anye that wyll rise againste vs, and  
iudge of them as wee shall thinke good, and performe  
what wee haue iudged. But howe can thys be done?  
If wee can suffer *Antony* for the loue or fauour of the  
people

people, to haue. *Franchise* if wee call home *Crassus*,  
wth hys thre legions, and when hee is come, sende  
hym into *Macedonia*, retayning hys legions, and calling  
for the two legions that wente from *Antony*, wee may  
require them (as *Cicero* sayeth of *Cesar*) to bee in the *Eytie*,  
so as hauing thre legions, wee maye conserue what  
wee will by legge, and not be dymch to hang of anye mans  
hope.

Thys haue I spoken to the hearers, without anye ad-  
mulation. But for them that, inconsiderately and without  
scalye seke to trouble you for priuate grudges or displeasures,  
I shall beseeche the Iudges not to bee so quick, nor swift,  
against so greafe men, and leaders of so myghtie armys,  
that they doe not force them to make warre againste the  
wyll, remembryng *Asperus*, *Cornelius*, and the late *Cesar*,  
whom, bying an armye likewise, and offering verie good  
conditions of con corde, wee rather, condemned as ene-  
mye, and of necessitie made him to bee so indede. Acthe,  
beare wth the people, that, while earst, did stirre againste  
the strekers of *Cesar*, that we seeme not, to be repayed, bying  
them prouinces of nations, nor prayle *Drusus*, because  
hee despieth the peoples laue, and condemne *Antony*, be-  
cause hee receyueth *Franchise* by the peoples order. And if  
behoueth them that bee of good iudgement, to redresse them,  
that goe astray, and the Consuls and *Quintus* to prouide,  
for the daungers of the present state.

Thus dyd *Piso* speake in defence, with cries and  
sharpe wordes, and was the onely cause why *Antony*  
was not iudged a rebell. Yet coulde he not obtayne that  
hee shoulde haue the prouince of *France*, *Gallia*. For the  
friendes and kinsfolke of the killers for feare did lette it,  
leaste the warre shoulde cease, and hee be at one with  
*Octavius*, and they both reuenge *Cesar*s deathe. Wherefore  
they practyse and deuise was to kepe *Antony* and *Octavius*  
wyl at debate.

It was decreed that *Antony* should receiue *Maccedonie*, in stead of *Lombardie*. All other orders, epther of ignorance or of purpose, they committed to *Cicero* to appoint, and to giue answer to Embassadors. He hauing this sentence, dyd thus determine.

The decrees of  
*Cicero* against  
*Antony*.

That *Antony* shoulde straight departe from *Modena*, and leaue *Celtica* to *Decimus*: and to be within the compasse of the floud *Rubicone* (which diuideth *Italie* from *Lombardie*) by a daye prescribed, and committe all his matters to the Senate.

Thus *Cicero* ambitiously and vniustly dyd appointe his determinations, not for anye so great priuate enmitie, but as it shoulde seme, by desynne that was determined to trouble the State with mutation, and bryng himselfe to some euill happe in the ende.

At this instant they were come that broughte the ashes of *Trebanius*, and the despyght bled to him, which being thoroughly knowne, the Senate did easlye decree *Dolabella* to be a rebell.

*Dolabella*'s declaration  
rebell.

When the messengers were come to *Antony*, they were ashamed of their strange commission, and sayd nothing, but delivered the decree vnto him. He with great anger did inueigh against the Senate & *Cicero*, marrelling that they would thinke *Cesar* a Tyrane or a king: that had so much augmented the State of *Rome*, and not accompt *Cicero* so, whome *Cesar* toke in warre, and yet did not kill, whereas *Cicero* doeth preferre hys killers, before his friends, and hated *Decimus*, when he was trusty to *Cesar*, and loued him euer since he was a killer of him, & would adde him that only by *Cesar* kept *Celtica*, & iudge hym a rebell that had it by the people. To the legions that were assigned by decree, and reuolted, the Senate giueth rewarde, but none to them that remaine in their duty: and so corrupt (quoth he) the discipline of war, not belonging to me, but to the Citie. To the quellers, he could graunt obliuion of the fact, to whiche I consente for two noble mennes sake: but *Antony* and *Dolabella* hee iudgeth enmyes, because

The answer of  
*Antony* to the  
decree.

wee keepe that was giuen vs, for that is the verye cause. But if I leaue *Celtica*, I am neither enemy nor tyrannic. I protest I will dissolue that forgetfulness, that shall not be verye acceptable to hym.

*Antony* to the  
Senate.

Many things after this sorte spake *Antony*, and wrote thys answer to the decree, that to the Senate he woulde obey as to hys Countrey, but to *Cicero*, that wrote the commaundement, thus he spake:

*Antony* to *Cicero*

The people haue giuen me *Celtica* by lawe: *Decimus*, that will not obey, I will remoue, and reuenge the matter of murther in hym for all, that the Senate may be purged of the faulte they be in, whereof they be full for *Cicero*'s sake, to helpe *Decimus*. When *Antony* had thus saide, he wrote it by and by. Wherefore the Senate iudged hym an enemy, and the armye with hym, valesse they wente from hym.

*Antony* condemned.

*Maccedonia* and *Illiria* with the armies of both, they appointed to *Marcus Brutus*, till the common wealth were brought to better state. He had an armye of hys owne, and had receyued one of *Appuleius*. He had shippes bothe gallies and hulkes, and sixteen thousand talents of money, and greate plenty of armour, which he founde in the Citie of *Demeatride*, layde vp there by *Cesar*, all the whiche the Senate confirmed by the decree, that hee mighte vse to the benefit of hys country.

The pover of  
*Marcus Brutus* in  
*Asia*, *Maccedonia*  
and *Slauonia*.

*Syria* was by the Senate appoynted to *Cassius*, and commaunded to make warre vppon *Dolabella*, and all that had prouinces or armies of the Romaines from the *Ionian* Sea to the *Easte*, were charged to obey *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Wherefore *Cassius* and *Brutus* estate was sodainely in great fame.

*Demeatride*, a  
towne in *Thessaly*,  
that was  
called *Pagasa*,  
nowe *Dimeas*  
*trida*.  
*Syria* appoynted  
to *Cassius*.

When *Octavius Cesar* vnderstode these thynges, hee was in doubt, for whe re he thought the lawe of Obluion to procede of a conuenticle of humanitie, and a respect of pitie of their kinfolke that were men in like authoritie, and therfore had appointed them to prouinces for a shorte tyme for their securitie, as *Celtica* to *Decimus*, to note *Antony* of Tyranny, and by that deuice to induce hym againste *Antony*.

Howe that *Dolabella* was condemned as a rebell, for killing

*Dol.*

one

one of the quellers, and that mightie nations were giuen in prouince to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and manye armies with greatespeedinelle appointed to them, with abundaunce of money: and that they were made Generalles of all the people from *Ionia* to *India*. He perceived that all this tended to the aduancement of *Pompeys* parte, and to the bitter destruction of *Caesars*: And that the Senate wente aboute to deceiue hym as a youngman: (the plotte wherof he conceiued in his mynd,) and that when he was made a Capitaine against *Antony*, it was meant to take his armye from him, and that the Consulls being in the fieelde, there was no roode of any other Capitayne, and that onely honours were giuen to the Souldiours that reuolted from *Antony*, and hys unhonoured: and that this warre would worke his infamy, being vsed to none other intent of the Senate, but to the destruction of *Antony*. He kept the considerations secreete to hymselfe, and making sacrifice for the charge giuen hym, he thus sayd to hys armye.

When they  
decided an  
image and a  
vice vnto him.

Offering to the  
souldiours.

This honour, (O fellow Souldiours) I may thanke you for, not onely nowe, but from the tyme you gaue mee power. For your sakes the Senate haue giuen it me, and therefore, for this also you know I am your debtor of thanks, whiche, if the Gods shall giue vs good lucke, I will requite abundantly. Thus did he speake to winne hys armye and marched forth.

Offering deliue-  
red to two legions  
to Hirtius the  
Consull.

*Pansa*, one of the Consulls, lead his armye, ouer *Italy*, *Hirtius*, the other Consull, diuided with *Caesar*: and as he was secreetly instructed of the Senate, he required in the diuision, the two legions that went from *Antony*, because they were counted the best Souldiours. *Caesar* did grant euery thing, and when they had diuided, they encamped togither that wynter.

At the ende of winter, *Decimus* begonne to lacke victual, wherefore *Hirtius* and *Caesar* wente to *Mutina*, that *Antony* shoulde not get from them *Decimus* armye opprest with famine.

*Antony* holding *Mutina* straighte, they with all their forces wolde not fight with hym, but tarried for *Pansa*. Diuers skirmishes were made, in the whiche, thoughte *Antony* hadde the greater number of horse, yet the narrownesse of the fieelde, and the

The siege of  
Mutina, one of  
the olde Cities  
of Italy, and  
made an inhabi-  
tance of Rome  
with *Caesar* and  
*Antony*.

the ditches about the citiers, did keepe backe the multitude of horsemen. And thus went the matter at *Mutina*.

In *Rome* in the absence of the Consulls, *Cicero* dydde al, as the peoples ruler. He assembled the Senate euerye daye: he made prouision of armour, compelling workemen without payment: He gathered money, and putte great impositions vpon *Antonyes* friends. They suffered it patiently to anoide displeasure, till *Publius Ventidius* that had serued vnder *Caesar*, and was friende to *Antony*, could not abide the sharpenesse of *Cicero*, but wente to *Caesars* habitations, where he was well knowne, and gotte two legions, whiche he ledde to *Antonie*, by *Rome*, to take *Cicero*. Great trouble grew of this, insomuche as manye wente awaye with their wiues and children for feare, and *Cicero* fledde oute of the Cittie, whiche when *Ventidius* knewe, he tourned straighte to *Antony*, and being stepte by *Caesar* and *Hirtius*, he wente to *Picene*, where he gathered another legion, and stayed to see what would come.

*Cicero* ruleth all  
at *Rome*.

*Ventidius* mi-  
keeth *Rome* afraid  
and *Cicero* to  
flee.

*Cicero* fleeth.

La Marca de *An-*  
cona the countrey  
of *Ancona*.

The Consull and *Caesar*, seeing that *Pansa* dyde nighe with hys hoste, sente *Carfuleius* the leader of *Caesars* chiefe bande, and the partiall legion to helpe him to passe the straights.

*Carfuleius*.

*Antonie* dydde not muche care for the passage, so he mighte other wise hinder them, and being desirous of the fight, could not vse his horsemen in the playne, because of the fenny place full of ditches. He hidde two of hys beste legions in the fenne, the waye being made by hande, and straighte, and on both sides couered with reedes.

The stratagema  
of *Antony*.

*Carfuleius* all the nighte passing thys place, by the breake of day, was come to the way made with hand. With the partiall Souldiours and sune other bandes, they wente vpon the made way, being cleare of ennemyes, and behelde the fenne on euerye syde, and when they sawe the stirring of the reedes, and some glittering of tergats and headpieces, they began to suspect, when as the chiefe band of *Antony* sodainelye appeared afore them.

The partiall legion being on both sides beset, and hauing

no

no roomth to shifte abroad, forbad the newe souldiours to take anye paines wth them, leaste for lacke of experience they shoulde trouble them, they placed *Cæsars* chiefe bande againste *Antonies*, and they diuiding themselves to two, encountred with bothe legions. *Pansa* was Capitaine of the one parte, and *Carfulenus* of the other. And bycause there was two ffens, there was two fights: and bycause of the straight place, the one could not see the other: and vpon the verve waye, the two chiefe bandes beganne another fight betwene themselves. *Antonies* men entened to be reuenged of the *Partialls*, bycause they were fugitiues, and to vse them as traytours. The *Partialls* woulde bee reuenged of them, as suspected of theyr fellowes deathes at *brundise*. Waryng thus priuie one to anothers doings, and that they were the strength of eyther armye, they hoped by thys onely seate, that the warre woulde be determined. The one was ashamed that two legions shoulde be overcome of one, the other sought glozpe, that one legion shoulde defeat two: and so they ioyned battel for anger and emulation, rather of themselves, than of their Capitaynes, trying now their owne matter. And for their experience, they neyther made crie, as though they had not stricken one another, nor in the fight any of them vttered anye voyce, neither when he had the better, nor when he had the worse. They fetched no compasse nor course, but stode firme, as in fennes and ditches, where they could not one put another backe, but with their shorthe swords, they clasppe together, as in a wrestling place. No blowe was given in vaine, but either woundes or slaughter followed, and only sighes in stede of voyce. He that fell had straight another putte in his place. There was no neede of exhortation or calling on, euery man by his owne experience was a Captaine to himselfe. And when they had ouerlaboured, they woulde stape to take breath, as men do in places of exercise, and straighte close agayne.

The young souldiours stode in a maze to see thys seate done with so good order and silence: all these continuing beyond mans nature, the chiefe band of *Cæsar* was all slaine. The *Partialls* vnder *Carfulenus* hadde rather the vpper hande of their enemies, who

The notable fighte of the Mutall legion agaynst revo of *Antonies*, and the revo chiefe bandes of *Antonies* and *Octavius*. This battell is declared in the tenth booke of *Cicero* his *Epistoles*.

who not disorderedly but in ray, withdrew themselves. They vnder *Pansa* dyd abide it out, and equally stode to it on bothe sides, till *Pansa* was wounded with a dart in the belly, and was caried to *Bononia*. Then they, at the firste retzred in order, but after they turned more swiftly as flying, which when the young souldiours sawe, they fled with confusion and crie to the campe: which *Torquatus* the Pretor had provided whyles they were fighting, foreseeing the neede of it, to the whiche the new souldiours ran with great violence, being *Italians* as well as the *Partialls*, but exercise maketh them of one nation so much to differ in vertue. The *Partialls* dyd not enter the trench for dishonour, but stode before it, and weary though they were, remayned ready to resist any assaulte, and to abide the ende of the matter. *Antony* dyd not touche the *Partialls*, bycause he knewe them valiant, but the young souldiours he chased, and made greate slaughter among them.

*Hirtius*, at *Mutina*, hearing of the fight, being aboute eyght myles distant, came in haste with the other legion that was fled from *Antony*. The sunne was now going downe, and *Antonies* souldiours hauing the victorie, went singing to their camp. *Hirtius* appeared to them, he being in good order with one legion sounde and valiante, and they out of order. Wherefore of necessity, they placed themselves in due sort, and shewed many valiant and noble feates: but although they were coragious, yet being weary, they were overcome of the other that were freshe, and the most parte slayne of *Hirtius* in this feate: albeit he did not solow them, for feare of the fennes, and the night coming on, did seuer them. The fenne in most places was filled with hartnesse and dead men, and with half dead and wounded. They that were safe, dispaired of themselves for wearinesse. But the horsemen of *Antony* rode about almight, and gathered them together: some they caried themselves: some they brought home on horsebacke: some they hadde take holde by the horse tayle, to goo the faster, and seeke to saue themselves. Thus *Antony* hauing fought very nobly, losse his force by the coming of *Hirtius*: wherefore he abode in a village in the felde without a campe.

*Pansa* the Consul is wounded.

*Antonies* name *Polygnotus*, the other name was *Politus*, *Torquatus*.

Exer. 2.

*Hirtius*.

The fight with *Hirtius* and the *Partialls*.

*Antonies* men in the trench.

The horsemen of *Antony*.

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The Village is called *French Market*. The halfe of eyther syde was slayne, and *Caesar*s bande of his person utterly destroyed. Of *Hirtius* Souldiours few were left, all the which the nexte morning remoued their Camps to *Modena*.

After this losse, *Antony* determined no more to giue battell to his enemies, nor to admitte any attempt to the same, but with his Horsemen only to molest them daye by day, till he had gotten *Decimus* to yelde, being driuen by hunger. For this cause *Hirtius* and *Caesar* the rather prouoked him to fight: and whereas they did perceyue, that *Antony* would not come forth, keeping his men in order, they went to the other side of the Citie, whiche (because it was the harder to appoach, was the lesse kept) with their whole army they myght enter by force. *Antony* made resistance only with his horsemen, but they being put backe by other horse, and the army passing as it would, *Antony* was afraid of the Citie, and brought forth two legions. They glad of this, retired, and foughte with them, and whilst *Antony* from other campes sent for more legions, as in a troubled time of so greate and suddayne attempt, the whiche being long a coming, *Caesar*s men ouerthrew *Antonies* in the fight, and *Hirtius* droue *Antony* to his Campe, where fighting manfully before *Antonies* Tente, he was slayn, whose body *Caesar* louing, in great speed reconered, and gotte the Campe, till shortly he was repulled by *Antony*. Both of them watched all night in armoure. *Antony* being fallen with this seconde losse, streight after the battell called his friends to counsell. They thought, according to his former meaning, to keepe still the siege at *Modena*, and not to come to any fight, for both the losses were like, *Hirtius* slayne, and *Pansa* hurte. For Horsemen, he the better, and *Modena* broughte to extream want, must needs shortly giue ouer. Thus his friends thoughte good, and it was best indeede, but *Antonie* (God now striking him) was afrayde least *Caesar* shoulde proceede to the obteyning of the Citie, as he did the day before, or by making walles entrenchen him, hauing many pioners for the purpose, and then his Horse shoulde do him no good: he said, *Lepidus* and *Plancius* wil despise me, as one overcome, but if we goe fro *Modena*, *Pentidius* wil streight come

come to vs with three legions, from the marches of *Antona*, and then being so strong, *Lepidus* and *Plancius* will take my part. Thus he said, and as a man not afrayde in perils, he leuied his siege, and went straight toward the Alpes. When *Decimus* was depriued of the siege, he began to feare *Caesar* as an enemy, because both Consuls were now gone, wherefore he brake the bridges of the riuer before day, & sent to him, both acknowledging him the authoz of his safetie, and prayed him, that hauing the floud betwixte them, he woulde come to a talke, with witnesse of Citizens, where he would let him vnderstand, that very wicked fortune forced him to conspire against *Caesar*, being thereto driuen of other. *Octavius* angerly answered the messengers, refusing the thanks that *Decimus* gaue him, for I (quoth he) came not to saue *Decimus*, but to ouerthrow *Antonie*, with whome to be reconcyled, there is no reason, but to come to speech or sighte of *Decimus*, his nature abhorred it: let him therefore keepe himselfe, so long as it shall so seme to them of the Citie. When *Decimus* heard this, not being farre from the floud, he called to *Caesar* by name, and with a loude voyce, redde vnto him the Senates letters, by the which they had giuen him the prouince of *Celtica*. And he forbad also *Caesar*, that without the Consuls, he shoulde not passe the bridge into any others prouince, nor follow *Antonie*, for he was able ynough to do it. *Octavius* seying him in such boldnesse by the Senate, when he mighte by his commission haue taken him; he spared him, and wente to *Bononia* to *Pansa*, from whence he wrote to the Senate of all things, and so did *Pansa*, whose letters *Cicero* did reade to the people of *Rome*, as from the Consull, but *Caesar*s, were redde to the Senate onely. There was decreed generall Processions of fiftie dayes agaynste *Antonie*, the like whereof was not done of the Romaines, neyther for the warre of *Fraunce*, nor none other battayle.

The Consulls armies were appoynted to *Decimus*, *Pansa* being yet aliue, but not lyke to scape, and *Decimus* made generall alone agaynste *Antonie*, and publike Prayers were made, that *Decimus* myghte overcome *Antonie*: so greate an hate and displeasure was growen agaynste *Antonie*.  
Cc.ij. Co

*Decimus* is content  
to *Octavius*.

*Octavius* answered  
seuerely to *Decimus*.

The Consulls  
letters are redde  
openly.  
*Caesar* to the  
Senate only.  
Supplications  
of fiftie dayes.

*Decimus* made  
generall.

The third fight  
betweene *Antony*  
and the Consull  
was bloody.

*Hirtius* was slayne.

*Caesar* was  
not hurt.

As the two legions that fledde from *Antony*, was confirmed to each souldiour according to the former promise, five thousand Drammes of the common treasure, as to souldiours of conquest: and it was graunted them in solemne feastes to weare a crowne of Daurie leaues. Of *Octavius* nothing was mentioned, not so much as his name, so soon dyd they contemne him, as though *Antony* had bene utterly destroyed. They wyote also to *Lepidus*, *Plancius*, and *Titius*, to fight with *Antony*, when they should be nigh hym. These were done in Rome. *Pansa* beyng at poyne of death by reason of his wounde said thus to *Cesar* sitting by him:

I was a friende to thy father as to my selfe, whome I coulde not reuenge beyng slayne, not able to resiste so many, whome, thou also haste done wisely to obey, although thou haddest an armie. They at the firste fearyng thee and *Antony*, a manne moste ambitious, and enclinyng towarde *Cesars* sentence, haue bene content to suffer you to be at variance, and consume your selues, and when they sawe that thou wast Lord of an armie, as a yong man, they set thee forth with some countenance and slender honours. After thou wast stronger and of more estimation, and that thou wouldest not receiue the authoritie vnder the armie, that they gaue thee, they were troubled, and they appoynted thee to ioyne with vs, that wee mighte take from thee the two legions, which were moste practised, hoppyng that if any of you were overcome, the other alone shoulde be the more weaker, and after hym destroy all *Cesars* friendes and set by *Pompeys*. This was the summe of the determination. I and *Hirtius* haue done our commission, to repressse *Antony* that grewe into suspition. Now that he is overcome, wee thought it beste for thee to be at one with him, doing thee this benefite, in remembraunce of *Cesars* amittie, onely that whiche we supposed will further thy felicitie in tyme to come. Afore this time to haue giuen thee this Consell had not bene fitte, but now that *Antony* is broken, *Hirtius* dead, and I not like to liue, oportunitie serueth to speake, not that thou shouldest thinke me when I am dead, but that thou beyng borne to great felicitie (as thy deedes do shewe) mightest knowe what is beste for thee, and the choise and destiny of *Hirtius* and mee.

The

The armie that thou gauest vs, we thinke it most fitte to giue thee agayne, and so we do. The yong souldiours if thou couldest keepe, I would also giue thee, but it would much offende the Senate, by cause the officers of them, were sent as keepers to vs, and it would worke thee enuie, and put thee to more trouble than nedes, therefore *Torquatus* the Pretor shall haue them. When he had thus sayd, and deliuered them to *Torquatus*, he dyed: and they as the Senate commaunded, were sent to *Decimus*. *Cesar* deliuered *Hirtius* and *Pansa* to their funerall with greate honoz, and sent them to Rome with great shew. In Syria and Macedonia at this time diuers things happened.

*Iulius Caesar* when he passed by Syria, left a Legion there, myning then to go against the Parthians. *Cecilius Bassus* had the charge thereof, but *Iulius Sextus*, a yong man, and allyed to *Cesar*, had the dignitie, who ledde the legion without order, to delitious and licentious life, the which when *Bassus* reprovied, he vsed him wyth despightefulnesse, and *Bassus* againe calling him, and he grudging at it, he commaunded he should by force be broughte before him. At the which whē tumult and fray was made, the army not bearing this despighte, killed *Iulius*, whereof they streighte repented: he, for feare of *Cesar*. When making oth one to another, that vniuerselle forgiveness and faith were giuen them, they woulde fight to deathe, and compelling *Bassus* to that oth, they gathered another legion, & trayned them to their exercise. Thus some do write of *Bassus*. But *Libo* writeth, that *Bassus* was of *Pompeys* parte, and after the battayle, liued priuately in Tyro, where he did corrupte some of the Legion, who killed *Sextus*, and after obeyed *Bassus*. But howsoeuer the matter wente, they valiantly resisted *Sextus* *Mureus*, that was sente of *Cesar* with three Legions, till *Mureus* did call to *Minutius Crassus*, that was ruler of Bythinia, who came into his ayde with three other Legions, and when *Bassus* was besieged of these, *Cassius* came in great hast, and receiued by and by the two legions of *Bassus*, and also wanne the three legions that besieged him, by friendship, who obeyed him as vnder Consul. For (as I sayd before) it was decreed, that all should obey *Cassius* and

Brutus,

Cecilius.

Albiennus

Pansa the Consul dyeth.

The Consuls buried honourably.

Cecilius Bassus.

Iulius Sextus.

The mutiny of the army in Syria.

Iulius kyled.

Sextus Mureus. Minutius Crassus. Bythinia in Asia the lesse, nexte Troy. Cassius obeyed the Legions.

Albius.

Albius at that time, being sente of Dolabella into Egypt, brought from thence foure legions, whiche being scattered after the ouerthrowe of Crassus and Pompey, or else lesse of Caesar wylth Cleopatra, Cassius comming suddaynely vpon hym, compelled him to deliuer his Legions in Palestina, being afrayd with foure Legions to fight with eyght. So Cassius beyonde expectation, was Lord of twelue full Legions, and Dolabella going out of Asia into Liodicea, where for friendship he was receyued, he followed and besieged, whiche thynge when the Senate hearde, they were glad.

Palestina nexte  
India and Arabie.

Cassius, Lord of  
twelue Legions.  
Lio here, a noble  
Cite in Asia,  
nigh the bound  
Lyons.

In Macedonia, Caius Antonius, brother to Antonius Marcus, dyd make warre with Brutus, hauing one Legion of armed Citizens, and being inferioure to Brutus, he layde traynes for hym, which Brutus escaping, did catch him with the like traynes, and doing nothing to him nor them that he had taken, he badde his owne Souldiours to be familiar with their enimies, but they refusing that familiaritie, and not admitting their conuersation, he suffered them freely to departe, when he had them at aduantage. They goyng another way, he appeared suddaynely vnto them in another straight, where he dyd not touche them, but gently receyued them. They remembryng that he was euer thought to be the most courteous Citizen, and worthy the opinion that he had of wisdom and mildenesse, they accepted his courtesie, and gaue themselves vnto him. Caius also yelded to hym, and was in honoz with Brutus, till he was founde manye times corruptyng the army, and so put away.

Brutus getteth  
legions in  
Macedonia.

Brutus the gentle.

Thus Brutus to his former army, had syxe Legions, and prayeing the Macedonians, he gathered of them two legions moze, whome he exercised after the Italian manner.

These thyngs were done in Siria and Macedonia.

In Italie, Caesar toke it euill, that Decimus was made Generall agaynst Antonie before him. He hidde his anger, & desired that he myghte make a Triumph for the feat he hadde done, and being reiected of the Senate, requyring greater thynges than belonged to his age, he

Othanius desireth  
Triumph.  
The Senate despyeth  
nyeth Triumph  
of Othanius.

he was afraide, least if Antonie were ouerthrowen, they woulde moze despise him, and therefore desired to haue conference with hym, as Pansa counselled hym when he dyed.

All the Souldiours and Captaynes of Antonies that he had taken, he vsed courteously, and toke them as his owne, and them that woulde, he sente to Antonie, as a signification, that he was no enimie to hym.

Caesar vseth  
Antonyes Souldiours  
vwell.

To Ventidius that was friend to Antonie, and hadde broughte three legions, he dyelue nygh wylth his army, and when he had made hym afrayde, he did nothing to hym, but graunted hym eyther to ioyne with hym, or to goe to Antonie freely with his armie, and to protest, that for lacke of knowledge, he had omitted the common profite. When Ventidius heard thys, he wente to Antonie.

Othanius Caesar  
praiseth vwith  
Ventidius, An-  
tony's friende.

In the meane tyme, Othanius Caesar honoured Decius, one of Antonies Captaynes whome he hadde taken at Mutina. He gaue hym leaue to goe to Antonie if he woulde, and he demaunding of his mynde towarde Antonie, he sayde, he had shewed sufficiente and manye tokens to them that coulde perceyue, and to them that woulde be ignozante, moze woulde not suffice.

Othanius sayeth  
to Decius, a Cap-  
tayne of An-  
tony's.

Thus dyd Caesar signifie to Antonie.

To Lepidus and Asinius he moze playnely signified of the despyght against hym, and of the myghtie preparation of the kyl- lers, makyng them afrayde, that to increase Pompeis faction, all Casars friendes one after another, shoulde be serued as Antonie was, whych he, through ignozance and suspition of a feare, did longer suffer. He allowed well they shoulde obey the Senate for a fashion, but for theyr owne suretie they shoulde agree togyther whylest they myghte, and that they shoulde herein reprimde Antony, and to vse the manner of the legionaries, not to departe from them when the seruice was done, nor to leaue the trade of warre and disseuer, (leaste thoreby the Enimie myghte take some aduantage,) but

Othanius dealeth  
vwith Lepidus  
and Asinius.

Othanius praise  
vwith Antonyes  
friende.

but rather together inhabite others places, thereto desirous for their power, than severally every man in his countrey consume his owne. This did *Cæsar* send to *Lepidus* and *Asinius*, *Decimus* armye olde and famished, was full of sicknesse, and losenesse of bodye, and the newe souldiours were yet vnercised: but *Plancius* with his ordinarie armye drew nigh unto him, & *Decimus* wrote to the Senate, that *Antonie* shoulde be caught in his snares, being tyred with things past.

*Pompeys* friends hearing of this, did marvellously reioyce, crying now to be time, to restore their Countreys libertie. Every man made sacrifices, and elected tenne men to punish *Antonies* power. And this was a foine to abolish *Cæsars* decrees, whiche *Antonie* put in use by his remembrances, doing little or nothing of himselfe: whiche thing the Senate well perceyving, did by occasion disanull some, and so they hoped to dissolve all: and the tenne men did commaund, that whosoever hadde receyved any thing by *Antonies* authoritie, contrarie to the Senate, they should restore it, and declare it, and to them that disobeyed, a punishment was threatned. *Pompeys* secte required the rule of Consuls, in stead of *Hirtius* and *Pansus*, for the rest of the yeare. *Cæsar* did the like, not of the Senate, but of *Cicero*, privately sending to him, and exhorting him to be in office with him, because he was more sage, more experte, and better acquainted with the office than he, and that he only would thinke it a benefyte to beare the name, that he might have an honest pretence to leave his armye, for the which cause he had required a triumph.

*Cicero* hereby being blowne up with ambition, sayde, he perceyved a conspiracie to be wrought by the Captaynes abroad, and therefore he thought good to pleasure this young man, being not well intreated, and Lord of a greate armye, and rather to graunte him an office in the Citie before his time, than to force him to be in armes, least he might do something that should not content the Senate, and wished some of the wise antients might be appoynted, as a maister of his young yeares. But the Senate laughed at *Ciceros* ambition, and the kinsmen of the killers were against it, fearing that *Cæsar* would accuse them when he shoulde

be Consull, and for diuerse lawfull causes made delay in the election.

*Antonie* in this tyme passed the mountaines. Having perswaded *Culeo* a Capitaine of *Lepidus*, and keeper of the passage, to create hym, he drew nigh the floude where *Lepidus* was, and lay without trench or ditch, because he would shew he was friend to him. Diuerse messages were sent betwene them. *Antony* receiving diuers friendshippes and pleasures, affirmed, that if he would not agree, all they of *Cæsars* amitie, shoulde be brought to the like calamitie.

*Lepidus* being afraide of the Senate, that hadde commaunded hym to make warre vpon *Antonie*, aspyed yet that he liide it againste his will. Now *Lepidus* his armye reuerencing the dignitie of *Antonie*, and perceyving the messengers betwene them, and delighting in the quietnesse of his souldiours, secretly firste mingled among the, & after openly, as with their fellow citizens and souldiours: and when they were forbidden by the Captains, they making no accompte of their commaundement, made a bridge of boats ouer the riuer, that they mighte the better come together: and the legion called the tenth, sometime wont to be led of *Antonie*, prepared for him in their tents.

*Laternensis*, one of the noble Senatoures perceyving this, opened the matter to *Lepidus*, who giuing no credite to hym, willed the armye to be deuised into diuerse partes, as to be sent to diuers vses to trie their treason or faith. *Lepidus* deuised them into three, and commaunded them in the night that they shoulde conduct a Treasourer of the armye that was coming at hand. They passing the last watch, and arming themselves as to a iorney, went to the strongest parte of the campe, and opened the gates to *Antony*, who rane into *Lepidus* Tent, all the armye bringing hym and praying *Lepidus* of mercie and peace for the afflicted Citizens, *Lepidus* leapt out of his bed without his clothes, and promised so to doe, and embracing *Antony*, excused the necessitie. Some saye he bydde knee to *Antonie*, as one that was a coward and of small experience, the whyche all writers doe not allowe, nor I

*Culeo* suffereth  
*Antony* to passe  
the mountaines.

*Antony* seeth  
theene. *Antony*  
& *Lepidus*.

The tenth legion  
beganne to re-  
uerse from *Lepi-  
dus*.

*Laternensis*.

*Lepidus* could-  
oures lets in  
*Antony*.

*Antony* and *Lepi-  
dus* agree.

*Decimus* army  
after hunger,  
fallen sick  
for plenty.  
*Plancius* toyneth  
with *Decimus*.

A creation of  
tenne men in  
Rome.

Edict of tenne  
men.

*Officiarius* requi-  
reth to be Con-  
sull with *Cicero*.

The ambition  
of *Cicero*.

*Cicero* is laughed  
at.

ff.

thinke

sayled, and Gallies beeing full at euery shore, shewed tokens to them that went amisse, and saued all that they mette. He receyuing them that came, gaue them raymente and lining forth wyth. The worthy sorte he vsed in hys army or his name: and when the thre men and he shoulde make a truce, he woulde neuer graunte to it, tll they that were come to hym, shoulde be comprised in it. So was he mosse profitable to hys afflicted Countrey, and wanne greate glozy to hymselfe, not inferioure to that hee hadde of hys father. Others, beeing otherwise fledde or hydden tll the truce, some in fieldes, some in graues, and some in the Citie, lyued with sharpe paynes. There were loues incredible shewed of Wommen to theyr Husbundes due, and of chyldren towarde theyr fathers, and of Seruauntes, agaynst nature, to their maisters: the which as they be most notable, I will declare.

*Paulus*, brother to *Lepidus*, (the Captaynes hauing reuerence vnto hym, as a brother of a Prince) with theyr leaue sayled to *Brutus*, and after to *Mileto*, at the whiche place, peace not yet beeing made, hee obteyned returne, and was called home, but woulde not.

*Lucius*, Uncle to *Antonie*, *Antonyes* mother kepte hym not hydde, beeing hys brother, the Captaynes for the most parte honouryng hys as the mother of a chiefe ruler, but after, they vsing violence, she came forth into the common place, and to *Antony* that sate wyth the other Princes, she sayde:

I confesse (O Prince) that I haue receyued *Lucius*, that I haue hym yet, and will keepe hym, till thou kill vs both together, for the lyke payne is appoynted to the receyuers.

He reproveth hir, as a good sister, but as an unkynde mother, for that shee ought not to saue *Lucius*, but shoulde haue stopped hym, when he iudged hys Sonne an enimie, neuer thelesse, he caused *Plancus* the Consull, to decrea hys reuocation.

*Messala*, a noble yong man, fledde to *Brutus*. The thre men fearing his wisdom, wrote thus:

Since

Since the friendes of *Messala* dothe aspyne vnto vs, that hee was not a medler when *Caesar* was kyled, we put him out of the proscribed number. But he dyd not accepte the pardon, but when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were kyled aboarde *Thrace*, the armye whyche remayned greate, hauing shyppen, money, and good hope, woulde haue hadde *Messala* to bee theyr Captayne, who refused it, and perswaded them to gyue place to aduerser fortune, and to ioyne wyth *Antony*. Wherefore hee was in greate credite with *Antonie*, and agreed wyth hym, tll hee reproveth hym for hys wanton dealing wyth *Cleopatra*, and then he wente to *Caesar*, who made hym Consull in *Antonyes* place, when hee was agayne declared an enimie, after hee hadde foughte agaynst *Antonie* in the battell by Sea at *Actium*.

A letter of the three men.

*Messala*.

*Actium*, a foreland of *Actium*.

*Caesar* sent.

*Caesar* sente hym agaynst the frenche that reuolted, and graunted hym to triumph for the victorie.

*Bibulus* also was accepted to *Antony*, with *Messala*, and was an Admirall for *Antony*, and wente agaynst *Caesar* when they warred together, and beeing Presidente of *Syria* vnder *Antony*, there he dyed.

*Bibulus*.

*Acilius* fledde from the Citie secretly, and beeing betrayed of hys Seruaunte to the Souldyours, hee perswaded them in hope of muche money, to sende some of them to his wyfe, wyth a token whyche he toke them. She broughte vnto them all hys stowe, saying, He dyd deliuer all vnto them, as though they woulde perfoyme theyr promise: but yet shee knelwe not whether they woulde or no, but she was not deceyued of thys good liking, for they hyred a shippe for *Acilius*, and sente him into *Sicilie*.

*Acilius* and his good wyfe.

*Lentulus*, beeing desired of hys wyfe to flie wyth hym, and diligently attendyng on hym, he, for that hee woulde not putte hys to the daunger, fledde secretly into *Sicilie*, where beeing made a Lieutenaunte of *Pompey*, hee sente hys worde howe hee was escaped, and in offico. She hearyng where hys Husbunde was, secretly leste hys mother, who had good eye

*Lentulus* and his good wyfe.

Act. 15.

Upon

upon hir, and with two Seruauntes with greate payne and waunte, she as a slave went, till she came to *Messina* from Reggio aboute nyghte, and easilie learning where the Lieutenantes Wente was, she founde *Centulus*, not as a Lieutenant, but with a paxe bedde layde vpon the grounde, and simple dyet, for desire of hir.

*Centulus* wife threatened she woulde betray him, if he fledde alone, wherefore againste his will he took hir with him, and it

brought from thence some legions, whiche beinge scattered after the ouerthrowe of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, or else left of *Caesar* with *Cleopatra*, *Cassius* comming suddaynely vpon hym, compelled him to deliuer his Legions in *Palestina*, beinge afrayd with foure Legions to fighte with eyghte. So *Cassius* beyonde expectation, was Lord of twelue full Legions, and *Dolabella* going out of *Asia* into *Lydica*, where for frendship he was receyued, he followed and beseged, whiche thyng when the Senate hearde, they were glad.

In *Macedonia*, *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antonius Marcus*, dyd make warre with *Brutus*, hauing one Legion of armed Citizens, and beinge inferioure to *Brutus*, he layde trapnes for hym, which *Brutus* escaping, dyd catch him with the like trapnes, and doing nothing to him nor them that he had taken, he hadde his owne Souldiours to be familiar with their enemies, but they refusing that familiaritie, and not admitting their conuersation, he suffered them freely to departe, when he had them at aduantage. They goinge another way, he appeared suddaynely vnto them in another straight, where he dyd not touche them, but gently receyued them. They remembryng that he was euer thought to be the most courteous Citizen, and worthy the opinion that he had of wisdom and mildenesse, they accepted his courtesie, and gaue themselves vnto him. *Caius* also yielded to hym, and was in honoz with *Brutus*, till he was founde manye times corruptyng the army, and so put away.

Thus *Brutus* to his former army, had syxe Legions, and praysing the *Macedonians*, he gathered of them two legions more, whome he exercised after the Italian manner.

These thyngs were done in *Siria* and *Macedonia*.

In *Italie*, *Caesar* took it euill, that *Decimus* was made Generall agaynst *Antonie* before him. He hidde his anger, and desired that he myghte make a Triumph for the same as he hadde done, and beinge reiected of the Senate, requyring greater thynges than belonged to his age, he

it: As they wright that *Aeneas* was reuerenced of his enemies, when he bare his Father *Anchises*. The people of Rome commending the young manne, caused that afterwarde he was made Chamberlayne of the Citie. And bycause he coulde not beare the charges of his office, so that his goodes were confiscate, the artificers freely gaue hym to supply the same. And the people that behelde by the heben, did euery man call to muche money into the game place, as they made him

woulde more despise him, and therefore desired to haue conference with hym, as *Pansa* counselled hym when he dyed.

All the Souldiours and Captaynes of *Antonie* that he had taken, he vsed courteously, and took them as his owne, and them that woulde, he sente to *Antonie*, as a signification, that he was no enimie to hym.

To *Ventidius* that was friend to *Antonie*, and hadde broughte some legions, he myghte muche with hym, and to hym he hadde made hym afrayde, he did nothing to hym, but graunted hym eyther to ioyne with hym, or to goe to *Antonie* freely with his armie, and to protest, that for lacke of knowledg, he had omitted the common profite. When *Ventidius* heard this, he wente to *Antonie*.

In the meane tyme, *Octavius Caesar* honoured *Decius*, one of *Antonie* Captaynes whome he hadde taken at *Mutina*. He gaue hym leaue to goe to *Antonie* if he woulde, and he demaunding of his mynde towarde *Antonie*, he sayde, he had shewed sufficiente and manye tokens to them that coulde perceyue, and to them that woulde be ignozante, more woulde not suffice.

Thus dyd *Caesar* signifie to *Antonie*.

To *Lepidus* and *Asinius* he more playnely signified of the despyght agaynst hym, and of the myghtie preparation of the kylers, making them afrayde, that to increase *Pompeis* faction, all *Caesars* friendes one after another, shoulde be serued as *Antonie* was, whych he, through ignozance and suspition of a feare, did longer suffer. He allowed well they shoulde obey the Senate for a fashion, but for they owne suretie they shoulde agree togyther whylest they myghte, and that they shoulde herein reprove *Antony*, and to vse the manner of the legionaries, not to departe from them when the seruice was done, nor to leaue the trade of warre and disseuer, (leaue thereby the Enimie myghte take some aduantage,) but

*Palestina* nexte  
to *India* and *Alexandria*.

*Cassius*, Lord of  
twelue Legions.  
*Dolabella*, a noble  
man, and  
mightie souldier.

*Brutus* getteth  
legions in  
*Macedonia*.

Antonie the gentle.

*Octavius* desireth  
a Triumph.  
The Senate desired  
the Triumph  
of *Octavius*.

*Aeneas*,  
*Anchises*.

Kindnesse of  
Commons.

*Caesar* vseth  
Antonie's Souldi-  
ours well.

*Ventidius* vseth  
Antonie's friends.

*Octavius* sayeth  
to *Decius*, a Cap-  
taine of *Antonie*'s  
souldiers.

*Octavius* dealeth  
with *Lepidus*  
and *Asinius*.

*Octavius* praesenteth  
with *Antony*'s  
friends.

but rather together inhabite others places, thereto desirous for their power, than severally every man in his countrey consume his owne. This did *Cæsar* send to *Lepidus* and *Asinius*. *Decimus* armye olde and famished, was full of sicknesse, and loosenesse of bodye, and the newe souldiours were yet vnercised: but *Plancius* with his ordinarie armye drew nigh unto him, & *Decimus* wrote to the Senate, that *Antonie* shoulde be caught in his snares, being tyred with things past.

*Pompeys* friends hearing of this, did marvellously reioyce, crying now to be time, to restore their Countreys libertie. Every man made sacrifices, and elected tenne men to punish *Antonies* power. And this was a foyme to abolish *Cæsars* decrees, whiche *Antonie* put in vze by his remembrances, doing little or nothing of himselfe: whiche thing the Senate well perceyuing, did by occasion disanull some, and so they hoped to dissolve all: and the tenne men did commaund, that whosoever hadde receyved any thing by *Antonies* authoritie, contrarie to the Senate, they shoulde restore it, and declare it, and to them that disobeyed, a punishment was threathned. *Pompeys* seate required the rule of Consuls, in stead of *Hirius* and *Pausa*, for the rest of the yeare. *Cæsar* did the like, not of the Senate, but of *Cicero*, privately sending to him, and exhorting him to be in office with him, because he was more sage, more experte, and better acquainted with the office than he, and that he only would thinke it a benefyte to beare the name, that he might have an honest pretence to leaue his armye, for the which cause he had required a triumph.

*Cicero* hereby being blowne up with ambition, sayde, he perceyved a conspiracie to be wrought by the Captaynes abroade, and therefore he thought good to pleasure this young man, being not well intreated, and Lord of a greate armye, and rather to graunte him an office in the Citie before his time, than to force him to be in armes, least he might do something that shoulde not content the Senate, and wished some of the wise antients might be appoynted, as a maister of his young yeares. But the Senate laughed at *Ciceros* ambition, and the kindmen of the killers were against it, fearing that *Cæsar* would accuse them when he shoulde be

*Decimus* armye  
after hunger,  
fallen sicke  
for plenty.  
*Plancius* joyneth  
with *Decimus*.

A creation of  
tenne men in  
Rome.

Edict of tenne  
men.

*Octavius* requi-  
red to be Con-  
sull with *Cicero*.

The ambition  
of *Cicero*.

*Cicero* laugheth  
at it.

be Consull, and for diuerse lawfull causes made delay in the election.

*Antonie* in this tyme passed the mountaines. Having perswaded *Cules* a Capitaine of *Lepidus*, and keeper of the passage, to create hym, he drew nigh the floude where *Lepidus* was, and lay without trench or ditch, because he would shew he was friend to him. Diuerse messages were sent betwene them. *Antony* receiving diuers friendshipes and pleasures, affirmed, that if he woulde not agree, all they of *Cæsars* amitie, shoulde be brought to the like calamitie.

*Lepidus* being afraide of the Senate, that hadde commaunded hym to make warre vpon *Antony*, aspyed yet that he hidde it against his will. Now *Lepidus* his armye reuerencing the dignitie of *Antonie*, and perceyuing the messengers betwene them, and delighting in the quietnesse of his souldiours, secretly first mingled among the, & after openly, as with their fellow citizens and souldiours: and when they were forbidden by the Captains, they making no accompte of their commaundement, made a bridge of boats over the riuer, that they might the better come together: and the legion called the tenth, sometime wont to be led of *Antonie*, prepared for him in their tents.

*Leterensis*, one of the noble Senatours perceyuing this, opened the matter to *Lepidus*, who giuing no credite to hym, willed the armye to be deuised into diuerse partes, as to be sent to diuers vses to trie their treason or faith. *Lepidus* deuised them into thre, and commaunded them in the nighte that they shoulde conduct a Treasourer of the armye that was coming at hand. They passing the last watch, and arming themselves as to a ioynay, went to the strongest parte of the campe, and opened the gates to *Antony*, who ranne into *Lepidus* Tent, all the armye bringing hym and praying *Lepidus* of mercie and peace for the afflicted Citizens, *Lepidus* leapt out of his bed without his clothes, and promised so to doe, and embracing *Antony*, excused the necessitie. Some saye he bydded kneele to *Antonie*, as one that was a coward and of small experience, the whiche all writers doe not allowe, nor I

think

*Cules* suffereth  
*Antony* to passe  
the mountaines.

*Antony* recei-  
ueth diuers  
friendships  
& pleasures.

The tenth legion  
beganne to re-  
uerse from *Lepi-  
dus*.

*Leterensis*.

*Lepidus* could  
not let in  
*Antony*.

*Antony* and *Lepi-  
dus* agree.

Antony hath  
greate power  
againe.

thinke it to be probable, for hee hadde done no parte of an enemye againste *Antony*, whereby he should bee afrayde of hym.

Thus *Antony* was risen againe to greate power, and became moſte fearefull vnto his enemyes, for hee hadde the Armye that hee ledde from *Modena*, hee hadde receyued thre legions by the waye of *Ventidius*, and nowe hadde the fellowſhippe of *Lepidus*, wth ſeauen legions, armed wth all kynde of furniture and preparation requiſite.

*Lepidus* bare the name among them, but *Antony* had the direction of all.

When this was ſhewed at *Rome*, a marvellous and ſuddayne mutation of mindes followed, ſome, from greate boldeneſſe fell to feare, ſome from great feare were liſted vpp to courage.

Alteration in  
*Rome*.

The decrees of the ſenue men were broken wth ſpighte, and the creation of Conſulles was intantelye called for.

The Senate ſtoode in doubt what to doe, and feared that *Caſar* and *Antony* would agree.

The Senate ſe-  
deth *Antony* and  
*Panſa* to *Brutus*  
and *Cicero*.

They ſente ſecretarye *Lucius* and *Panſa*, to *Brutus* and *Cicero*, as to viewe publique playes, that they ſette forthe in *Greece*, and ſecretlye required them, that as ſone as might be, they would come to helpe them.

From *Liby* they called two of the thre legions vnder *Sextus*, and the thirde, they commaunded to be giuen to *Cornificius*, that was ruler of the other *Liby* that obeyed the Senate.

The feare of the  
Senate.

They were afrayde of theſe, when they remembred they hadde ſerued vnder *Iulius Caſar*, and were enclined to his doings.

Nowe *Caſar*  
chooſeth  
him to *Decimus*.

This doubtfulneſſe droue them to this pointe, that by cauſe they feared nowe *Caſar* would conſente wth *Antony*, they choſe hym againe verge vniſſelye lieutenant vnder *Decimus*, but *Caſar* for anger, as continuallye vſed wth diſpight,

ſtirred

ſtirred his armye, that they ſhould be ſente to a neddye ſourney before they were payde the ſyue thouſande Drammes, promiſed them for the ſpyte, and counſelled them to ſende to the Senate for it, and they ſent the Captaines of the bandes.

*Caſar* ſtirreth his  
ſouldiours a-  
gainſte the Se-  
nate.

The Senate knowing wherefore they were taught to come, answered they would ſenoe their Ambaſſadours vnto them, whome they thus inſtruted.

That they ſhoulde priuatelye ſpeake to the two legions that wente from *Antony*, and teache them not to putte their truſte in one, but in the Senate onelye, whoſe power was eternall, and that they ſhoulde goe to *Decimus*, whether they would ſende them theyr money, and pretended they hadde readye to gyue them the one halfe, and that tenne men ſhoulde be appointed for the payment, not nampyng *Caſar* for the elcuenth.

Senate ſenteth  
to the ſouldiours

The Meſſengers, bycauſe the legions would not be ſpoken to, without *Caſar* returned in vaine.

*Caſar* would no more haue other to ſpeake to the ſouldiours, nor tarrye anye longer, but himſelfe wente to the armye bypnyg aſſembled, and ſhewed what deſpight the Senate had done him, and that they ment to deſtroy euerye one of *Caſar*'s friendes.

He hadde them beware of them, that would haue them tourne to a Capitayne by ſentence of gods, iudged an enemye, and ſo from one enemye to another, eyther to be utterlye deſtroyed, or to be at debate among themſelues, for the ſeate at *Mutina* being common, reſuarde is onelye appointed to two legions, to worke ſtriſe and diſcorde among them.

*Officiaries* ſtirreth  
his ſouldiours  
againſte the Se-  
nate.

You knowe (quoth hee) why *Antony* is perſecuted, and what the *Pompeyans* haue propounded in *Rome*, againſte them that haue receyued giſtes by *Caſar*'s appointment. What truſte can you haue, eyther of the lande, or the money that hee gaue you, or of my ſafetie, ſo long as the hollers himſeluen doe beare rule in the Senate? As for my ſelfe, I am readye to take ſuche ende as ſhall happen vnto

ff. y.

me,

me, and it shall be myne honoure to suffer for my fathers desire: but for you, so many and so worthy men, my whole care is, having in perill for my fathers sake and mine. You know that I am cleare from all ambition, since I refused the authority that you would have given me, with the ceremonies of a Magistrate. Nowe I see that bothe our safeties doeth consist, if I be of you declared Consull, for so shall the things be made sure unto you, that my father hath given you: the landes and habitations that be due unto you, you shall obtaine, and all youre gifts to the uttermoste: and I seeking the punishment of the strikers, will, with you, dispatche our other enemies.

When he hadde thus saide, the armye chearefully made a noise, and sent the Capitaines againe to Rome to require the Consulshippe for Caesar. When the Senate objected against his age, the Capitaines, as they were instructed, saide that in olde tyme *Corwinus* was Consull befoze his tyme, and after hym *Scipio*, both the firste and the seconde, and by their youth, the Countrey was aduanced. Comming to later tyme, they broughte forth *Pompey* and *Dolabella*, and *Caesar* himselfe, to whom it was graunted to be Consull tenne yeares befoze his tyme.

The Capitaines speaking thus with much boldnesse, some of the Senatoures coulde not abide, that they beeyng but band-leaders, should vse suche free speech befoze the Senate, and rebuked them, as menne more insolent than became souldiours duety.

When the whole armye heard this, they were more angry, and desired they might straighte be led to the Cittie, that they might make *Caesars* sonne a Consull by a famous election, whose father they extolled with immortall praise.

When *Octavius* sawe this vehemencie, by and by from that assemblye, he marched forward with eight legions of footmen, and a sufficient number of horsemen, and all prouision accordingly, and when he was past the floude *Rubicon*, from *Celtia* into *Italy*, as his father did afore, when he moued ciuil war, he diuided his army into .ij. parts, & one he commaunded to follow at leysure,

Octavius doeth  
returne to be declar-  
ed Consull by  
the multitude.

Consulls vnder  
age.  
*Corwinus*,  
*Scipio*.

The Senate re-  
buketh the  
souldiours.

*Octavius* goeth  
against the citie.

leysure, the other and yet better, he toke with him, & made much speede, minding to take them vnprouided. He met with part of the money that the Senate had sent the souldiours for a reward, and being afraid of the bringers of this gifte, he sente secretly some afore to asraye them, whereby they with their money fledde awaye. When the report of his comming was at Rome, great was the trouble and tumulte, running hyther and thither to sende their wiues and children, and to carpe their chiefe subsaunce, eyther into the countrey or to the strongest parts of the Cittie. For it was not thoroughly known, whyther he came onely to aske the Consulshippe. But when they heard that he came as an enemy with an angry armye, they were afraid of all hands.

The Senate was greatly stricken that they had no power sufficient, and as in suche feare happeneth, one of them accused another: some, bycause they toke awaye the army from *Antony* with suche dispight: some, bycause they had suspicion of the Triumphe, whiche was but right: some for hatred and diuision of the money: some, bycause he was not appointed the eleuenth manne in the distribution: some, bycause the rewards were not giue, neither sone ynough, nor ful ynough, sayd the army was become their enemy: & blamed this contention so much out of season, *Brutus* and *Cassius* being so farre off, and *Antonius* and *Lepidus* their enemies so nygh, whome perceiving to be redy to agree with *Caesar*, made the feare to grow the greater.

*Cicero*, that befoze was the great spyrrer, did nowe nowhere appeare. In euerie manne was marvellous mutation in euery matter: and for the two thousande and fye hundred drams that shoulde be giuen to two legions, to giue fye thousande drammes to eight legions, and in steede of tenne men, to make *Caesar* the distributour alone, and to graunte hym to aske the Consulshippe in his absence. Ambassadors went in haste to make this message with diligence, who were not out of the towne befoze the Senate repented them, as they that oughte not so cowardly to be troubled, nor to receiue an other *Pyrran* without

The feare at  
Rome.

Alteration in  
Rome.

*Cicero* not seene

Inconstancie of  
the Senate.

¶.iii.

without bloodshed, and that it was not the use to aske the Consulship by force, nor that Captaynes shoulde rule the Countrey at their pleasure, and that they in the Citie shoulde arme themselves, and aliege the lawes against them that came to invade the Countrey: and if they would needs procede, rather to suffer the siege till *Decimus* and *Clavius* myght come, and better to defend themselves to death, than willingly to receyue servitude without redress.

They recyted the olde examples of the *Romans* in sufferance and Counsell for their libertie, whiche they woulde in no wise give over. And when the two legions called from *Libya*, dyd that day arrive at the porte, they thoughte that the Gods did exhort them to mainteyne their libertie: and repenting now themselves, they woulde revoke all that they had done, (*Cicero* now appearing among them.) Therefore all men that were of age, were appointed to serve.

The two Legions that came from *Libya*, and with them a thousande horse, and one Legion that *Pompey* left them, were putte together, all the whiche was divided. One parte kepte the hill *Janiculum*, where all theyr money lay. Another kepte the passage of the floud by, the officers of the Citie deviding themselves: and some hadde broughte their monneys to the porte in shippes and boates, that if they were overcome, they myght escape by sea.

Thus they dyd with greate boldnesse and speede, trusting thereby to affray *Cesar*, or to move him without his army to aske the Consulshippe of them, or manfully to defende themselves, and that the state myghte change to contrarie fortune, whyles they did fight for their libertie.

*Cesar*'s mother and his sister they coulde not fynde, neyther by pryvie nor open search, wherefore they made a greate stirre, being spoyled of so great pledges, and thoughte that the *Celestials* did not encline to them, because they had so surely hid them from them.

Some of the messengers remainning yet with *Cesar*, the contrarie determination was tolde him: wherefore they departed

*Cicero* seene agayne.

Two legions arrive agayne.

*Cesar*'s mother and sister sought for.

parted from him with shame, he with the armye being the rather styrr'd, came forward with greate hast, fearing the women myghte take hurte. And to the people that was in tumulte, he sente his horsemen afoze, wiling them no more to be aslapyde: whereat every man rejoycing, he took the places aboute Mount *Quirinale*, no man daryng to encounter or resiste hym.

Wherefore an other marvelous mutation was scene of the sodayne. So many noble menne that wente unto hym and receyved hym, the common people solowynge and being the souldiours in battayle rage, as men quiet in peace, he leaping his armye in that place, the nexte daye came into the Citie with a sufficient Garde aboute hym: they of the Citie mette with hym all the waye on every side, and saluted hym, omitting no parte of humanitie nor humble service. His Mother and his Sister from the Temple of *Vesta* with the holy Nunnes, ranne out to embrace hym. The thre legions dispysing theyr Capitaynes, sente Embassadors unto him to praye themselves. *Cornutus* one of theyr chiefe Capitaynes, killed himselfe, the other trusted to his promise and sayth.

*Cicero* hearing of these promises, practysed to come before hym by his frendes, whiche being done, he excused himselfe and extolled the perswasion that he had used to the Senate for his Consulshippe: he answered onely with a taunt, that he was the laste of his frendes that came unto him.

In the nyghte a sodayns rumour was raysed, that two legions of *Cesar*'s, the partiall and the fourth, were revolted to the Citie, as grievous they should be brought to betraye their countrey. The officers and the Senate gave sayth unto the rumour very lightly, and though the other army was at hand, they thought with these menne so valiant, they might resist the reste of *Cesar*'s hoste, till more power myghte come to them from other place. And in the nyghte, to be sure, they sente *Acilius Crassus* into *Picena* to gather an armye, and they

Mount *Quirinale*, one of the seven hills of Rome. Mutation in Rome.

Honour given to *Octavian*.

Legions of the Senate, worthy to *Cesar Octavian*.

*Cornutus* himself.

*Cicero* taunted.

Light credite to a vayne rumor.

*Antony*.

command

commaunded one *Apuleius* a Tribune to runne to the people wyth thys ioyful tydings: and the Senate that night, came to the Counsell, *Cicero* standing at the doze and receyuing them with greate ioye and gladnesse: and when it was knowne it was but a false ruinoz, he fledde his waye in a waggon.

*Caesar* laughing at them, broughte his armye nygher the Citie, to the place called the fiede of *Mars*. He hurt none of the officers, not so much as *Crassus*, he was posting into *Picene*, although hee was broughte vnto hym in a seruile habite, but spared all, to the opinion of hys humanitie, albeit, not long after, he put them to death.

The common treasure founde in *Taniculo* or in any other place, he commaunded to be brought together: and al that was afoze appointed by *Cicero*, he distributed to his army, two thousande and fye hundred *dramines* to euery man, the residue he promised to giue them. When he had done this, he retzred from the Citie, till the election of the Consuls, when, he was chosen, and with him, *Q. Pedius*, as he desired, who had left a portion of *Caesar's* inheritance vnto hym.

When he came into the Citie as Consul, and sacrificed. And there appeared to him twelue *Gripes*, as did to *Romulus* when he builded the Citie. The sacrifices being ended, he gaue himselfe in adoption, to his father, according to the lawe *Curiate*, that is, to be confirmed in adoption by the people.

For the *Romaines* call *Curias*, companies or wardes of the people deuided, as the *Grecians*, do call *Phratris*, fellowshippes and *Fraternities*. This vse among the *Romaines*, was most effectuell in the lawe for them that be without fathers: and they may as well as *Legitimate* children commaunde the kinsefolke and free made men of them that doe adopte them. And it was one of *Caesar's* glories, that he had manye riche free made men: and chiefly for this cause peradventure, thys *Caesar*, in his first adoption by testament, had neede of this also.

He dissolued by a newe lawe that *Isobella* shoulde not be iudged a rebell, and that the lawe mighte proceede for *Caesar's* killing.

Wherefoze

wherefoze accusations were witten agaynst them by *Caesar's* friends, to them as strikers, to the other, as priue only: for thys was objected agaynst some of them, and to some, bycause they woulde not be seene when *Caesar* was kyled. And to all these, a day certayne was assigned by Proclamation, when they shoulde appeare to make their aunswere, all the whiche sayling at the day, *Caesar* himselfe marking the iudgements, none was pardoned of the faulte, but one noble man, who then had no hurte, but shortly after was condemned to deathe wyth the other. And at thys tyme *Q. Gallius*, brother to *Marius Gallus*, *Antonyes* friende, being a Pretor in the Citie, by desire of *Caesar* the Lieutenant, Shippe of *Libya*, whiche when he hadde obteyned, he wroughte wyles agaynst *Caesar*: The other Pretors depriued him of hys office, and the people and the Senate condemned him to deathe. *Caesar* commaunded hym to goe to hys brother that was wyth *Antony*, and when he had taken Shyppe to goe, he was neuer seene after.

When *Caesar* had done these greate things, he enclined to pacification with *Antony*. When he had hearde that *Brutus* hadde twenty Regiōs, agaynst he which he would haue *Antonyes* help, he wente out of the Citie towarde the *Ionian* Sea, and making small iourneys, he tarried to see what the Senate would do. *Pedius* when *Caesar* was gone, perswaded, that befoze grudge shoulde growe to extremitie, they woulde agree *Antony* and *Lepidus*. And although they perceyued that this agreement was not for theyr sake, nor for their Countrey, but onely to helpe *Caesar* agaynst *Brutus* and *Cassius*, yet did they by necessitie determine it, and reuoked the sharp decrees made agaynst *Antonie* and *Lepidus*, and all the souldiours vnder them, and to sende them other moze fauourable, for the whiche *Caesar* wrote his letters of congratulation vnto them, and promised to helpe *Antonie* agaynst *Decimus*, if neede were. The Senate vsed lyke friendly manner toward him, and gaue him their hartly thakes, and *Antonie* wrote that he woulde plague *Decimus* for *Caesar*, and *Plinius*, for himselfe, and ioyne with *Caesar*. Thus they wrote one to another.

Whylest *Antonie* pursued *Decimus*, *Asinius Pollis* came vnto him

Accusations  
against the  
kylers of *Caesar*.

Many condemn-  
ed for *Caesar's*  
death.

*Q. Gallius* con-  
demned.

*Pedius* counsell.

Pacification of  
*Caesar* & *Antony*.

Wg.

him

*Antony Crassus*.

*Offenders* dealt  
in the Cities.

*Offenders* and *Q.*  
*Pedius* Consuls.

A token of xii.  
*Vultures*.

*Curia*,  
*Phratris*.

him with two Legions,  
with Plancius,  
and Plancius with three Legions agreed with  
Antony, in so muche as nowe Antony hadde a most myghtie  
power.

*Decimus* hadde tenne Legions, whereof foure moste warlike being scabbed with hunger, were yet vexed with sickness.

Of newe taken, there was fyve Legions, but vnerperts and fearefull. Wherefoze *Decimus* doubting to syghie, determined to fle to *Brutus* into *Macedonia*, and not to passe by the Mountaynes, but by *Ravenna* and *Aquileia*. And bycause *Cesar* was comming that waye, he toke a longer and an harder iourney to passe by *Rene*, and goe to the wilde places of barbarous people, where the newe Souldiours, oppressed with wante and heate, forsooke hym, and wente to *Cesar*, and after them the foure Legions of older Souldiours wente to *Antony*. Then to the other multitude (the French hoysmen men, beeyng the gard of hys person only except) he gaue leaue (if they woulde) to goe euery man to hys owne, and gaue them such golde as he hadde, so as when he came to the *Rene*, he had but thre hundred, where, bycause the passage was hard, they all forsooke hym saue a fewe, whyche fewe also shortly dyd leaue hym, and wyth tenne onely, changing hys garmente lyke a French man, whose language he coulde speake, he wente forth as one of that nation, not with hasty iourneys, but easlie to *Aquileia*, thynking with so fewe he myghte wel escape: but beeyng taken of *Thraues* and bounde, he asked what Prince was

Lozde of that parte, they sayde *Camillus*. He muche esteemyng the name of *Camillus*, desired he myght be broughte to hym, who when he sawe hym in apparance, spake sayze to hym, and rebuked the takers, that without regard, hadde so cuill entreated so noble a man, but pryncly he sent vnto *Antony*, and *Antony* moued with the mutation, coulde not abyde to see hym, but willed *Camillus* to kyll hym, and sende hym hys head, whyche when he sawe, he commaunded it to be buryed.

Whys ende hadde *Decimus*, a Captayne of *Cesars* hoysmen, and

and by hym made Ruler of olde France, and for the yere to come elected Consull, and Gouernoure of the other France, and was the seconde of the kyllers that nexte *Trebonius* was punished, a yere and a halfe after *Cesars* deathe. And this verge tyme *Mimmius Bassillus* one of *Cesars* quellers also was killed of hys owne seruantes, bycause he had made some of them Eunuches for punishment.

*Mimmius Bassillus*  
killed of his  
owne men.

(.)

## The ende of the thirde Booke of Ciuill dissentions.

Gg.ij.

The



¶ The fourth Booke of *Appiane* of  
Alexandria, of the Ciuill dissen-  
tions of Rome.



Thus two of *Caesar's* killers, being ouer-  
tholwen in their prouinces, had their  
punishment, *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *De-*  
*cimus* in *Celtica*. Nowe, how *Cassius* and  
*Brutus*, chiefe of the conspiracie against  
*Caesar* were plagued, being Lordes of  
all the lande betwene *Syria*, and *Ma-*  
*cedonia*, hauing mighty power both by  
Sea and land, with thienty armed le-  
gions, besyde horsemen and shippes, and money at wyll, thys  
fourth Booke of Ciuill discorde shal declare. And with the same,  
the inquisitions, and the searchers of them that were appoynted  
to dye by proscription, and the lamentable afflictions on euery  
syde, suche as neyther among the *Greeke* seditions or tumultes,  
nor among the *Romaines* themselves hadde bin done by any re-  
membzance, sauing onely of *Sylla*, who was the fyrste that by  
proclamation condemned hys foes to dye: for *Marinus* did onely  
seeke to punishe them whome he founde: but *Sylla* with greates  
rewards and lyke punishmentes of them that did conceale, pro-  
scribed manne to be killed, as they were caughte. What *Marinus*  
and *Sylla* dyd, it is shewed befoze in that matter, nowe the rest  
shall follow in order.

*Caesar* and *Antonie*, of enimies, were made friendes, aboute  
the Citie of *Atodena*, in a little playne Ilande of the floude *La-*  
*binio*, eache of them hauyng syue armed Legions, whiche be-  
yng placed one ouer-agaynst another, eyther of them wyth  
thre hundred, came to the bridges of the Riuer. *Lepidus* being  
come afore to searche the Ile, made a token wyth hys cloke to  
them both to come. They leste theyr companyes wyth theyr  
friendes

Proscription, is  
a condemnation  
without lawe,  
to kill men  
where soeuer  
they be founde.

The agreement  
of *Ottobachus*,  
*Antony* and *Lep-*  
*idus*.

friendes at the Bridges, and came into the myddest, to a place  
that myghte bee seene, and late all thre towyne, *Caesar* in the  
myddest, bycause of his office. Two dayes from moynyng  
till nyghte they conferred, and made thys determina-  
tion.

1 That *Caesar* should gyue ouer hys Consulshippe, and *Venti-*  
*lius* receyue it for the rest of the yeaere.

That a newe office shoulde be instituted by lawe, for redresse  
of ciuill troubles: and that *Lepidus*, *Antonium*, and *Caesar*, shoulde  
haue that authoritie for syue yeaeres, wyth the same power that  
Consulles haue, so it was thought best to name it, peraduenu-  
ture bycause of *Antonyes* decre, forbidding any man to bee  
Dictator.

That they shoulde by and by appoynte the offices of the Citi-  
tie from yeaere to yeaere, duryng the syue yeaeres, and diuide the  
Prouinces.

That *Antony* shoulde haue all *France* on thys syde the  
Pyrenei Mountaynes, excepte that whiche they call olde *Cel-* *Novv Narbona*  
*itica*.

That *Lepidus* shoulde rule that and *spayne*.

That *Caesar* shoulde gouerne *Lybia*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicilie*, and a-  
ny other Ilande there.

Thus did these thre diuide the *Romaine* Empire, leauing the  
prouinces beyonde the Sea, bycause of *Brutus* and *Cassius* that  
were Gouernoures there.

That *Antony* and *Caesar* should make warre vpon *Brutus* and  
*Cassius*.

That *Lepidus* shoulde be Consul for the tyme to come, and re-  
mayne in the Citie for all occasions, and gouerne *spayne* by De-  
puties.

That *Lepidus* shoulde receyue thre Legions of his owne ar-  
my for the defence of *Rome*.

That the other seauen shoulde be diuided betwene *Caesar*  
and *Antony*, that *Caesar* shoulde haue thre, and *Antony* foure,  
that eyther of them myghte leade twentye Legions to the  
warre.

¶ Eg. 19.

¶ They

The fourth Booke of *Appiane* of  
Alexandria, of the Ciuill dissen-  
tions of Rome.



Thus two of *Caesar's* killers, being ouer-  
thowen in their prouinces, had their  
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syde, suche as neyther among the Greeke seditions or tumultes,  
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membraunce, sauing onely of *Sylla*, who was the fyrste that by  
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and *Sylla* dyd, it is shewed befoze in that matter, nowe the rest  
shall follow in order.

Proscription, is  
a condemnation  
without lawe,  
to kill men  
wherefoeuer  
they be founde.

The agreement  
of *Octavianus*,  
*Antony* and *Lepi-  
dus*.

*Caesar* and *Antonie*, of enimies, were made friendes, aboute  
the Citie of *Modena*, in a little playne Ilande of the floude *La-  
bimis*, eache of them hauyng fyue armed Legions, whiche be-  
yng placed one ouer-agaynst another, eyther of them wpth  
thre hundred, came to the bridges of the Riuer. *Lepidus* being  
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ture bycause of *Antonyes* decree, forbidding any man to bee  
Dialoz.

That they shoulde by and by appoynte the offices of the Citie  
from yeaere to yeaere, duryng the fyue yeaeres, and diuide the  
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Pyrenei Mountaynes, excepte that whiche they call olde *Cel-* *Novv Marbona*  
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that eyther of them myghte leade twenty Legions to the  
warre.

¶ Eg. 19.

¶ They

What they shoulde encourage their armies as well with rewardes of victorie, as other gifts, as by the promise of eyghtene Cities of *Italie*, excelling in substance, soyle, and sayre buyldings, and that both landes and houses of the same shoulde be deuideo vnto them, as though they had bin taken by warre. Amongst the rest these were the chiefe, *Capua*, *Reggio*, *Venusia*, *Beneuent*, *Nuceria*, *Arimeno*, and *Fibona*. Thus were the sayrest partes of *Italie* assigned to the Souldiours.

Cities of Italy  
deuideo to  
spoyle.

It was also agreed, that euery of them shoulde dispatche his priuate enemies, that no trouble myghte come by them, after that they, vppon these determinations, shoulde be gone farre off, to make a long warre out of their Countrey. All these thyngs were signed wth their handes. *Caesar*, as Consull dyd declare them to the armye, sayng onely theyr names that were appoynted to dye. When the Souldiours hearde it, they were glad, and embraced together for ioy.

Tokens in  
*Rome*.

These being done, many monstrous and terrible tokens were sene in *Rome*. Dogges peeled like *Molues*, a fearefull warning. *Molues* ranne about the common place, a beast, not wonte to be sene at *Rome*. An Ore sounded a mans voyce: and a childe spake as sone as it was borne. Some of the Images sweate. Some dyd sweate bloud. Greate voyces of men, noyse of harnessse, and running of horses, were hearde, and nothing sene.

About the Sunne, there were manye displeasante sightes. Stormes also of stones. Continuall lightnings fell vppon the Temples and the pictures.

For this cause, the Senate sente for Southsayers and Prophetes out of *Toscane*, the most auntiente, of the whyche, affirmyng that the olde kyngs shoulde returne, and euery man be in bondage but himselfe alone, he shutte his mouth, and stopped his breath till he dyed.

Atare example  
of a Southsayer.

These three men being thus alone by themselves, dyd appoynte them that shoulde dye. They suspected some for their power,

wer. Some they registred as theyr priuate enemies, and some theyr owne familiars and friendes they gaue to dye, to serue each others turne, both then, and afterwarde. And so were men condemned one after another, some for enmitie: some onely for a little offence, as for louing his enemies, or hatyng his friendes, or for being too riche, bycause they wanted much money to maynteyne the warre. *Brutus* and *Cassius* receyuing the rentes and Tributes of *Asia*, and being also holpen by the kynges and Princes there, and for asynuche as they were in wante, bycause *Europe*, and chiefly *Italie* was wasted wth warres and paymentes, they dyd put a greuous imposition vpon the common sorte of menne and women, and made the artificers and workemen to pay them tribute, and some was prescribed for the goodnesse of his lands & houses. And thus all these were condemned to dye, and to be confiscate, whereof there were three hundred Senators, and two thousande of them that be called Gentlemen, among the whyche were the brethren and vncles of these that hadde condemned them, and some that ruled armies vnder them, and as many as hadde displeased them or other that were leaders vnder them. And intending to condemne the multitude after this conference, at theyr being in *Rome*, they appoynted twelue of the suddayne (or as some say) seauentene of the chiefe to be kylled, whereof *Cicero* was one. And by and by they sente aboute it, and foure were straight kylled at theyr tables, or where they were metto, the other were soughte in houses and Temples, so as there was a sudden trouble al that night among them, with cries, running, and yelling, as in a Citie taken. For when it was knowen that menne shoulde be apprehended, and no certenty vppon whome the proscription woulde fall, euery man thought himselfe to be sought of them that made enquire. Whereas in this confusion some hadde determined to burne their owne thynges, and some to sette publiq places all on fyre, intending by good reason to doe some notable feate, before they woulde suffer. And they hadde done it out of hande, hadde not *Pedius* the Consull gone aboute with Proclamation; and comforted them

*Equites.*

*Miserie of Rome*

them to carrie, till the truth were thoroughly knowen. When morning was come, *Pedius* according to the sentence of the three men, did condemne *Seucentene*, as only supposed chiefe author of ciuill euils, and onely condemned: whereof he gaue his faith publickely to the rest, not knowing what was done, and he for the labour he toke in the night, dyed. The three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Caesar*, entred *Rome*, each one by himselfe in three seuerall dayes, with the gardes of their persons, and one Legion a peece, in order of battell.

When they were come, the Citie was full of Souldiours, and ensignes placed, where was fyfte, and by and by there was an assemblie, in the whyche, *Publius Titius* Tribune of the people, dyd by lawe confyrme the newe rule, by the appoyntement of them presente, for syue yeares of three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Caesar*, with equall power as Consuls (whyche a man myghte call reformers, after the Greeke manner, and that name the *Lacedemonians* gaue to them that directed their State, neyther any respite being gyuen for the approbation, nor a speciall daye appoynted for voyces to be vsed. Out of hande the lawe toke place, and that nyghte condemnations of thirtie, besyde the *Seucentene*, and of one hundred moze, were sette vp in many places of the Citie, and shortlye after, another hundred and fiftie, and euer some were added moze in the booke, to them that were firste condemned, or kyled, as by ignorance, that it myghte be thoughte they were worthy to dye. It was ordered, that all they heads shoulde be brought to the three men, and a rewarde appoynted. A free mans rewarde was spluer, a Seruant, libertie and spluer, and who receyued a condemned man, or concealed, or hindered the search, shoulde be punished with lyke payne, and euery man myghte declare agaynst whome he woulde for the same rewarde. The Proclamation was after this sorte.

And that all men should suffer their puate places to be searched. *Marcus Lepidus*, *Marcus Antonius*, and *Octavius Caesar*, chosen reformers and directours of the Common wealthe, saye thus: If the unfaithfull, euill disposed menne, hadde not

*Pedius* Consul dyeth.

*Publius Titius* propoundeth the new rule of the three men.

*Agroas* was the name among the *Lacedemonians*, which were rulers of Cities and Castles. Increase of condemned men.

Rewards.

The Proclamation of the three men.

not bene pittied when they needed, and being so, had not become enemies of their benefactors, and after conspired against them, they had not slayne *Caesar*, whome he toke by warre, and saved by mercy: accounted them friends, and plentifully aduanced them, with offices, honours and giftes: nor we should haue ben compelled thus violently to vse them, that haue with suche despite, made proclamations of treason against vs: but now by their euill meanings toward vs, & their worse working toward *Caesar*, perceyuing that by humanitie, their malice is made obstinate we haue chosen rather to prevent them than to be taken farre of them. Let no man thinke our act unchrist, cruell or tofse, considering what *Caesar*, what we haue suffered at their handes. *Caesar* being chiefe ruler, and prince of holy things, Conquerour and ouerthrower of nations, most terrible to the *Romaines*, and the first man that beyond *Hercules* pillars did proue the sea not sayled before, and founde lande unknowne to the *Romaines*, in the middelt of the sacred place, called the Senate house, in the sight of the goddes, they haue cruelly killed with xxij. woundes, whom he toke prisoners in warre, and not onely saved their liues, but made some of them heires of his liuing. The reste of them through the same wicked purpose haue sente these detestable offendours, in steede of punishment, to the rule of Provinces and armies, whiche they abuse in spoiling of common treasure, in gathering one army against vs of them, and requiring an other of the *Barbarians* alwayes enemies to this state. Certaine Citties belonging to the *Romaines*, refusing to obey them, they haue burned, spoiled or rased: others oppressed with their terrible threatnings, they force agaynst their countrey and vs. Tell haue already punished some of them, and by the helpe of God, ye shall soone see the rest haue their iuste deserte. The greatest matters touchyng *Spayne*, *France*, and here at home, we haue at our commaundment well dispatched. Nevertheless we haue an harde and sharpe worke in hande, to make warre agaynst the murderers, of *Caesar* that be beyond the seas: and blesse we shall make this warre abode, we do not thinke it sure, neyther for vs nor,

Wh.

for,

for you, to leaue enimies at home, that mighte disturbe vs in our absence, and wayte theyr times as the warre shoulde haue successe, neyther to make any delay in this hasty expedition, but rather to ridde them at ones, they hauing begonne the warre agaynst vs, and iudged vs and our armies, traytours to our Countrie, not regarding neyther the enuy of manne, nor the reuengment of God, in destroying so many millions of their Citizens.

We are not offended agaynst the multitude nor will take them all as enimies, that haue bene so to vs, nor altogether weigh riches, substance or dignities; nor kill so many as an other chiefe ruler haue done before vs, who redressed the Citie in lyke Ciuill dissentions, whome, for his lucky doings you did call *Happie*, (although there muste needes be moze enimies to thre than one) but onely the worst and most wicked sorte, as well for you as for our selves, we entende to correct otherwise by our contentions, you all, betwene vs, muste needes be utterly destroyed, and of necessitie, our armie that hath bene so iniured and despighted, as they haue bene proclaimed publique enimies, must needes some way be comforted at our hande.

And where as we mighte lay handes vpon the condemned, where we woulde, yet we thought it better to pronounce them, than at ail aduentures to oppresse them, and that for your sake, least the rage of the souldiours mighte exceede vpon them that are not touched, and that their names being comprehended in a certayne number, they might leaue the rest by the decree.

When that good Fortune may come by them that be constrained in this wytyng: Lette no man receyue any manne, nor hyde, nor sende away, nor be wonne for money. For if any doe saue, helpe, or be founde pryuye: him, will we, without all excuse and pardone, put among the condemned sorte.

Of them that shall bring the heades of such as they shall

shall kill, before vs, a free manne shall haue xrb. thousand drammes of *Athens* for euery heade, a seruant shall haue, <sup>Revvader.</sup> hys libertie and tenne thousande, and hys Maysters place, in the Cittie, and the same shall they haue that shall enioyne, and none of theyr names that receyue these rewarde, shall be noted in our booke, that they may not be knowne.

This was the proclamation of the thre men, as I coulde translate it out of Latine into Greeke.

*Lepidus* was the firste that byd condemne, and the firste of the condemned was *Paulus* his brother.

*Lepidus* condemned  
with his brother

The second that did condemne, was *Antony*: and the second that was condemned, was his vncle *Lucius*, for they firste condemned these as enimies.

*Antony* condemned  
with his vncle.

The thirde and the fourth was of them, whiche in another booke, were appoynted to be Consuls in tyme to come. *Plorius*, brother to *Plancus*, and *Quintus*, father in lawe to *Asinius*: and these were not the rather putte before other because of theyr dignitie onely, but as muche for terrour and desperation, that none shoulde hope to be saued.

*Thoranius* was among the condemned men, who, as some say, was Tutor to *Cesar*.

*Thoranius* tutor  
to *Cesar* condemned.

By and by after these condemnations, the gates were kept, and all other passages and portes of the Cittie, fennes also and spozes, and any other place suspected to be fitte to see vnto, or for them that fledde, to be hydden in.

The Capitaynes of the bandes were commaunded to raunge the felde abroad, and to searche diligently, and all this was done at once.

Forthwith, bothe in the countrie and the Cittie, as men were taken, there was greate subdayne slaughter, and diuerse kyndes of murders, & cuttings off of heads to be shewed for rewarde sake.

Then was there hasty sleyn, and vnseemly sight of them,

Wh. y.

that

that befoze were goodly to be ſene: ſome leapte into puddles, ſome into ditches and ſinckes moſt vncleane: ſome got vpp to the ſmoky rouffes and chimnies, or ſat cloſe with deepe ſilence vnder heapes of ſtyles: ſome were as muche aſtrayde of their wiues or children that bare them no good will, as they were of the killers: ſome of their free made me: ſome, of their bondme: ſome creditours, of their debtours: ſome of their neyghbours, coueting their groundes: what ſoeuer had bin kept in befoze, the it burſt forth: a cruell and confuſed mutation of Senators, of Conſuls, of Praetours, of Tribunes, of newe elect to thoſe offices, or of them that had borne office. It was to ſee them ſal at a ſlaues ſete with teares, nampng him ſauour and good maſter: and more pitifull it was, that when they hadde done all this, they could get no grace, there was all ſhapes of miſerie: not as in ſedition or ſacking of a Cittie, where men myghte feare their foes and enimies, and truſt their families, but here they were moze aſtrayde of them, than of the killers: The whiche beyng voyde of feare, otherwiſe than in tumulte and warre, they ſodainelye of friendes were made enimies, either for hydden hate, or for the proclaymed rewards, or for the gold and ſiluer in their houſes: ſo by this occaſion, euerye man wared extremely unſaythful to his maſter, and their reward did ouerwhelme naturall debty toward the ſame, and he that was ſaythfull and wel willing, was aſtrayde to help, to hyde, or conceale, for the crueltie of the puniſhment.

The former feare of the ſeuentyne men did amaze them againe, for then none being named, but many ſodainly taken, all were aſtrayde of the like, and therefore ſought together for deſent: for vpon theſe proſcriptions, ſome were by and by giuen in pray to euery man, and ſome being ſure of themſelues and deſirous of the game, hunted out the other, to haue reward of the killers. The reſte of the common ſorte, ſome ſpoiled the houſes of them that were killed, which profit drew their minds from common feeling of preſent miſchief: ſome moze temperate and mylde, were aſtoniſhed and amazed. It ſeemed wonderfull to

to them to conſider, that other Citties being vndone by ſedition, haue bin preſerued againe by agreement. This Cittie, the deſtruction of the rulers hadde conſumed, and their agreement, brought it to deſolation: ſome dyed reſiſting the killers, ſome withoute reuenge, as not knowing by whome they were murdered. There were ſome that killed themſelues with voluntarie hunger, ſome vſed halters, ſome drowned their bodies, ſome threw themſelues downe from the houſe toppe, ſome leapt into the fyre, ſome offered themſelues to the ſtrykers. ſome tarried when they were called, ſome hid and diſgraced themſelues by ſeemelye, ſome reſiſted the cuill, and thoughte to haue boughte it out: ſome beſyde the ſentence of the three men, of ignorance or deſert, were diſpatched (as it did appeare) by one that was ſlaine and not condemned, when the head was ſhept.

The condemned perſons heads were brought befoze the ſeats in the common place, that they that had brought them, might receiue their goods.

On the other ſyde, there was as much care and vertue, bothe of women, children, bretheren and ſeruauntes, ſaving and ſhyſting for many, and dying with them, if they could not bring to paſſe what they ment, and ſome killed that came to kill them.

Of them that fledde, ſome were drowned in the ſea, for tyme being in all againſt them: ſome beyonde all hope, returned to offices in the Cittie, to be Capitaines in warre and triumphes. Suche demonſtration made that ſeaſon of things to be wondrous at. And theſe were done, not in a priuate Cittie, nor in a weake and little kingdome, but in the moſt mighty, and the Ladye of ſo manye nations, bothe by lande and ſea. God himſelfe did ſtirre it, to bring it to that good order, that now it is in.

There were ſuche thinges done of *Sylla*, and befoze him, of *Marius*, the chiefe of the which, I haue ſhewed in their liues, and then men laye vnturped. But theſe doings for the worthynesse of theſe three men, eſpeciallve for the vertue and fortune of one of them whiche brought the Empire to a ſure ſeate, and left, a ſtocke and name to them that now remaine after him, a man

Wh. iiij.

may

Contrarie effect  
to former calamities.

God woulde  
haue it ſo.

*Sylla*  
*Marius*.

may worthily think to be far of more importance, which, as they were more or lesse notable, and be more fresh in memorie, and lately done, I wil declare, yet not al (for they be not worthy the telling, that touche the simple death & flaying, of them that were pardoned of the thre men, whiche after they retourned, lived a life unknowne) but the moste marvellous, that may make a man afraide, and cause credite to that is spoken before. They be manye, and manye of the Romaines haue in many booke, written these of themselves, of the which I wil shew briefly a fewe of the greatest in euerye sorte, for the reliefe of the same, and for the happynesse of the tyme that now is.

The euil began at the firste bunte, of them that were yet in office. And *Salinus* the Tribune was the firste that was kyled, whose power was sacred and sure by lawe, exceeding the reste, so as the Tribunes haue committed some Consuls to prison.

This was the Tribune that firste forbade that *Antony* shoulde be declared an enemye, after the whiche tyme he stucke altogether to *Cicero*.

Understanding the intelligence of the thre men, and they appoche to the Cittie, he made a feast to his friends, as one that shoulde not ofte so doe againe. The Souldiours running into the house, they arose with feare and trouble. The Capitaine of the bande commaunded them to be quiet and still, but *Salinus*, as he saie, he took by the heare, till he mighte dispatch hym, and bypon the table cutte off hys heade, and commaunded them within to make no busynesse, leasse if anye trouble were raysed, they shoulde suffer the lyke, and they beeing astonished, remained after the Capitaine was gone, til midnight, with the Tribunes Corpe.

The seconde that was kyled, was *Minutius* a Pretor, setting in iudgement in the common place.

Understanding that the Souldiours were commyng, he leapte downe, and thinking where he mighte hide hymselfe, he chaunged hys garment, and came into a shoppe, sending awaye hys seruantes and hys sheiues of office.

They for reuerence and pitie, taryng stil, agaynst their wil, made

made the killers the easier to finde their master.

*Annals* an other Pretor (goynge about with his Sonne that labored to be a treasurer, to selo to them that gaue voyces) hys friendes that were with hym, and they that bare the maces of his office, vnderstandyng he was condemned, forsoke hym. He fledde vnto a tenaunt of hys, whiche had a straight and a homely house in the Suburbs, for all purposes very fitte, and was hid safe, till hys Sonne, that thought he was fled thither, brought the strykers to the house, and was rewarded of the thre menne with his fathers goods, and chosen a Chamberlayne of the Cittie, who, beeing after very dronke, and troubling the Souldiours, the same kyled him, that dispatched his father.

*Choranius* not now a Pretor, but one that had bene, and father of a young man that was vnyustie, and myght doe much with *Antony*, prayed the strykers to spare his kylling a whyle till he might sende hys sonne to speake to *Antony*, they laughed and sayd, his sonne had spoken, but it was to the contrarye. When the olde man heard that, he desired them to tarrye til he had seene his daughter, whome when he sawe, he commaunded to absteine from hys goodes, leasse hir brother shoulde selue for hir death also to *Antony*. But he, haupng consumed all his substance in euil life, was attached of felony, and saued himselfe by slepyng awaye.

*Cicero* who after *Caius Caesar*, did direct all like a ruler alone in a popular state, was proscribed, with his sonne, his brother, his nephew, his friends, familiars and adherents. Slepyng by bote, he could not abyde y sicknesse of the sea, but returned to a place of his owne: whiche I for the remembraunce of hys misfortune, did see aboute *Capua* a Cittie of Italy. When they that came to seeke hym were at hande (for, of all other, *Antony* was moste desirous to haue hym, and all aboute *Antony*, were ready to gette him) the Crowes came vnto hys house, and made suche a noise, as they waked him out of his sleepe, and drew out his garment fro his body, that lay vpon him, til his seruants percepyng the thynge, and taking it to bee a token from God, put *Cicero* in a litter, and ledde him toward the Sea, through a thicke wood,

and

Reuerence oute  
of tyme.  
*Annals* kyled.

A wicked son  
kyled.

*Choranius* killed:  
by the tye of  
hys sonne.

*Cicero* kyled:  
*Cicero* cannot  
hide the rea-  
sonnelle and  
reasoneth.  
The Author  
goeth to see  
*Cicero*'s house in  
the countrey.

*Cicero* vnynd:  
by Crowes.

*Salinus*  
Authoring of  
Tribunes.

*Salinus* the Tri-  
bune kyled.

*Minutius* killed,  
that was a Pre-  
tor.

rode secretly, and where as many did run on euery side, asking if they sawe *Cicero*, some for good will and pittie saide, he was gone and sailed ouer sea, but a shomaker tenaunt to *Clodie*, the sharpest enimie of *Cicero*, solde *Lena* the Captayn where he went with a selue. *Heiraine*, and seing his seruants to be manye more than he had broughte with him, and readye to defende him, he cried very loude for a pollicie, make haste you handeleaders that be behinde. When *Cicero*s seruants thinking they should haue bin ouerlaide, forsooke their maister.

*Lena*, whiche by *Cicero*s holpe had bin befoze saued, pulled his heade out of the Litter, and cut it off, hauing thre strokes, and making thre woundes for lacke of running: he cut off also his hande with the whiche he wrote the orations againste *Antonie* as a *Triumme*, in the whiche, he followed *Demosthenes*, that did the like against *Philippe*. Some rode, some failed to carry *Antony* the newes, and *Lena*, as he saie in the common place, toke the heade and the hande, and shewed it a farre off he was maruelous ioyful, and crowned the Capitaine, and giue him honoure with great gifts, that is to say, two hundred and thric thousand drammes of *Athen*, because he had dispatched his greatest and busiest enimy.

*Cicero* his head and his hande was sette vppon for a tyme in the common place befoze the Tribunall, where he was wont to make orations, and more came to see it, than befoze to heare him.

They say that *Antony* did sette *Cicero*s head vppon his table at his meale, till he had his fill of the sighte of that euill. Thus *Cicero* a man most eloquent to this daye, hauing borne the office of a Consul, in greatest causes most profitable to his countrey, was thus destroyed, and after his death, despighted. His sonne was sent into *Greece* to *Brutus*.

*Quintus Cicero*s brother, and his son being taken, praised the strikers

strikers, to kill him befoze his sonne: but his sonne desired the contrary. Wherefoze, the consoliours promised bothe they requestes, and takyng them asunder, by a token killed them both at one instante. *Ignatius* the father and the sonne, fightyng together, dyed of one wounde, and when their heades were striken off, their bodies did yet embrace.

*Balbus* sent his sonne to the sea, that they shoulde not be clyped going together, and shortly after he followed afoze, and when one tolde him, either of malice, or of ignorance, that his sonne was taken, he went backe and sent for his killers, and it chaunced that his son was drowned in the sea. Such like calamities can fortune giue.

*Arminius* shoulde hardelye perswade his sonne, that would not be without him, to saue himselfe, because he was but yong. His mother sent him afoze to the gates, and then returned to burie his husbände being killed, and when she hearde shortly after, that his sonne was deade on the sea, with hunger, she killed herselfe.

These be examples of good and euill children.

There were .ij. brethren condemned, called *Ligary*, which being hidde, sel afoze, til one of them being found of his seruants, was killed, and the other making escape, and hearing of his brothers death, threwe himselfe from the brydge into the riuer, to whom e, when sythermen had saued, as one that fell by chance and not of purpose, he stroue a great while with them, that they shoulde not saue him, and threwe himselfe vnder the water: but they being stronger than he, bringyng him vppe safe, he saide, you haue not saued me, but putte your selues in daunger wyth me, that am a condemned man: yet they hauing pittie of him, saued hym, til the souldiours that kepte the brydge saw it, and ran down to cut off his heade.

Of two other brethren, one threwe himselfe int the riuer, bys seruant takyng his body fve dayes after, whiche when he had founde, and knewe it was he, he cut off his head for the reward. The other brother being bid in a laker, an other seruante did bewraye him.

A Shomaker he  
very chary Cicero

First, one saued  
by Cicero's kyn-  
dred hym.

The orations of  
Cicero called the  
Ligary.

Do not make  
to carrye Ant-  
ony, the newes of  
Cicero's deathe.  
Him, as done to  
Lena, a kyllyng  
of Cicero.

After that *Antony*  
had the rule  
of the countie  
one of his Ner-  
phewes wyth  
a booke in his  
hande, whyche  
was of Cicero's  
makinge, he shal-  
lowe it, but he  
woulde needes  
see it, & read it,  
and saide, that  
this manne was  
loved, and so  
one of his coun-  
treys. And not  
long after, hee  
rooke Cicero's  
sonne to be his  
fellowe in the  
Consulshippe, in whose tyme *Antony* did  
any of his house should be called *Marcius*.  
In the epide, the requyngment of *Antony*s  
was appoynted by God, to the house of *Cicero*.

\* *Cicero* his sonne is sent to *Brutus*.

\* *Quintus Cicero* and his sonne kylled.

*Ignatius* father  
and the sonne.

*Balbus* and his  
sonne.

*Arminius* and his  
sonne.

His wyfe.

*Ligary* two  
brethren.

Two brethren.

The Souldiours refused to goe in, but with their weapons and speares, pulled by his body, and cutte off his head in such a case as it was.

Two brethren.

Another understanding that his brother was proscribed, and not knowing that hymselfe was so to, ranne and cryed, kill me before hym. The Captayne knowing the truth of the condemnation, thou makest a reasonable request (quoth he) for thou wast condemned before hym, and so in order killed them both.

And these be cramples of brethren.

A good wife  
hath euill lucke.

*Ligarius* being hidde of his wyfe, made one onely mappe priue to it, and being betrayed of hir, she followed him that bare away his husbandes head, crying, I must haue the like punishment, because I haue hidde hym: and when none of the Souldiours would kill hyr, nor accuse hir, she wente to be way hir selfe to the Princes, and because they did not regarde hyr for pitie, she destroyed hir selfe with hunger. And hyr haue I thoughte good to note in this place, because being willing to saue his husbande and coulde not, she killed hyr selfe with hunger: but they that had good lucke for their good loue to their husbandes, I wyll wrighte among them that saued their husbandes.

An euill wyfe,

Other there were that wickedly dyd betray their husbandes, and of them one that was married to *Septimius*; whyche was corrupted in loue of a friende of *Antonyes*, who being desirous, of his harlot, to be made his wife, caused hym to speake to *Antony* to haue hir, and forthwith was *Septimius* condemned, which thing he learning of his wife, and ignorant of his euill at home, fledde to hir, and she seeming to be carefull to keepe him, shutte the doores, and hidde hym till the strikers came, and in one daye he was killed, and she married.

*Salassus*.

*Salassus* fledde, and being without hope, in the nyghte returned to the Citie, to abyde till the sharpenesse of the time myghte ceasse. He came to his house that was sold, and onely his housekeeper, (who was sold with the house) knew him, who broughte hym to his lodge, and promised to keepe hym, and hidde him to his power. He badde him call his wife from the other part of the house,

house, she answering, she durst not come, fearing he myghte suspect somewhat by nyghte, sayde, she wold be with hym in the morning. When day was come, she called y strikers. The Docter ranne to the house to call his mistresse, because he thought she tarried too long.

*Salassus* being afrayde of his Docters long absence, was in doubt of deceyte, and wente by to the toppe of the house, from the whyche, when he sawe, not his Docter, but his wyfe bynging the strikers, he cast hymselfe to the grounde,

Euill wyfe.

*Fulvius* fledde to a woman seruante, whome fyrst he kepte, after made hir free, and gaue a dowrie to marrie hir: she hauing receyued these benefytes, for ielousie of another woman whome he had married, betrayed hym.

*Fulvius* betrayed.

These cramples may be for euill wiues.

*Statius* the Samnite, that in the fellowes warre had done many things for the Samnites, and for the excellencie of his seates, bloud, and riches, being chosen into the Romaine Senate, and nowe foure score yeares of age, was condemned for his riches: he opened his house to the people, and suffered his seruantes to take what they woulde, and something he threwe out, till it was voyde, then he set it on fyre, and shut it, and burned in it, and the fire did consume many other places of the Citie.

*Statius*.

*Capito* for the most part, keeping his doores open, killed all them that forced to come in, one after another, at length oppressed with the multitude, he alone, hauing killed many, dyed.

*Capito*.

*Vitellius* gathered a grente number of men aboute Reggio, of such as were condemned, and other fledde with them, and from the eyghtene Citie that were giue in pray to the Souldiours, which were greuously offended, *Vitellius* hauing these, killed y ordinarie bands that were sent to seeke them, till a greater army was sent, and then he gaue not ouer, but went into Sicilie to Pompey, who held that Iland, and receyued such as fledde vnto hym, where he did serue very valiantly, till after many fightes he was ouercome: yet hauing sent his sonne, and all the condemned men with him to *Messina*, when he sawe the shippes to be arriued, he fell on his enemies, and was cut in peeces.

*Vitellius*  
Reggio in the  
ende of Italy,  
next Sicilie.

*Messina*, the  
chiefe porte  
Towne of  
Sicilie, next  
Italy.

It. y.

Naso

Naso.

Naso, being betrayed of a seruante, whome he loued and hadde made free, toke a sworde from one of the souldiours, and onely killing the traytour, offered himselfe to the strikers. A seruante that loued hys Mayster, kepte him safe in an hill, and went to the sea, to hyre him a boate. After his retourne, perceiuing hys Mayster to be killed, he cried aloude vnto him, hauing yet a little life, Staye a while, O Mayster (quoth he) and sodainlye strooke the Captayne and killed hym: then commyng agayne to hys Mayster killed himselfe, saying: Mayster thou haste receiued comfort,

Lucius.

Lucius gaue his golde to two of his moste faithfull seruantes, whome he had made free, and went to the sea, where they fleeing from him, he retourned, and not caring for hys lyfe, offered hymselfe to the quellers. Labinius, who in Syllas tyme had taken and killed manie that were then proscribed, mighte well be reproued, if he had not suffered the like valiantly. He went out of his house, satte downe in his chaire, and tarried for the killers.

Cestius.

Cestius in the Countrey was hidde of hys good seruantes, the souldiours euer running aboute in armoure wpyth merries heades: he coulde not abide the continuance of the feare, but badde his seruantes make a fyre, and if anye manne did aske them, saye Cestius was kylled, and there burned. When they hadde made the fyre readye, he leapte into it. Apponius binding hymselfe surelye, coulde not abide the euill diet, but offered himselfe to the sword.

Apponius.

Another willinglye offered himselfe openlye, and because the strikers tarried, he choaked hymselfe in the middelle of them.

Lucius.

Lucius father in lawe to Asinius, then Consull, fledde vnto the sea the tediousnesse wherof not able to abide, he leapte into the water.

Asinius.

Asinius fleeing awaye, and crying that he was not condemned, but followed of them, to be betrayed for hys money, they brought him to the booke, and badde hym reade hys own name whiche when they hadde done, they dispatched him.

Aemilius.

Aemilius not knowing he was condemned, seeing the colosse one

another, asked the Captayne who was condemned: the Captaine lookinge him in the face, sayde, Thou and he, and so killed them bothe.

Cilo and Decius coming out of the Senate house, and knowing they were condemned, and their names in the booke, no man following them, they fledde vnschemely to the gates, and their runnyng, elwayed themselves to the Captaynes. Iulius that fauoured Brutus & Cassius, and Octavius Caesar, being present with his armie at the assemblee, and other giuyng voyce secretly to their condemnation, onely he openly gaue to the absolution, and hidde himselfe with great minde and trust of libertie, and when he saw a dead body caried forth, he wente among them that bare the bere. The warders at the gate perceiuing there were more men than were wonte to beare a corpse, hauing no regarde of the bearers, searched the bere, thinking there had bene no dead man in it, wherfore the bearers being angry with Iulius, because he was none of their company, the strikers knew him and killed him.

Farius being betrayed of his free made man, fledde, and went from hill to hill, he came to the fenne of Minturno, in the whiche he toke his rest. The Minturnians searching for fenme for a thase, the toppes of the reedes wauering belwayed Farius, who being taken, he confessed he was a felon, vpon the whiche he was condemned and ledde away, and when he should haue bene racked with the other offenders, abhorring that vile manner he sayde:

Woe of Minturno, I warne you, neither to racke me nor kill me, hauing bene a Consull of Rome, and condemned now of the Princes, whiche is more to my honour: for if I can not slee, it shal be better for me to suffer with mine equals. They not believing him, and distrusting hys tale, the Captayne came, and cut of his head, leauing his bodie with them.

Certen that toke Larius in the countrey, not seeking him but an other, hauing pittie to kill him whom they sought not, gaue him leaue to slee into the wodde, and he being folowed of other, came backe agayne to the first, to whom he sayde: kill Iuly.

you.

you me, who may have the rewarde, deservyng it for having  
pate of me. So dying, he requited them with lyke humanitie.

*Antonia.*  
Antonia.

For having a very fayre house nigh to *Fulvia Antonia*  
wife, which she woulde once have bought, and he then denied  
hys, nowe offering it in giste, was yet condemned, whose head  
when it was brought to *Antonia*, he sayde it appertayned not  
to hym, but sente it to hys wyfe; she commaunded it to be  
hanged, by at the house, in steede of the common place.

A Vineyard.

An other had a fayre shadowed Vineyarde, and a goodly  
caue in it, deepe and large, for the whiche peradventure he was  
condemned. It was hys chaunce to refresh himselfe in the  
Cave. When the quellers came yet a farre of, his servant put  
hym in the secreete place of the denne, and put on hys masters  
garment, sayning to be he, and in feare, and had lyke enough  
to have bene killed, if one of hys felowes had not bewrayed  
hys craft. The Mayster beyng killed, the people took it grie-  
uously before the Princes, and ceased not till the bewrayer was  
hanged, and he that woulde have saved his Mayster, made  
free.

A good servant  
revenged, and  
an evill pun-  
ished.

*Antonia.*

*Antonia* beyng hid, hys servant betrayed, and being made  
free, had all the substance from his mayster chyldren, and be-  
sed them with despite. They with silence folowed hym in eu-  
ery place weeping. The people detestynge this murie, caused  
that the thre men made hym that was now so rich, to be bonde  
again to the chyldren of the condemned father.

An evill servant  
well served.

And thus much touching men.

*Orphanes.*

The poore Orphanes also had diverse fortune at thys time:  
of the whiche, one goyng to his scholemaster, was killed, with  
his leader that embraced the childe and would not let hym goe.

*Antonia.*

*Antonia*, having on nowe his robe of perfect yeares, wente  
(as the maner was) with a company of his friends to the tem-  
ples to sacrifice: So denyng, being knowen to be condemned, his  
friends and his servants forsoke him. He being alone, and left,  
of all the company, went to his mother, who durst not receyve  
him for feare: and he not entending to proue any other after his  
mother, fledde into an hill, where being driven with hunger to  
go

go into the playne, mette with a theefe, that bled to robbe in the  
wayes, & of hym by force was made to folow that worke: The  
childe brought up in dayntynesse, and not able to abide that  
payne, ranne into the high way in his purple robe to the Soul-  
diours, to bewray himselfe, of whom he was killed.

A childe re-  
vrayeth him-  
selfe.

After these were done, *Lepidus* triumphed of *Iberia*, and pro-  
pounded a decree after this maner:

The triumph of  
*Lepidus*,  
*Iberia*, Spayne,  
Decree of *Lepi-  
dus* at his tri-  
umpe.

For good fortune be it imputed to all men and women, that  
this present day do make holy and feastfull: He that shall not  
seeme so to do, be he among the condemned men.

He made his triumphe to the Temples, all sortes folowing  
hym with pleasant shewe and grieved minde.

Goodes set to  
sale.

The goodes of the attaynted men were set to sale to their  
neighbours, but there were fewe that would buy any of them.  
Some were ashamed to encrease their evill fortune, & thought  
it woulde not alwayes so continue, nor sure for them to lette  
their golde and silver be seene, nor their possessions, now with-  
out daunger, by having more to put all in peril. Whely some of  
a boldnesse came forth, and because they onely bought, they had  
it for little: but where the thre menne hoped this woulde have  
sufficed, and had yet neede of much more, they declared it openly,  
and condemned a thousand, iij. C women, which were thought  
most riche, & these must needs be punished to beare the charge  
of their warre, every one as muche as shoulde please the thre  
men. A paine was appointed to them that hid any thing, or did  
undervalue themselves: and to the declarers of the same, a re-  
ward propounded, both for free and bonde. The women sought  
to sue to the Princes by such women as were in moste estima-  
tion with them. Of *Cassius* sister, nor of *Antonia* mother, they  
were not reiect. But *Fulvia*, *Antonia* wife, shut hir doores upon  
them, which despight-taking grievously, they came into the co-  
mon place, and apzoching to the seate of the Princes, the peo-  
ple and the Souldiours standing about them, *Hortensia* beyng  
appointed, spake thus: As it was seemely for vs silly women,  
we have sued to your wiues, and having suffered of *Fulvia*,  
that was unseemely, we be come from hir into the comon place:

V Women of  
Rome condemn'd.

*Fulvia* reiecteth  
the women that  
sued to hir. She  
was *Antonia*'s  
wyfe and cause  
of muche stryfe,  
and with for-  
ce ended hir  
lyfe.  
Oracion of *Horti-  
ensia*.

Then,

You haue taken from vs our fathers, our husbands, our  
 brethren and children, pretending that they haue done you in-  
 iurie, and after you haue spoyled them of all togither, you doe  
 oppresse vs, to the rebuke and disgrace of the kinde and condi-  
 tion of womens nature. If we haue done you iniurie, as you  
 say our husbands haue done, then proscrib vs as you did the.  
 But if we women, haue made none of you enimie, nor taken  
 none of your houses, nor corrupted none of your armies, nor  
 ledde against you any other, nor letted you to take what office  
 & honour you would, why be we partakers of the punishment,  
 that were no workers of the iniurie? why are we enforced,  
 that haue not dealt at all, neyther with office, honour, armie,  
 nor common wealth, whiche by you, is nowe brought to suche  
 calamitie? If you say, bycause of the warre: when had we no  
 warre? or when did women cause the warre, whome nature a-  
 mong al men hath released from the same. Our Mothers once  
 beyonde their nature, did further it, when the Citie and the  
 whole state was in extreme daunger by the violence of them  
 of Carthage. And then willingly they did contribute, not of their  
 lande, their houses, their dowries or possessions, without the  
 whiche the free can not liue, but only of their Jewels and Or-  
 namentes, not for any punishment, neither by information nor  
 accusation, nor of force nor violence, but what they themselues  
 would. What feare haue any of you now, eyther of your rule,  
 of your countrie. If the warre of the French, or of the Parthians,  
 be at hande, you shall finde vs no worse, than our Mothers for  
 the safetie of our countrie. As for Ciuill warre, neyther haue  
 we moued, neyther haue conferred with you, one agaynst an-  
 other. We haue not dealt, neyther with Caesar nor Pompey: Ma-  
 rimus nor Cinna did neuer compell vs, no not Sylla that was a ty-  
 ranne to his countrie. You say you will reforme the common  
 wealth.

When Hortensia had sayde thus muche, the thre men were  
 grieved, that women (men being silent) shoulde be so bolde to  
 make open Question, and examine the doings of Princes, and  
 that they should not giue their monie, because men wente to  
 warre.

The Matrones  
 of Rome did giue  
 their Jewells to  
 help the Citie.

warre. Wherefore they commaunded the Sergeantes to putte  
 them from the barre, till a greates nople being made without of  
 the people, the Sergeants ceased: and the Princes sayde, they  
 would deferre the matter till the morning.

Here is put to  
 silence.

The next day they condemned foure hundred women, in stead  
 of a thousande foure hundred, in the valuation of their goddes.  
 When it was decreed, that euery man that had more than tenne  
 Milions, as well Citizen, stranger, freemane man, religious, as  
 all sortes, sparing none, and that with the like feare of punish-  
 ment, and the like penalties, they should giue the fiftith parte of  
 their goddes, as an interest to them, and pay a yearely tribute for  
 the warre. And as these by commaundement were put vpon the  
 Romaines, so the armie with contempt did worke: for where the  
 Princes in these doings had their only trust in them, they craued  
 of them house, land, possession, and whole substance of the confis-  
 cated persons. Some required to be adopted children to those  
 men. Some deuised other shifts: for they killed them that were  
 not condemned, and challenged their houses that were not accu-  
 sed: in so muche, as the Princes commaunded one of the Consuls  
 to make correction of things done, otherwise than was com-  
 maunded. But he being afrayde to touch the Souldiours, least  
 he should prouoke them against him, put to death a fewe Ser-  
 uantes, that wente abroade in Souldiours manner. And these  
 were the chiefe (to the ende) of the calamities of the condemned  
 men. So we, what (contrary to all hope,) hapned to some, to their  
 safetie of the sabbayne, and to honoz at length, it shall delighte  
 me to wright, and be a pleasure for other to heare, that for no ad-  
 uersitie they should giue ouer hope.

Rage of Souldiours.

Hope with the  
 gods over.

They that could escape, fledde to Brutus and Cassius, and so Cor-  
 nificius in Libya, who toke the peoples part.

These  
 Cornificius  
 Cornificius.

Many wente into Sicilie, an Ile nigh Italie, where Pompey re-  
 cepted them very gladly, for he shewed most notable care for  
 the afflicted sorte, sending cryers abroade to call all sortes to  
 him, and to them that coulde saue any, whyther they were free  
 or bonde, he propounded rewards double, so muche as the kil-  
 lers had. Woates and Shippes of burthen did more than that

Pompey  
 shewed care  
 for the afflicted.

lik.

saues,

sayled, and Gallies beeing full at euery shore, shewed tokens to them that went amisse, and saued all that they mette. He receyuing them that came, gaue them raymente and liuing forthwith. The worthy sorte he vsed in hys army or his nanie: and when the thre men and he shoulde make a truce, he woulde neuer graunte to it, tll they that were come to hym, shoulde be comprised in it. So was he moste profitable to hys afflicted Countrey, and wanne greate glozy to hymselfe, not inferioure to that he hadde of hys father. Others, beeing otherwise fledde or hydden tll the truce, some in fieldes, some in graues, and some in the Citie, lyued with sharpe paynes. There were lones incredible shewed of Womien to theyr Husbandes due, and of chyldren towarde theyr fathers, and of Seruauntes, agaynst nature, to their maisters: the which as they be most notable, I will declare.

*Paulus* brother,

*Paulus*, brother to *Lepidus*, (the Captaynes hauyng reuerence vnto hym, as a brother of a Prince) with theyr leaue sayled to *Brutus*, and after to *Mileto*, at the whiche place, peace not yet beeing made, he obteyned returne, and was called home, but woulde not.

*Mileto* a cite in the coles of *Syria* and *Cyria*.

*Lucius*.

*Lucius*, Uncle to *Antonie*, *Antonyes* mother kepte hym not hydde, beeing hys brother, the Captaynes for the most parte honouryng hys as the mother of a chiefe ruler, but after, they vsing violence, she came forth into the common place, and to *Antony* that sate with the other Princes, she sayde:

*Antony* a soldier.

I confesse (O Prince) that I haue receyued *Lucius*, that I haue hym yet, and will keepe hym, till thou kill vs both together, for the lyke payne is appointed to the receyuers.

*Antony* a word to his mother.

He reprimed hir, as a good sister, but as an unkynde mother, for that she ought not to saue *Lucius*, but shoulde haue strappd hym, when he iudged hys Sonne an enimie, neuertheless, he caused *Plancus* the Consull, to decrea hys reuocation.

*Messala*.

*Messala* a noble yong man, fledde to *Brutus*. The thre men fearing his wisdom, wrote thus:

Since

Since the friendes of *Messala* dothe aspynte vnto vs, that he was not a medler when *Caesar* was kylled, we put hym out of the proscribed number. But he dyd not accepte the pardon, but when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were kylled aboute *Thrace*, the armye whyche remayned greate, hauing shippes, money, and good hope, woulde haue hadde *Messala* to bee theyr Captayne, who refused it, and perswaded them to gyue place to aduerser fortune, and to ioyne with *Antony*. Therefore he was in greate credite with *Antonie*, and agreed with hym, tll he reprimed hym for hys wanton dealing with *Cleopatra*, and then he wente to *Caesar*, who made hym Consull in *Antonyes* place, when he was agayne declared an enimie, after he hadde foughte agaynst *Antonie* in the battell by Sea at *Actium*.

A letter of the three men.

*Messala*.

*Actium* a foreland of *Italy*.

*Caesar* sente.

*Caesar* sente hym agaynst the frenche that reuolted, and graunted hym to triumph for the victorie.

*Publius*.

*Publius* also was accepted to *Antony*, with *Messala*, and was an Admirall for *Antony*, and wente agaynst *Caesar* when they warred together, and beeing Presidente of *Syria* vnder *Antony*, there he dyed.

*Actium* and his good wife.

*Acilius* fledde from the Citie secretly, and beeing betrayed of hys Seruaunte to the Souldyours, he perswaded them in hope of much money, to sende some of them to his wyfe, with a token whyche he toke them. She broughte vnto them all hys stowe, saying, she dyd deliuer all vnto them, as though they woulde performe theyr promise: but yet she knewe not whether they woulde or no, but she was not deceyued of thys good liking, for they hyred a shippe for *Acilius*, and sente him into *Sicilie*.

*Lentulus*, beeing desired of hys wyfe to flee with hym, and diligently attendyng on hym, he, for that he woulde not putte hys to the daunger, fledde secretly into *Sicilie*, where beeing made a Lieutenaunte of *Pompey*, he sente hys wyfe to holue he was escaped, and in offico. She hearyng where hys husbände was, secretly lette hys mother, who had good eye

*Lentulus* and his good wife.

thk. 15.

upon

upon hir, and wpth two Seruauntes wpth greate payne and wante, she as a slaue went, till she came to *Messina* from *Reggio* aboute nyghte, and easilie learning where the Lieutenantes Tente was, she founde *Lentulus*, not as a Lieutenant, but with a poore bedde layde vppon the grounde, and simple dyet, for drewe of hir.

*Andronicus* and his good wife.

*Apuleius* wife threathned she woulde betray hym, if he fledde alone, wherefore againste his will he toke hir with him, and it was his happe in that dreyng, not to be suspect, going openly with his wife, his men, and his maides.

*Antius* and his good wife.

*Antius* his wife, wrapped hir husbände in a couering, and by that meane sent him with the Carriers to the Sea, from whence he fledde into *Sicilie*.

*Reginus* and his good wife.

*Reginus* wife, put hir husband in the night into a filthy sincke, into the which the Souldiours would not go in the day, for the sauoure.

The next night she cladde him like a Colyer, and gaue him an Asse to carie his coles, and she folowed a little after in a litter: which when the warders sawe, suspecting some man to be in the litter, searched it: whereof *Reginus* beinge afraide, ranne backe, and as a straunger, prayed a souldioure to be good to the women. He angerly answering him as a Colier, knew him notwithstanding, (for he hadde serued vnder him once in *Syria*), and sayde, go boldly (O Captayne) for so it becommeth me yet to call thee.

*Scoponius*.

*Scoponius* wife obeyned him of *Ansony*, and béeing till that time of good fame, did now heale one euill fortune with another.

*Geta* his good sonne.

*Geta* his sonne made a fire in the open parte of his house, to burie his father that seemed to be dead, whome he had hidde in a house in the Countrey newe made, where the olde man disguising him selfe, layde a parchment befoze hys eyes, and after the agreement was made, he toke away the parchment, but founde his eye out for lacke of vse.

Eye out for lacke of vse.

*Oppian* his good sonne.

*Oppian* sonne, minding to carrie with his olde feeble father, bare him on his backe, till he was past the gates, and the rest of the way, partly leading him, and partly bearing him, he broughte hym safe to *Cicilie*, no man suspecting, or troubling the manner of it:

it: As they wright that *Aeneas* was reuerenced of his enemies, when he bare his father *Anchises*. The people of *Rome* commending the young manne, caused that afterwarde he was made Chamberlayne of the Citie. And bycause he coulde not beare the charges of his office, for that hys goodes were confiscate, the artificers freely gaue hym to supply the same. And the people that behelde hys shewes, did euery man caste so muche money into the game place, as they made him riche.

Kindnesse of Commons.

*Arianus* caused to be grauen on his Sepulchre by hys Testament thus: Him, that lieth here, his sonne (that was not proscribed) did hide, beinge condemned, and fleyng with him, saued his life.

*Arianus* his good Sonne. An Epitaph.

*Metellus* the father and the Sonne, the father was a Captayne vnder *Antonie* at *Attilia*, where he was taken prisoner, and unknowing: his Sonne serued *Caesar*, and was a Capitaine at the same felde. When *Caesar* did geue sentence vpon the captiues at *Samo*, the yong man was presente: The olde manne beinge brought forth all forlorne with long heart, miserie and wante, and all transformed by the same, when in order of the captiues, he was called of the crier, hys Sonne lepte from hys seate, and embraced his father, (whome he scarcely knew) with teares, and when he had ceased from sorowe, he sayde to *Caesar*: This hath bene thine enemye O *Caesar*, and I thy friende, him thou muste punish, and me rewarde: I desire thee to saue my father for mee, or lette me die for hym. Query man taking pittie, *Caesar* commaunded *Metellus* to be saued, though he were hys very enemye, and afoze despying many gyftes, to be dyatome from *Antonie*.

*Metellus* father and Sonne.

*Samoan* Ile.ouer agaynst *Attilia*. A good Sonne.

The seruauntes of *Martius* with good loue and fortune, all the tyme of the proscription, dyd keepe hym within hys house, till feare set aside, *Martius* came out of his house, as from banishment.

*Martius* and his good seruaunts.

*Hirtius* with hys menne fleyng the Citie, wente aboute *Italia*, deliuered prisoners, and gathered them togither that fledde, and toke towncs, a fewe at the firste, after moe in number,

Wh. iij.

ber,

her till he had a sufficient armie, and overcame a parte of the  
*Brutus*, from whence sending his army, he sayled with them al  
 to *Pompey*.

*Restio* and a  
 good seruant.  
*Restio*, that thoughte he fledde alone, a Seruaunte followed  
 hym secretely, beeyng broughte vpp of hym, and a  
 fogetyme well vsed, but after, for euill condictions, bran  
 ded.

When *Restio* rested in a fenne, and did see this Seruaunte  
 so nigh hym, he was afrayde: to whome the Seruaunte  
 sayde, that hee did not so much remember his present bandes,  
 as hee dyd his former benefites: and so caused hym to repose in  
 a caue, and prouided meate for hym, as well as hee coulde;  
 and after that the Caue was suspected, and Souldiours  
 dyd come nigh to *Restio* where hee was, the Seruaunte per  
 ceuyng the matter, followed and killed an olde man that  
 passed by, and cutte off his heade: the Souldiours beeyng  
 angrye, and commyng aboute to take the killer, hee sayde,  
 I haue kylled my Mayster *Restio*, that gaue mee these  
 bandes. They toke the heade, to haue the rewarde, and car  
 ried it in bayne into the Citie. The Seruaunt comforted his  
 Mayster and sayled with hym into *Sicilie*.

*Appion* and a  
 good seruant.

*Appion* resting in a stable, the Souldiours sought hym: his  
 seruant put on his garment, and lay vppon his bedde and wil  
 lingly receyued death for his Mayster, he sitting by him in the  
 fozyme of a seruant.

*Altemius* and a  
 good seruant.

*Altemius* house was soughte of the Souldiours, one  
 of whose Seruauntes wente into a litter, his fellows bea  
 ryng hym as he hadde bene theyr Mayster, and beeyng taken,  
 he was contente to die for his Mayster, who fledde into *Si  
 cilie*.

*Iunius* and a  
 good seruant.

*Iunius* hadde a freemad manne, *Philemon*, who hadde a  
 fayre house, where hee kepte his Mayster in a baughte, in  
 whiche they are wonte to lape harnesse, money, or try  
 tinges, and fedde hym in the nyghte, till the peace was  
 made.

And

An other freemad man, keepyng the Sepulchre of his Ma  
 ster, did also preserve his Maysters Sonne in the same graue, to  
 gather with his Father.

*Lucretius* wanderyng with twow saythfull seruantes, for  
 lacke of meate, returned to his wyfe, beeyng bozne in a lit  
 ter of his seruantes, into the Citie, as a sicke man: when  
 it happened that one of the seruantes had broken his legge,  
 hee wente on with the other, till hee came to the gates,  
 where his Father afoze beeyng proscribed of *Sylla*, was ta  
 ken. The Souldiours commyng aboute hym, hee was muche  
 afrayde for the lucke of the place, wherefoze hee fledde with  
 a seruante, and was hydde of hym in a graue, and chaun  
 sing that robbers of Sepulchers dyd searche graues, the ser  
 uant offered hymselfe to bee spoyled of the robbers, whyles  
 the maister fledde to the gates, and tarried till his seruant  
 came to hym, whose garmentes hee put on, and wente to his  
 wyfe, vnder whose care beeyng kepte, hee was hidde betwene  
 twow beames, till hee was pardoned, by meanes made for him  
 of some, to the thre menne. And after peace was made, he had  
 the office of a Consull.

*Sergius* was hydde of *Antonie* hymselfe, till hee hadde  
 perswaded *Plancus* the Consull to proclayne his reuocation  
 agayne. In the dissention of *Cesar* and *Antonie*, when *Anto  
 nie* was declared enemye of the Senate, hee onely openly gaue  
 bayce for his acquitall.

And thus these were saued.

*Pomponius* decked hymselfe lyke a Pretor, and his seruants,  
 lyke the Sergeants, and so went thorough the Citties wyth  
 his maces and Officers rounde aboute hym, that hee should not  
 bee knowne: and at the gates hee toke publyque coaches,  
 and wente thorough *Italie*, euery manne receyuyng hym, and  
 sendyng to hym as a Pretor appoynted of the thre menne, to  
 make truce wyth *Pompey*, to whome also hee came in a pu  
 blyke Galley.

*Apuleius* and *Aruntius* counterfaiting themselves to be Ca  
 pitaynes,

pitaynes, and their seruantes Souldiours, ranne to the gates as Capitaynes, and pursued others, and by the way, they deliuered prysoners, and receyued suche as came to them: so as eyther of them had a sufficient bande, with Ensignes and armour, and shewe of an army. And chancing that by diuerse wayes they went toward the Sea, they bothe camped in one hil, with great feare lookyng one to another.

In the moynyng, not hauyng clere sight, and thynkyng that eyther of them had bene sente to destroy the other, they fought it out very fiercely, tyll they knewe the truthe. Then repenting that orde, they threwe away their weapons, and wayled that fortune shoulde be so contrarie to them, and toke shippe, the one saylyng to *Brutus*, the other to *Pompey*. And he went on with *Pompey*: and the other vnder *Brutus* was president of *Sythia*, and when *Brutus* was dead, deliuered it to *Antonie*, and was saued.

*Ventidius* good  
seruantes.

A seruant of *Ventidius*, when he was firste condemned, put him in letters, as though he woulde haue deliuered hym to the killers: in the night he perswaded hys felowes, and cladde them lyke Souldiours, and his mayster lyke a Capitaine, and wente out lyke a bande appoynted, and brought his mayster out of the Citie, passing thzough *Italy* into *Sicilie*, many tymes meeting other Capitaynes that sought *Ventidius*.

Another hidde hys mayster in a Sepulchre, and when he coulde not abyde the fearfulness of fante in the Sepulchre, he hidde him in an homely house, nyghe the whiche a Souldiour dwellyng, he coulde not abyde that feare neyther: Wherefore turnyng from feare to extreme boldenesse, he shaued hys head, and played the scholemayster in *Rome* till the truce.

*Volutus* being *Aedile*, was condemned. He hauyng friendship with a Priest of *Isis*, borrowed a stole and a vesture downe to the soote, and put on a dogges heade, and in that maner of furious seruice, passed safe to *Pompey*.

The *Calenians* dyd keepe *Sittius* the Citizen, that had liberally spent of his substance vpon them, & with weapons warded him, rebuking his seruants, & keeping the soldours fro the walles, till the

*Priests*.  
The priestes of  
*Isis* were clad  
with a garment  
that had a dogs  
head.  
*Calen*, in *Com*  
*punt*,  
*Sittius*.

the surpe beeyng paste, they sent to the thre men for him, and obtayned that *Sittius* excluded from the rest of *Italy*, shoulde remaine in his countrey. So *Sittius* is the firste and onely man, that as a stranger, was an outlawe in his owne countrey.

A banished man  
in his countrey.

*Varro* a Philosopher, and a writer of Histories, hauing done good seruice in the warres, and in place of a Lieutenant, and therefore peradventure as an enemy to the Monarchie, was condemned. His friends beeyng desirous to receiue him, and contending for hym, *Calenus* obtayned hym, and kept him at his Chynearde, whither *Antony* came sometyne to walke, and yet neuer a one within, did bewraye *Varro*, neyther of hys olde seruants, oz of *Calenus*.

It is said, that  
*Antony* perswa-  
ned *Varro* with  
these words,  
I will be your  
deputy.

*Virginius* an eloquent man, taughte his seruantes, that if they kylled him for a little money, and that with danger, they shoulde get hate, and at length be in great feare: but if they saued him, they shoulde win sure glozy, good hope, and hereafter money muche more abundant and certaine. Wherefore they fled with him, as with their fellowe seruante, and in the way beeyng knowne, they fought with the souldiours: and he being taken of them, tolde them also, that they woulde not kill hym for any malice, but for onely hope of money, which they shoulde haue more iustlye and plentifullye, if they would go with hym to the sea, where (quoth he) my wife hathe a shippe with mony. They being perswaded, brought hym to the sea: his wife, as she was appointed, came to the sea, and bycause hir husbände tarried, thinking he had bin gone to *Pompey*, she went hir way, leauing a seruāt on shore to shew him so. When *Virginius* was come, the seruāt ranne vnto him, and shewed him where his shippe layed, what his Maistresse said of the money, and that he was left behinde to tell him. The souldiours perceiuing al to be true, *Virginius* desired them to stave, til he might call his wife backe, oz goe with him to hir for their mony. They toke a boate, and with great labour rowed him into *Sicilie*, where receyuing their promise, they woulde not goe from him, but tarried with him till the ende.

A certaine Parriner receyued *Rebulus* into a shippe, to goe into

*Rebulus*.

Therapides.

into sicellie, and required his money, which if he had not, he would accuse him, that he didde, as *Themistocles* did, when he fledde, that is, threatned he would accuse him, for receyuing him for money: wherefore, the Harmer was afrayde, and brought him vnto *Pompey*.

Mureus.

*Mureus* being a Lieutenant under *Brutus*, was condemned, and when *Brutus* was overcome, he was taken, and made him selfe as a seruant, whome *Barbula* bought, and perceyuing him to be apte, made him chiefe of his fellows, and gaue him money to bestowe: and when he sawe him still more wise and diligent than the common nature of seruantes, he put him in hope, that if he were one of the proscribed men, he would saue him, if he would confesse it. He denying it earnestly, and declaring his stocke, his name, and former masters, he caried him to *Rome*, thinking, if he had bene a condemned man, he would haue refused to goe. But he followed cherefully, and being at the gates of the Consuls house, a friend of *Barbula* that saw *Mureus* in seruile maner waiting vpon him, did secretly tell him in his eare. He (by *Agrippa*) obtained of *Cesar*, that *Mureus* was pardoned, and remained friende to *Cesar*. Not long after, it happened that he was a Captaine in the warre against *Antonie*, at *Actia*, and *Bobula* was a Capitayne of *Antonies*, where fortune came about to bothe alike. For, when *Antonie* was overthrowen, he was taken, and counterfeited to be a seruant, whome *Mureus* bought as ignorant. But shewing all to *Cesar*, he obtained hys pardon, and so requited his former benefit. So these fortune was like on both sides, and so continued: for they were officers together in one dignitie at *Rome*.

Bobula.

Vpstart fortune.

Publius.

Up the depole.

Mureus.

*Publius* fleeing, and returning with *Pompey*, and being made Consull, it hapned that *Lepidus* of so great a Prince being made a private man by *Cesar*, came to this necessitie, when *Atacenus* did accuse *Lepidus* his sonne of conspiracie against *Cesar*, and also accused the mother, as consenting to his sonne, and *Lepidus* himselfe, as a weake man, he despised: the sonne he sent to *Cesar*, to *Actia*: for the mother, because she was a woman, and not to be carryed, he required suretie to be putte before the Consull. But when

when no man would be his suretie, *Lepidus* wayted many times at *Calpurnius* doores, and coming where he sate in Iudgemente, and being ofte repulsed of the officers, at length (with much ado) he spake thus:

The accusers do confesse mine innocencie, affirming, that I am neyther consenting to my wife nor my sonne. I didde not proscrib the, when I was one of the proscribers. Haue respect vnto the chaunces of the worlde: and to me, that attende vpon the, giue this grace, that eyther my wife may goe to *Cesar* vpon my suretie, or I be bounde to goe with hys.

Lepidus surety for his wife.

Whiles *Lepidus* spake this, *Calpurnius* considering the mutati on, deliuered the wife of his bonde.

Cato the son.

*Pong Cicerus* was sent of his father into *Greece*, foreseeing what would come. From *Greece* he went to *Brutus*, & after *Brutus* death, to *Pompey*, & with both was honoured with the place of a Lieutenant. And after them, *Cesar*, to cleere himself of *Cicerus* iniurie, made him straight the Bishop, and not long after, Consul, and President of *Syria*. And when *Cesar* overcame *Antony* at *Actia*, he was yet Consul, and *Cesar* wrote to him of it, which Letters he readde to the people of *Rome*, and sate in that seate of Justice, where his fathers head was put.

The Bishops of old Rome were Magistrates &amp; Judges of religion.

*Appius* diuided his substance among his seruants, and say led with them into *Sicellie*. They watching for his money, a storm rising, put him into a boate, that they might sape with the more safetie: but it chaunced, that he in the boate was saued beyonde all hope, and they drowned with they shippe.

Appius.

*Publius*, a treasurer of *Brutus*, and of the familie of *Antony*, was requested to forsake *Brutus*, which because he would not do, he was proscribed: yet he returned, and was a friende to *Cesar*, and when *Cesar* came to him, he would shewe him *Brutus* picture, for the which he was praysed of *Cesar*.

Publius.

These things, beyonde hope, happening to the proscribed men, both in daunger and safetie, many more being omitted, I thought chiefe to be declared.

When matters had thus passed in *Rome*, all the places about, for these troubles, were full of enemies, & great warres fell out:

L.L.G.

An

In *Libya* of *Cornificius* against *sextius*; in *Syria* of *Cassius* against *Dolabella*; in *Sicilia* of *Pompey*, where great affliction was among the Citties for this captiuitie. I will ouerpasse the lesser; the greatest, that appeared more worthie than the rest, in *Lodicea*, *Tharsus*, *Rhodes*, *Patareans*, and *Xantheans*, and euery of them, which from the beginning in order I haue gathered to write, were these. The *Romaines* call that parte yet olde *Libya*, which they wanne of the *Carthaginenses*: that, whiche King *Iuba* helde, and was after gotten by *Caesar*, they call *Neuwe Libya*, and may bee of *Numidia*.

O. Libya.

Neuwe Libya.  
Sextius.  
Cornificius.

*Sextius* being president of *Neuwe Libya* vnder *Caesar*, commaunded *Cornificius* to giue place in the olde, as though all *Libya* was *Caesars* by lot.

When the thre men made their diuision, he sayd, he knew no suche diuision made of the thre men among themselves, nor would he deliuer the Prouince, which he had receiued of the Senate, but onelye to them againe. And for this cause they made war one against another.

*Cornificius* had an armie well appointed and great in number: *Sextius* had lighte harnessed, and fewer, by the whiche coming abroade, he caused men to reuolte from *Cornificius*, and gaue repulse to *Pentidius*, a Captaine of *Cornificius*, coming vpon him lustily, and besieged him.

Cirta a Citie of  
Numidia, where  
Iuba was killed.  
Adherbal.  
Juba.  
Sextius.

*Lelius* an other Captaine of *Cornificius*, went abroade, and wanne *Cirta* and other places from *Sextius*, and they all sent to *Arabia* the king, and to them that were called *Sittians*, to take part with them in the warre, which were so called for thys cause. *Sittius* in *Rome*, not abiding sentence in his owne quarrell, fled, and gathering an armie, came fro *Italy* and *Spain*, into *Libya*, and toke a part among the *Libyan* Kings that warred together, and with whom he turned and gotte the victorie, he was called a *Sittian*, because his armie did very valiantly.

Sittius.

When *Caius Caesar* did persecute *Pompeys* friends, he did fighte for him in *Libya*, and ouerthrewe *Sabura*, *Iubas* Lieutenant, a famous man: for whiche cause *Sittius* was rewarded of *Caesar*, with king *Manasses* land, not all, but the best part of it. *Manasses* was

Manasses.  
Manasses.

was this *Arabians* father, and confederate with *Iuba*. His lande *Caesar* gaue to *Sittius* and to *Bocchus* King of the *Maurussians*, one part whereof *Sittius* diuided for the people vnder him.

*Arabion* fledde into *Iberia* to *Pompeys* childzen, and when *Caius Caesar* was killed, he returned againe to *Libya*, and euer sending some of his *Libyans* to the younger *Pompey* into *Iberia*, and receyuing expert souldiours from thence, he toke hys lande from *Bocchus*, and dispatched *Sittius* by craft: and being still friend to the *Pompeyans*, and percepuing their fortune to be full of infelicitie without hope, he agreede with *Sittius*, and some by hym was reconciled to *Caesar*. The *Sittians* also for his fathers benenolence wyth *Caesar*, toynd wyth hym.

*Sextius* being nowe emboldened, came from the siege to the fight, where *Pentidius* was slayne, and the armie fledde without a gyde, whome he chased and killed, and toke many of them.

*Lelius* hearing of this, leuied the siege at *Cirta*, and wente to *Cornificius*.

*Sextius* being haughty with this feat, went to *Cornificius* at *Psica*, and encamped against him, hauing much people. And *Cornificius* sending *Lelius* with horsemen to take a viell, *Sextius* sent *Arabion* with his horse against *Lelius*, at the face: a he with horse better appointed, came vpon him on the side, and disordred hym, so that *Lelius*, though he not inferiour, yet fearing his retire shoulde haue bene shutte, toke an hill that was betwene both, where *Arabion*, as hee was directed, kylled manie, and compassed the reste.

*Cornificius* seeing this, came for the wyth hys whole power, to helpe *Lelius*. *Sextius* sette vpon him on the back, with sodayne charge, whome *Cornificius* endenoured to repell with great traualle. *Arabion* in the meane time creeping with his men through the stony places, came secretly ouer mountaines vpon *Cornificius* campe.

*Roscius*, that was keeper of the campe, being distressed, offered hys throte to be cutte of a Page.

*Cornificius* wearie of the fyght, went to *Lelius* to the mountaine, not knowing what was done at his Campe, when *Arabion* was

Cornificius killed

Arabion.

Arabion.

*Cassius* killeth  
himselfe.

*rabians* his men came vpon him, and killed him. *Laelius* seeing al this vpon the hill, killeth himselfe. Then the Captaines were deade, the armies fled seuerally, and suche of the proscribed men as were with *Cornificius*, some fledde into *Sicilie*, and some whither they could. *Scipius* rewarded *Arabia* and the *Sittians* with goodly gifts, and the Citties he pardoned, to obey *Cesar*.

This was the ende of the warre in *Libya*, betwixt *Cornificius* and *Laelius*, very shorthe, if a man consider the feates done wylh so great spæde.

*Brutus & Cassius*.

With *Brutus* and *Cassius*, in comparison to these, little was done, and that was this: when *Caius Cesar* was killed, the murderers toke the Capitoll, and when obliuion of al thinges was decreed, they came down.

The people at the funerall of *Cesar*, being moued wylh pittie, ranne aboute to sake the quellers, and they dzyuing them backe from the toppes of the houses, went to the prouinces that *Cesar* had appointed. *Cassius* and *Brutus* beyng yet Pretors in the Citie, were assigned also of *Cesar* to prouinces, *Cassius* to *Syria*, and *Brutus* to *Macedonia*. And bycause they coulde not goe to their prouinces before their time, nor abide the hate of the Citie, they wente away, being yet in office: and the Senate, in consideration of them, appointed them Purueiours for prouision, that in that meane time, they shoulde not be thought to flie away.

*Brutus & Cassius*.

They beyng gone, *Syria* & *Macedonia* were apointed by decree to *Antony* and *Dolabella*, being then Consuls. The Senate, being very muche grieved, gaue them in steade thereof *Cyren* & *Chene*, whiche they not regarding, in shorthe tyme gathered much money and men, and entred *Syria* and *Macedonia*. And thus they lyoughte.

Then *Dolabella* hadde killeth *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *Antonie* hadde overcome *Decimus* in *Celtica*, the Senate being offended, did decree *Antonie* and *Dolabella* to be enmies, and restored *Brutus* and *Cassius* to their former prouinces, and added to *Brutus* *Thracia*, commaunding al other that were rulers of the Romaine dominion, as well of prouinces as armies, to obey *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

*Antonie* added to  
*Brutus*.

*Cassius*. After this, *Cassius* prevented *Dolabella* entring into *Syria*, & bled the tokens of that office, and gathered twelue legions, that for the moste parte, hadde serued, and bin trained vnder *Caius Cesar*, one of the whiche, *Cesar* hadde leste in *Syria*, to goe to the war against the *Parthians*. The charge of this, had *Seculus Bassus*, <sup>*Bassus* & *Seculus*</sup> but the dignitie, *Sexsus Iulius* hadde, a yong man and *Cesar*'s kinsman, who being lasciuious, and suffering the legion to fall to riot, *Bassus* repproued him: wherefore he fell out with *Bassus*, and called him rascall, and after waxing moze disobedient, *Bassus* commaunded hym to be broughte of the Sergeants, whereof a tumulte growng, and *Bassus* beyng in daunger to be killed: the armye, not abiding that disorder, killed *Iulius*: of the whiche repenting them by and by, and fearing *Cesar*'s displeasure, they agreed together, that vnlesse they had forgiuenesse, they woulde fight til death, and to this they compelled *Bassus*: & getting an other legion, they trained them, with the whiche they valiantly ouercame *Sexsus Marcius*, sente againste them with thre legions from *Cesar*. To *Marcius*, came in aide *Minutius Crispus* from *Bythinia*. With thre other legions, and besieged *Bassus* with fife legions. *Cassius*, coming in reliefe of *Bassus*, receiued hys armye freely by and by, and after, *Minutius* and *Marcius*, deliuering to him their legions for goodwill, they obeyed him in all thinges as the Senate comaunded. *Albinus* being sent of *Dolabella*, brought oute of *Egypt* foure legions of the remnant of *Pompeius* and *Cassius* discomfiture, whiche of *Cesar* were left to *Cleopatra*. *Cassius* set vpon him in *Palestina* (knowing nothing of these chaunces) so sodainely, that he compelled him to deliuer his armye, being afrayde with foure legions to fight againste eight. Thus *Cassius* (beyond al expectation) was Lord of twelue legions, and manye of the *Parthian* archers on horsebacke came to serue *Cassius*, he being known among them, when he was an officer in *Craffus* campe. *Dolabella* remained aboute *Tonia*, dispatching *Trebonius*, and putting tributes vpon the Citties, and by *Lucius Figulus* <sup>*Figulus* & *Ligulus*</sup> buying nauies of the *Rhodes*, the *Lycians*, *Pamphagonians*, and *Celebians*, whiche, whē they were ready, he determined to go into *Syria* himselfe by land with two legions, & *Figulus* by sea. And hearing

Cherronesus,  
Maced.

ring of *Cassius* army, he tourned hys sojney to *Laodicea*, a little friendly to hym, loyning to *Cherronesus*, and fitte for al furniture, as well for passage by Sea, as defence by lande. In the which place, he mighte prouide all thinges plentifullye from the Sea, and when he would, without feare saile from the lande.

*Isthmus* a narrow  
rovy land bet-  
tweene two seas.

Which *Cassius* seeing, and fearing that *Dolabella* should escape him, hauing gotten a place called *Isthmus*, almoste an Island, not two furlongs ouer, he took all the stones and tymber of the cottages, boroughs and sepulchres, to make a pære for ships. He sent to *Phoenicia*, *Lycia* and the *Rhodes*, and being reiected of all, but the *Sidonians*, yet he went againste *Dolabella*, and bothe of them hauing losse numbers of ships, *Dolabella* tooke hie, with al the men. *Cassius* sent againe to them that had despised hym, and to *Cleopatra* Quene of *Aegypt*, and to *serapion* Generall in *Cyprus* for hir. The *Tyrrians*, the *Aradians*, and *serapion*, without any intelligence from *Cleopatra*, sent him as many ships as they hadde. The Quene made excuse to *Cassius*, by hunger & pestilence, where with *Aegypt* was oppressed: and for the familiarity with the former *Caesar*, she fauoured *Dolabella*, and with this determination, she sente him four legions by *Albinus*, and another sufficient company, by sea (because of the winde) stayed.

*Arad* is he of  
the Ile of *Scy-  
dus*, & it is one  
of the Cities of  
*Phoenicia* that  
maketh *Trois*,  
*Tyrus* and *Sidon*,  
he the other.  
The scutes of *Cle-  
opatra*.

The *Rhadians* and the *Lycians* said, they would helpe neither *Brutus* nor *Cassius* in ciuill warres, and that they had giuen ships of passage to *Dolabella*, but not entred with him into any societie of warre. *Cassius* being prepared againe, with such as he had presently, encountred with *Dolabella* twice, and at the firste, they fought it oute with like force: but after *Dolabella* was too weake by Sea. Then *Cassius*, with a rampire, so beat the walles of the Citie, that they were like to fade, and when he coulde not corrupte *Marsus*, that was chiefe of the watch by night, he waane the Captaines of the bands, that warded by the day. And *Marsus* resting by daye, the gates were opened, and he entred in diuers parts with his army.

*Marsus*,  
the chiefe of  
*Dolabella* killed.

The Citie being taken, *Dolabella* bad one of his Guard cutte off his heade and carrie it to *Cassius*, to saue his owne, whiche he did, and after killed himselfe. *Marsus* also did ridde his own life.

*Cassius*

*Cassius* hauing gotten the Citie, sware the armie of *Dolabella* to himselfe. All the *Laodiceans* sacred and publyke things he spoyled, the chief of the Citie he punished, the other he oppressed with greiuous payments, and brought the Citie to extreme miserie. From *Laodicea* he wente towarde *Aegypt*, vnderstandyng that *Cleopatra* dyd saile with a greate nanie to *Caesar* and *Antonie*, thynkyng he myghte stoppe hir voyage, and be reuenged of hys, vnderstandyng that *Aegypt* was in greate distresse for famine, hauing no greate army of straungers, the Souliours beyng gone with *Albinus*. Weyng in this hope and determination, *Brutus* in haste aduertised hym, that *Caesar* & *Antonie* dyd passe the *Ionian* Sea. *Cassius* vnwillingly, leste the interpreter of *Aegypt*, and sente away the *Parthian* Archers on horsebacke, wyth their rewardes, and messengers to theyr King for further ayde: whiche comyng when all was done, ranged *Syria*, and all the nigher nations to *Ionis*, and departed. *Cassius* leste hys syphewe in *Syria* with one legion: the horsemen he sente afoze to *Cappadocia*. They suddenly sette bypoit *Ariobarzanes* the kyng, as one that before meante to deceyue *Cassius*, and brought all his money and riches to *Cassius*. The *Tharsians* beyng at debate, the one parte honoured, *Cassius* comyng firste, the other *Dolabella* after him: and both of them did it, by the shew of the Cities authoritie: and embracing both, as the turne serued, either side (in such a chageable citie) used other extremely. When *Cassius* had ouercome *Dolabella*, he commaunded them to paye a thousand and five hundred *Talentes*: they not knowing what to doe, and beyng with despight requyzed of the Souliours therevnto, were compelled to sell all their pruate Jewels, and holy things in common, and other whiche they had for their triumphes and sacrifices, whiche not suffising, the Magistrates solde their free people. The firste was the *Virgines* and their men childzen, after their women and olde men pityfully, and then theyr yongmen, whereof many killed themselves. Being in this case, *Cassius* came from *Syria*, and stayed it for pitties sake, & released them of the rest of the Tribute. Thus *Tharsus* and *Laodicea* were punished. *Cassius* and *Brutus* consultyng together

*Ariobarzanes* dis-  
treised.

*Tharsus* at diuinitie  
A citie in *Cilicia*  
at the floudde  
*Cydnus*.

The calamitie  
of *Tharsus*.

*Cassius* sheweth  
some pittie.

apm.

gither

Counsell be.  
tweene Brutus  
and Cassius.

gither, it seemed best to Brutus to remoue the armie from thence into Macedonia for greater consideration. Bycause it was sayde, they enemies had fourty legions, and that eyght of them were past the Ionian sea. Cassius thought the multitude of the enemye not to be passed of, bycause in tyme their number shoulde be their destruction for wante: and therefore that they shoulde sette vpon the Rodians and Licians, friends to their enemies, and hauing nauiies, least they should come vpon their backs, when they had agreed, they deuised their armies. Brutus went against the Licians, & Cassius agaynst the Rodians, for hee was brought vp there, & learned the Greeke tongue. And because they were very strong vpon the Sea, he prepared & exercised hys owne ships at Guido. The wise men of the Rhodes were afrayd to come to fight with the Romines, but the people was lusty recounting their former feats against other manner of men than these. Their shippes also they gathered of the beste, of the whiche were. xxvij. When they had done so, they sente some to Minto to Cassius, requesting him he woulde not reiect the Rhodes, a Citie that euer did reuenge such as contemned them, nor the couentions betwene the Rhodians and the Romanes, that one shoulde not beare armes against the other: and if he did alleage any thyng for societie of warre, that they woulde vnderstande of the Senate of Rome, and they commaunding it, they sayde they would do it. Thus much they sayde. He answered, that for the rest, warre must iudge in steede of wordes & where the league commaunded they should not leaue armes one against another, the Rhodians did conspire with Dolibelli, and ayded him against Cassius. But where it commaundeth that one should help another, and now that Cassius requireth it, they vse a shifte by the Romane Senate, which is scatered, and at this present destroyed by the Euzannes that be in the Citie, which should be punished, and so should the Rhodians, taking their partes, onlesse they did as he commaunded them. Thus sayde Cassius. Whē this was knowne at Rhodes, the auncient men were the more afrayd. The people were perswaded by one Alexander & Manaffes, remēbryng vnto them that Mithridates came against the many moe ships, & before him Demetrius. Therfore they made

Alexan-

Alexander their chief officer called Prytaneo, & Manaffes their Admiral. Neuerthelesse, they sent Archelaw embassadour to Cassius, who was his scholemaster in the Greeke, to intreate him sanely: and when he had taken him by the hande, he spake to him as to hys acquayntance:

Thou that art a louer of the Greeke language, do not disturbe a Greeke citie, nor the Rhodes (being a louer of libertie) nor deface the Dorian dignitie, neuer yet blemished since it firste began: nor forget y goodly histozie, which thou diddest learne at Rhodes and Rome. At Rhodes, howe muche the Citizens of the same haue euer stood to their defence, against nations & kings, and such as were, thought inuincible, as Demetrius & Mithridates, for their libertie, for y which thou sayst thou trauaylest. In Rome what we haue done for you, as wel against other as Antiochus the great: there be pillars set vp of you as monumēts of vs. Thus much may be sayd to you, O Romanes, of our natio, of our worthinesse, of our state, neuer yet in seruitude, of our societie & choyle of you. But, in the now (Cassius) a certaine great reuerēce, I say, remayneth, toward this citie, thy nurse, thy scole, thy Christian & house, where thou didst dwell, & to my scole, & my self, & to other things wherein, I toke paynes. Now you well requite al this vpo my countrie, y it be not forced to make warre with the that was nourished & brought vp in it, nor put vs to y necessitie of one of two things, either that y Rhodians shal all be destroyed, or Cassius overcome. I aduise the further, beside y I haue prayed the, that halt take in hand this feate, for y comon welth of Rome, y thou alway make the Gods the guydes in so great a cause. You Romanes did call the Gods to witnesse, when by Caius Cesar, ye made solēne league w vs, and by othe confirmed the same & gaue vs your right hands, which enemies perforce, & shal not friends and felowes do it: Re-fraine now for Gods cause, & for the glozy among men, seing no thing is more barbarous than breach of league, which make the offendours to seeme vnfaithfull both to friend & foe. Whē the old man had thus sayd, he did not let Cassius hand go, but he wept & wiped his eyes with it, that with that manner he might moue Cassius, who for reuerēce was abashed, & in some passiō sayd thus:

Epim. ij.

At

Prytaneo was in Athens the chiefe Citie of Attique.

Archelaw scholemaster to Cassius.

Minto, nowve Capo Crio.

The Rhodes, an Island in the sea that is called Carpathy, the which in greatesse, is next to Cyprus.

*Cassius to the  
Rhodians.*

If thou diddest not perswade the *Rodians* to doe me any iniurie, then thy selfe hast done it: but if thou diddest exhort and advise them, & couldest not perswade them, then I do reuenge thee. I haue bene injured evidently: firste, bycause I asking helpe of them, that nourished and taught me, am contemned and despised: then, bycause they preferred *Dolabella*, (whome they neuer taught nor brought vp) before me: and that that is the more hapynous, not onely before me, but *Brutus* and other noble men, whome you knowe well to be fledde from Tyrannie, and to be ready to fight for libertie of our countrie. You the *Rodians* lovers of libertie, preferred *Dolabella* before vs, he seeking to take the same from other: and vs (whome now you ought to fauour,) you pretend, you will not deale with ciuill warre. It were ciuill, if we did couet unlawfull power: but now open warre is made of peoples rule, and of Tyrannes state: and you that haue popular government, do forsake the same: and of them that do labour for their lawes, and beare good will to the *Romanes*, and be condemned to death without iudgement, that be proscribed & confiscate, you haue no pitie at all. But you answere, you will vnderstand the *Senates* minde, which is now destroyed and can not helpe it self. For ye knew the Senate had decreed to *Brutus* and me, that al the inhabitants betwene *Ionia* and the East, should obey our commaundements. Thou makest a rehearsal what you haue done for vs at our waits, for with good will you haue receyued reward againe. But you forget, that you denie help to vs, that suffer iniurie, for the sauing of our libertie, whom you ought if there had bene no friendship betwixt vs, but would now haue begon it, to haue ayded the common cause of *Rome*, few being of the *Dorian* libertie. Men being forth also leagues (lacking other matter) that *Caius Caesar* the first author of Tyrannie did make with you, and say, that the *Romanes* and *Rodians* should help one another in their necessities. Helpe you then solve the *Romanes* that in greatest cause be in ynnoste perill. *Cassius* a *Romane* borne, and a president of the *Romanes*, dothe challenge that league, accorpyng to the decree of the Senate in the whiche it did commaunde, that all the dwellers beyond *Ionia*, should obey vs. *Brutus* dothe require

require the same, and *Pompey*, keepyng the Sea for the *Senates* safetie. To decrees, we loyne prayers, for all them that be fledde from the Senate to me, to *Brutus* and to *Pompey*. It is the peoples publike decree, that the *Rhodians* should help the *Romanes*, euery one as they haue neede. If we be neyther officers nor *Romanes*, but you take vs to be fugitiues, strangers, and condemned (as they name vs that haue proscribed vs) and that you haue nothing to do with vs, but with *Romanes* (and *Rhodians*) and their leagues, then may we make warre with you as strangers, and free from confederacie, excepte you obey vs in all that we require. Thus *Cassius*, as it were dallying with *Archelaus*, sent him away. *Alexander* and *Manasses*, Captaynes of the *Rhodians*, with their thre and thirtie shippes, sayled against *Cassius* to *Myndo*, to preuent him in the sea, hauing hope, lightly to overcome him, bycause they made that voyage into *Guido* agaynst *Mithridates*, when they had happy ende of the warre: and being rowing for a shew, they sayled the first day to *Guido*, and the next, set vpon the *Cassians*, whereat they maruelling, did encounter with them, shewing noble strength on both sydes. The *Rhodian* shippes were light, and gaue a suddayne onfet on their enemies, and retired againe, and fetched what course they woulde. The *Romanes* were heauie, and abode by it, and when they ioyned with them, overlaped them like a fight on foote. *Cassius* with the multitude of his shippes did so beset the enimie, that they could not compasse, nor retire at their pleasure, but onely asofhande giue a charge, and retire againe: and that commoditie was taken away by the streightnesse of the place. For their coming vpon the *Romanes* great shippes with their sharpe stemmes, dyd no good, because the *Romanes* stood vnnouable against their light vessels. In the ende, thre of the *Rhodians*, with all the men in them, were taken, two were broken and sonke, the rest sore beaten, fledde to the *Rhodes*.

The *Romaines* resorted to *Myndo*, and repaired their vessels that were bused.

This was the ende of the fight by Sea, betwene the *Romanes* and the *Rhodians*, which *Cassius* behelde from a mountayne.

¶ M. iij.

¶ Then

*Guido* a Citie  
like an Ilande  
in *Caria*.

Battayle by  
Sea betwene  
the *Romanes* &  
the *Rhodians*.

*Myndo*, a sea  
coast towne of  
*Caria*.

Lorenna  
in Caesars

When he had repayed his Raue, he sayled to *Lorenna*, a Castell of the *Rhadians*, and his sotenien he committed to *Phaninus* and *Lentulus*, to be transported in greate Shippes. He sayled with fourescore vessels, whyche was a terrible sighte to the *Rhadians*. Being arrived at *Rhodes*, he stiered not, neyther with his Raue nor his sotenien, thinking they woulde haue yielded: but they came fiercely forth to the syghte, and hauing lost two Shyppes, they shutte themselves within the Porte of the Citie, and toke armoure, and resisted the sotenien that *Phaninus* hadde sette a thoze, and also *Cassius* that approached the walles next the Sea, not unfitte for that fight: which he forespyng, had broughte Turrets with him, which he set by, and assailed the Citie both by sea and land, which being vnprouided for so suddayne a matter, must needs eyther by force or famine be ouerthrowen. The wise men of the Citie, to auoide that danger, hadde some talke with *Phaninus* and *Lentulus*. In the meane tyme, *Cassius* was gotte into the Citie with the choyce of his army, vsing no force at his entrie, whiche some thought to be by them that pitied the famishing of their Citie.

Rhodes taken.

*Cassius*, hauing the Citie in captiuitie, sate downe in his Iudgemente seate, and pitched his speare in it, in token it was thall, and badde them not to feare. He commaunded his armye vpon payne of death, not to make any spoyle. He called .50. *Rhadians* by name, tohome he punished with death. Five and twenty he woulde not appeare, he banished. He toke all the money that was golde or siluer, holly or publike, and appoynted a daye to euery man to bring in his private substance. He proclaymed death to them that hidde any thing. To the accuser, he proclaymed a third part, and to the bonde, libertie. Hauing at the beginning hidde their things, hoping the spoyle woulde haue no suche ende: but when they sawe men were beynayed, they brought forth all for feare. Some was hidde in the ground, some in filthy pittes, and some in graues, out of the which more was brought, than at the first.

The hard dealing of Cassius  
with the  
Rhodians.

This was the captiuitie of the *Rhodes*, to the rule of the which, *Lucius Varro* was left.

Spoyle of the  
Rhodes.

*Cassius* being encouraged with the speedy taking of this Citie, and

and abundance of money, commaunded the other nations of *Asia* to pay the tennie yeares tribute, whiche they did accordingly.

It was then reported, that *Cleopatra*, with great preparation of army and Raue, woulde sayle to *Octavian* and *Antony*, both for the friendship of the former *Caesar*, and for feare of *Cassius*, who sente *Mureus* with his best Legionarie men and archers, with fourescore armed Shippes, to *Pellaponesus*, and staying at *Tenaro*, meant by preuention, to get the spoyle of all *Pellaponesus*.

The things that *Brutus* did in *Licia*, were not great: but thus they beganne.

When he had the army of *Apuleius*, and gathered of the tributes of *Asia* sixtene thousand talentes, he sayled into *Bocota*, where he did receyue a decre from the Senate, that he shoulde vse the same, and gouerne *Macedonia*: whiche beeyng knolwen, he toke to hym three Legions from *Illyria*, the whiche *Patimus*, then Lieutenante of *Illyria*, deliuered vnto hym. Another Legion he had of *Antonys* brother in *Macedonia*, to the whiche, toying foure more, he was Lord of eyghte Legions, the greater parte of the whiche, hadde serued vnder *Caesar*. He hadde also greate numbers of Horsemen, archers, and other shotte. The *Macedonians* he armed after the Italian manner. In gathering thus his army and treasure, he had this good lucke from *Thracia*.

*Cleopatra*.  
*Morea*.  
*Tenaro*, a prominent  
montone of  
*Liconia*, where  
*Heracles* tooke  
his way to  
Hell.

*Trutor*.  
*Licia* a Countrey  
of little  
*Asia*, betweene  
*Paphlagonia* and  
*Caria*.  
To be a region  
in the ende  
of Greece.  
*Illyria* is a great  
Region of  
Europe, now  
called *Slauonia*.

*Telemocrata*, a Princes wife, and sayne of his foes, came to *Brutus* for the care of her sonne, and committed hym to *Brutus* handes with her Husbendes treasure. He deliuered the chyld to be trayned of the *Ciceronians*, tyll he shoulde be sette in his fathers Kingdome. He founde in the Treasure greate massies of golde and syluer, whiche he caused to be coyned, to make money.

Treasure, and a  
Princes childe  
deliuered to  
*Brutus*.

*Cicero*, an He  
in *Propontis*,  
with a Citie of  
the name.

When *Cassius* was come vnto *Brutus*, they consulted vpon their businesse, and determined to beginne the warre vpon the *Licians* and *Nanthians*.

And to beginne with the *Zanthians*, they of the Citie cutte off their suburbs, that *Brutus* shoulde not vse the, nor haue comodity

The seage of  
*Zanthia* a Citie  
in *Lycaonia*, which  
they had greate  
myned be-  
fore they came  
thither.  
*Antony* Lieut-  
enant to *Cyrius*.

of

of any thing there, they compassed their Citie with a ditch, and upon it made their defence. The ditch was fiftie fote deepe, and the breadth proportionate accordingly. Upon it they stode, and threw their darts & arrowes vpon the *Romanes*, diuided as with a floud impassable. *Brutus* got many *Pioners*, & couered the with leather, to ouerthrow the ditch. He parted the army for y<sup>e</sup> night and the dayes labour, neuer ceassing, but as in a matter of great speede, vsed the souldiours, to cōtend who should do fastest. And though at the beginning it seemed he went about a tedious and frutelesse worke, yet in the end, he brought it to passe very quickly, contrary to the *Zanthians* opinion, whiche thoughte it would haue bin many monethes in doing, or not done at all. But now they are shutte vp, and diuen within their gates, with a greate change. He gaue dayly assautes at the gates, euer changing his men. They resisted, and put freshe and sounde men in the place of the weery and wounded, so long as their fortres helde: but when they were beaten downe, and all broken, *Brutus* thinking what would follow, commaunded his souldiours to retire from the gates.

*Brutus* beate  
downe the  
Trench.

The *Zanthians* thinking that to bee done by negligence, issued out in the nighte with lightes to burne the *Romanes* engines, who being encountred of the *Romanes* that laye for them, retired to the gates, the keepers whereof, fearing the enimie should enter also, shutte them out, whereof did followe a greate slaughter before the gates. Not long after, the *Romanes* going backe againe, the Citizens came out, and fired the engines: and bycause of the former losse, the gates were opened to them, at whose going in, two thousand *Romanes* thrust in with them, and more followed: at the which entrie, the gates fell downe, eyther suddainely, or of purpose, the matter failing that held them vp. The *Romanes* were eyther killed, or shut in. The gates could not be opened, nor without some engine be remoued. The *Zanthians* threw vpon them in the *Arctes* from aboue. They hauing neyther bowe nor arrowes, got into a straight place, called *Sarpedono*, that they should not utterly be besette aboute. The *Romanes* that were withoute, were carefull for them within,

The *Zanthians*  
killed at theyr  
gates.

The *Romanes*  
in danger.

within, and *Brutus* ranne among them, to see that all help might be assayed. At the gates barred with yron, they could not get in, their scales and Towers being burned. Wherefore some made scaling ladders presently, and wente vp vpon timber, as vpon ladders: some tyed forkes to ropes, and threw them to fasten on the wall, and climbed vp by coardes. The *Omandians* theyr neyghbours, and enemies, and confederate with *Brutus*, gate vpon the rocky places, whiche when the *Romanes* saw, they followed with great laboure, whereby many fell, and some that got ouer, went to open the gates, and layd timber so thicke, that they might come ouer: whiche they did. And being now many, they brake the gate, not being very strong, both they within and without helping to it: and the souldiours entred in verie boldly, both at the broken gate, and ouer the wall, vpon the way made with timber, so as there was thrusting in on euery side. The *Zanthians* with greate shoutes set vpon the *Romanes* that were in *Sarpedono*. The *Romanes* at the gates, carefull for them both within and without, vsed all violence to make way, and as they ried with a furie, they bare all downe afore them, making suche hast and noyse, as they might know within it, God working a change for them. And this was at the setting of the Sunne.

*Oemandia* is a  
Citie of *Caldia*,  
a little region  
of *Asia*.

The *Romanes*  
saued in *Sarpedono*  
dono a holy  
place closed in  
the Citie.

The Citie being thus taken, the *Zanthians* wente into theyr houses, and burned their most precious things, and wilfully offered their throates to be cutte. The lamentation was so greate, that *Brutus* fearing the spoyle, called his souldiours backe by a Trumpet: and when he knewe what was done, he pitied the state of them for their liberties sake, and sent a truce vnto them. They repelling them that brought it, and bringing all they had, to stacks that they hadde made in their houses, set the same on fire, and burned themselves therewith.

The taking  
of *Zanthia*.

*Brutus* saued all the sacred things, and only toke the seruants of the *Zanthians*, and an hundred and fifty women free and without husband. Thus three times the *Zanthians* perished for their libertie, being besieged of *Arpalus*, Lieutenant of *Cyrus* the great. They killed themselves rather than they would be slaues, and the Citie was by him left to be their graue. And they say,

The sacking  
of *Zanthia*.

And.

they

they suffered the like of *Alexander*, *Philip* sonne, and coulde not abide to obey *Alexander*, though he were a Lord of so many landes.

*Brutus* wente from *Xantho* to *Patara*, a Citie for assayes of the Sea like unto it: and byling his army about the citie, he commaunded them to be obediente, unlesse they woulde suffer as the *Xanthians* had done. Some of the *Xanthians* were come vnto them, bewayling theyr misfortune, and counselling them to see better to themselves. The *Pataraenes* answering nothing to the *Xanthians*, spent the rest of the day in consultation. Daye beeing come, and *Brutus* approching, they cryed frō the walles, that they woulde obey hym in anye thyng he woulde, and opened theyr gates. He entred, neither killing nor speyling any man: only theyr golde and siluer that was the Cities, he gathered together, commaunding euery mā to bying in hys priuate goodes, vpon those payes that *Cassius* had sette vpon the *Rhodians*. And theyr vndō.

A Seruaunt dyd accuse hys maister for hyding of money, and shewed a Capitayne that was sente, where the golde was. All beeing carryed away, the maister held his peace, but hys mother (wyllyng to saue hys sonne) cryed, that she hadde hydde the money. The Seruaunte (not required to speake,) affirmed she sayde not true, and that he hadde hidde it: whereat *Brutus* pityng the yong man in silence, and the mother in passion, sente them away unhurte, with the money they brought, and hanged the Seruaunte, that woulde haue betrayed hys maister.

*Lentulus* at this time being sent to *Andriaca*, a notable porte for the shippes of the *Styreans*, brake the chaine of the Port, and went into the Citie. They obeyed hys commaundementes, and deliuered him their money, whych he carryed to *Brutus*. The *Lycians* sente to *Brutus*, that they woulde obey hym, and ayde hym to theyr power. He putte a tribute vpon them, and gaue the freemen of the *Xanthians* to that Citie. He commaunded the Hauke of *Lycia*, to sayle with the rest to *Alia*, from whence he led his footemen, & abode *Cassius* coming frō *Tonia*, to goe together to

to *Sejus*.

*Marcus* sayng aboute *Peloponessus*, vnderstode that *Cleopatra* had a wracke by tempest aboute *Libya*, and that hir scattered shauie was blowen to *Liconica*, and that she was so sicke, as vnneth she coulde gette home agayne. And that he shoulde not seme to bying out so greate a compaigne in vayne, he sayled towarde *Brundise*, and toke the Ile nerte the Port, and kepte the rest of the enimies army, and theyr victuals, from *Macedonia*.

*Antonie* came agaynst hym with those selue long Shippes that he hadde, and at the nygh places annoyed hym with the Towlers he hadde made. He sente hys armye by partes in greate Shippes, obseruyng the wynde from the lande, that they shoulde not bee intercepte of *Marcus*: and beeing in some doubt, he called for *Cesar*, that was in the coast of *Sicilie*, to matche with *Sextus Pompey*. Whych matters wente after this sorte:

*Pompey* was the yonger sonne of *Pompey* the greate, beeing not accompted of *Cesar* for hys youth like to atchieue any matter, and remayned in *spayne*. He, in compaigne with a selue thienes, rowed on the Sea, and was not knowen to be *Pompeys* sonne.

The number of the Rowers increasing, and hauing a good bande, he confessed he was *Pompeys* chylde. Wherefore all the remnant of hys fathers and brothers armye resorted to him, as to a familiar Captayne.

*Arabion* beeing dispeopled in *Libya*, came vnto hym (as we haue sayde) and he hauing thys multitude, hys actes were esteemed greater than as of a Pryate, and *Pompeys* name sounde ouer all *spayne*, full of people, so as the officers of *Cesar* durst not meddle with hym: whych when *Cesar* hearde, he sente *Carina* with a greater armye to ouerthrowe *Pompey*. But he beeing armed for the lyghte attemptes, suddaynely sette vpon hym, and troubled hym, and toke Cities both small and greate, for the whych cause *Cesar* sente *Asinius Pollio* to succede *Carina*, and to warre with *Pompey*, whych at the

*Sejus* in *Europe*, diuided by the narrow Sea called *Hellest*.

*Laconia*, a region of *Peloponessus*, sometime called *Heccatonopoli*, for the Cities that were conueyned in it.

*Antony* & *Marcus*.

*Pompey* the yonger.

*Arabion* ioyneth with *Pompey*.

And.

time

time that *Caesar* was killed, did trie their power: after the which *Pompey* was reuoked of the Senate, and then he went to *Masilia*, to heare what was done, who being chosen Admirall as his father, he gathered all the Shippes he could get together, and kept the Seas, but would not come to *Rome*. And when the three mens power began, he sayled into *Sicilie*, and besegged the Captayne *Euthimicus*, that would not receyue him, till *Marius* and *Fannius* (condemned by proscription, and fledde from *Rome*), caused that place to be given to *Pompey*. Thus *Pompey* was Lord of *Sicilie*, hauing a Naue and Island nigh to *Italy*, and a great army, both of them he had before, and also of them that fledde from *Rome*, both bond and free, and such as the Cities of *Italy* sent him, that were giuen in pray to the Souldiours: for these did detest in their hearts, the conquest of the three men, and as much as they could, secretly wrote against them. And as many as might get out of the Countrey, being now no more of their Countrey, fledde to *Pompey*, being at hande, and most accepted to the *Romaines* of that time. There came also to him Seamen from *Libya* and *Iberia*, skilfull in the water: in so muche, as *Pompey* was full of Captaynes, Shippes, Souldiours and money. Of the whyche when *Caesar* vnderstoode, he sente *Saluidienus* with a paue, thinking it to be an easie matter to put *Pompey* from the Sea, and he passed through *Italy* to help *Saluidienus* from *Reggio*.

*Pompey* came againste *Saluidienus* with a greate naue, and making the fryghte hard at the shallowes of the Ile aboute *Scyleion*, *Pompeys* Shippes were lighter, and excelled in the promptnesse and experience of the skilfull Seamen. The *Romaines* were heavier and greater, and the more unfitte, as the manner of the shallow Sea is to whirle aboute, that the billowes breake on eyther side the water. *Pompeys* were the lesse troubled, for custome to the surgies, but *Saluidienus* Shippes could neyther stand firme for lacke of that experience, nor able to vse their oares, nor hauing fitte sternes for to turne at will, were sore troubled. Therfore towarde the Sunne sette, *Saluidienus* first withdrew, and *Pompey* also did the like. The losse of Shippes was equal. The other that were brused and broken,

*Saluidi-*

*Saluidienus* repayzed, lying at the port of that narrow sea *Balaron*.

*Caesar* came and gaue greate sayth to the *Reggians* and *Ipponeans*, that they should be exempt from them that were giuen in victorie, for he feared them most, bycause they were so nigh that narrow cut. But when *Antony* sente for hym in haste, he sayled to him to *Brunduse*, hauing on his lefte hand *Sicilie*, entending then not to matche with *Pompey*. *Murcus* (when *Caesar* came,) that he should not be inclosed of *Antony* and him, wente a little from *Brunduse*, waytyng by the way the great Shippes that carried the armie to *Macedonia*, whiche were wayted of the Galleys, the winde being great, euen as they coulde wish. They sayled away cherefully without any neede of any Galleys, whereat *Murcus* was grieved, and wayted for their returne empty. But they (bothe then and after) caried ouer the army with full sayle, till all the army with *Caesar* and *Antony* were passed. *Murcus* being thus hindred by fortune (as he thought,) taried for other passages, and preparations of new Souldiours from *Italy*, to hinder (as much as he coulde) the prouisions and the army leste: and to him *Pompeius Oenobarbus*, one of *Cassius* Capitaynes, came, as to a service of great moment, with fifty Shippes, one other legion, and Archers, that *Caesars* army, not hable to be victualed otherwise sufficiently, but from *Italy*, it might as (he thought) be stopped from thence. Thus they with one hundreth and twentie galleys, and more Shippes of burden, with a great army did scoure those seas.

*Ceditius* and *Norbanus*, whome *Caesar* and *Antony* sente with big legions into *Macedonia*, and from thence to *Thracia*, went aboute the hilles a hundred and xl. myles, tyll they came beyonde *Philip*, and toke the streights of *Torpedo* and *Salapian*, the beginning of *Rascopolinus* lande, and the onely knowen way betwene *Europe* and *Asia*, and that was a let to *Cassius* army goyng from *Cestius* to *Abydus*.

*Rascopolis* and *Rascus* were brethren, of the bloud of the *Thracian* kings, and being Princes of one region, they differed in opinion, *Rascus* fauouryng *Antony*, and *Rascopolis* *Cassius*, eyther of them hauyng thye thousand horse. *Cassius* Capitaynes, askyng of the

¶ In iij.

way

*Calaron.*

*Reggio* is the furthest Citie in *Italy* nexte, *Sicilie*. *Ippona* was a citie somtyme called *Pibona*, and *Pibon* *Valentia*, now there is but a little towne called *Pibona*.

The army passed.

*Antony & Caesar.*

*Philippi* first called *Dathes*, *Torpedo* and *Salapian*, straights in *Thracia*.

*Rascopolis* and *Rascus* brethren diuided.

*Saluidienus.*

*O. Fannius* goeth to helpe *Saluidienus*. *Scylle* is a Towne in the end of *Calabria*, *Scylla* and *Carthage*.

The fight by Sea, betwene *Saluidienus* and *Pompey*.

way *scythia* sayde. The shorte and playne way goeth from hence to *Armenia*, and leadeth to the streights of *Salamina*, being possessed by *Perseus*, it is not to be passed. There is another way thence so muche aboute, and harde to passe, where the enimie can not goe for lacke of victuall, from whence they might goe to *Phoenicia* and *Arabia*. When they heard these things, they wente by *Armenia* and *Armenia*, to *Symachia* and *Cardia*, that receyue the straight of *Armenia* as three gates: and the nexte day, they came to the gulf of *Armenia*, where they mustered their men. They had inueterate legions of armed men, *Armenia* tenne, and *Cassius* nine, none full, but with two thousande at the moste to be filled: so as they had about fourescore thousande. The horsemen of *Armenia* were foure thousand *Celians* and *Lucanians*, two thousande *Parthians*, *Thesidians*, *Thracians* and *Parthians*: *Cassius*, of *Thracians* and *Celians*, had two thousande, of *Arabians*, *Medians* and *Parthians*, Archers on horsebacke, foure thousande. The Kings and Princes of the *Galatians* in *Asia* were their confederates, and folowed them with a greatesse hoste of footemen, and horsemen aboute five thousande. This greatesse armie of *Armenia* and *Cassius*, was set in order at the gulf of *Armenia*, with the whiche they proceeded to the warre, appoynting other menne for other necessities. They purged the army by sacrifice according to the manner, and fulfilled promises made for money, graying liberally to winne mennes hartes, as they might well, hauing suche plenty of riches, because there were many that had serued vnder *Cassius*. And that none shoulde make any stirre at the sight or name of newe *Cassius*, it was thought meete to speake to the army. There was a greatesse seate, in the which sate none but Senators and Pretors. The rest, as wel *Romans* as *Strangers*, stode about below: glad they were to see one another, as they that were stronger than they supposed. Boldnesse and great hope grew at the sight of the army, whiche thing increaseth the good wil of *Scythians* to their Captaine, and hope that is comon, getteth beneuolence. The noise that hereof was made, did cease by the trumpets and cries: and *Cassius*, because he was elder than *Armenia*, came a little forth, and thus sayde to the army:

This

This contention, O *Scythians* fellows, as it is common to vs all, and therefore causeth vs to trust one another: so is it comonement, that we do performe to you, all that we haue promised, the whiche is the greatesse trust, that we will fulfill whatsoeuer we promise you hereafter. The hope consisteth in the vertue of you that be *Scythians*, and in vs whom you see aboute this seate, so many, and so great men of the Senate: and also, in the plentyfull furniture of all things whiche you see, of victuall, of armure, of money, and of shippes, of confederates of Nations, and things, that of necessitie, they by reason muste be ready, to be willing and agree, whome the prouision and comon cause hath ioyned together. Whereof the twome men our enemies do caluminate vs, you know thoroughly, and for that do you serue with vs willingly. Therefore nowe it is fitte to declare the cause, whiche shall chiefly shew, that we haue the best, and moste iuste pretence of this warre. Well, that haue made *Cassius* great, by following him and leading you in the warres, did comon time his friendes to the ende, so as it shall not appeare, that he was entrapte of vs for any enmity. In matters of peace, he is to be blamed, not of vs his friendes, in the whiche we haue bene honored, but by lawes, and order of the comon wealth, whereof, now no law, no rule of the best, nor peoples power remaineth: all the whiche our fathers framed, when they expelled the kings, and by othe confirmed, neuer after to receyue other: to the whiche othe, their posteritie, of the same minde, consenting, and putting from them the execrations thereof, they could not longer endure, to see one man, though he were a friende and beneficiall, that did conuert to himselfe the publique treasure, the armies, the elections of officers from the people, the governments of Nations from the Senate. Yet he was a law in steade of lawes, and a Lord in steade of the people, and a Prince in all respects in steade of the Senate. The whiche peradventure you doe not persitely know, but only consider his valiantnesse in the warre. But now you may easily learne it, by things only that touched your selues. You the people, in the warre, do obey your Generall as your Lords. The same condition you receyue of vs agayne in peace, the

The authority  
of the people.

Scipio made  
Consul before  
his time.

the Senate providing, that you be not deceived, your selues being Judges and lawmakers, according to your companies and societies, creating Consules, Tribunes and Pretors, and by your voyces iudging y<sup>e</sup> greatest things, punishing or preferring them, as they thought you worthy punishment or preferment. This retribution (O Citizens,) hath brought your authoritie to highe felicitie: for you have preferred the worthy, and they being preferred, have rendered like thanke to you. For this worthy-nesse you made *Scipio* Consull, when you testified for him in the matters of *Libya*, and made, whome you would, Tribunes of every age, of your selues, as was fitte for your causes. What neede I to rehearse many things that you already knowe, but that, since *Cæsar* bare rule, you coulde create, neyther Consull, Pretor, Tribune or Officer, nor coulde testifie for any mans vertue, nor receyue mutuall testification for your selues. And to speake of the chief, no man gaue you thanks for any office, for authoritie, for iustice or correction. And that that was mooste to be lamented of all other, you could not helpe your Tribunes, when villanie was done them, that you shoulde not retayne your power continual, and make it sure and inuiolable: but your selfe see them, that ought to haue bene vntouched, and their authoritie inuiolate, and their ornaments sacred, to be condemned without any iudgement, by the commaundement of one onely, because they seemed to be grieved with them that would haue declared him a kyng, the whiche the Senate toke mooste grievously for your sake. For, the Tribuneship is yours, not the Senates. Yet ye could not plainly alluse that man, or bring him to iudgement, because of his insightie armies, whiche belonging to the publique state, he chalenged for his priuate pleasure: the whiche entending to be reuenged of the reste of his Tyrannie, conuired agaynst his body. The sentence did necessarily proceede from the beste, the seate was done of a selue. So sone as it was done, the Senate decreed it a common agrément, and that openly, that the rewardes for killyng Tyrannes might be put in vze. *Antony* staying that, vnder a pretence of tumulte, and we not thinking our selues worthy rewarde to the Cisse, rather

rather than by it, to helpe our countrey, this was stayed, because they would not any contumely shoulde be shewed to *Cæsar*, but onely a releasement of his Tyrannie, every man decreyng a forgetfulness, as a thing of mooste suretie, that no matter shoulde be made of the murder. *Antony* by litle and litle withdrawing the people from vs, the Senate gaue vs great offices of prouinces and armies, commaunding all the lande betwene *Ionia* & *Syria* to obey vs: whether punishing as offendours, or honoring vs, with solemn purple, with mases and Sergeants: by the whiche reason, they called *Pompey* from banishment, being a yong man, and not acquainted with the thing, but onely because he was donne to *Pompey* the great, who trauayled for the peoples rule: and by cause he was secretly in *spaine* to auoyde tyrannie, they restored him to the halue of his fathers goodes, by the common treasure, and made him ruler of the sea, that he might haue some authoritie, being of the peoples faction. What other acte or token of the Senate do ye require, than that all this was done by their sentence: onlesse it be not inough to confesse it by worde, but to do it & say it, and together with their sayings to rewarde you with great gifts, because whē they say it, they can performe it. Now you know how men be handled: they be proscribed without iudgement, & their goodes be publicate, they be killed without sentence in their houses, in their porches, in the Temples: of souldiours, of seruants, of their enemies: beaten from their priuie houses, and pursued in every place. Where y<sup>e</sup> law permitte a man that will, to flee into the common place, where neuer no enemies head was brought, but only armour & shippe stems, now the heads of Consuls, of Pretors, of Tribunes, of Questors and of Gentlemen be brought, and a rewarde appointed for the euill. This is an insurrection most cruell that euer was against all sortes, a sodaine slaughter of men, and a straunge hate of women, children, freemane men, and seruants: so farre and to suche a change is our citie turned. The authours of all this mischief, be the three men, whiche afore other, haue proscribed their brethren, their vnclies, answearing one an other. Our Cisse (we mene *Cæsar*) was taken of the wilde & barbarous, yet the *Celtes* cut off no heads,

heads, nor used villany w<sup>th</sup> the they toke, nor prohibited any man to hyde himself, or flee y<sup>e</sup> warre: neither did we euer vse any citie so, which we haue takē by force, neither haue we perswaded o<sup>r</sup> ther to do, y<sup>e</sup> now, not a priuate citie, but the chief of al, doth suffer, of them that affirme they do reforme and direct the common wealth. What like thing did *Tarquinius*, whom, for y<sup>e</sup> iniurie done to one woman, & that proceeding of loue, & being a king they banished, and for this only act, could neuer abide a kingdome. And whiles these thre (Scitizens) do thus, they terme vs seditious, & say they wil reuenge *Cesar*. They do proscribē the y<sup>e</sup> were not present whē he was killed, of y<sup>e</sup> which, here be many whō you see, being cōdemned for their riches or houses, or for fauouring y<sup>e</sup> peoples gouernmēt. By y<sup>e</sup> which reason, *Popey* also was proscribed w<sup>th</sup> vs, being far of, in *Iberia*, when we did y<sup>e</sup> dede, because he is belated of a father y<sup>e</sup> loued the peoples state, & for y<sup>e</sup> he was called home of y<sup>e</sup> Senate, & made admirall of y<sup>e</sup> sea, he is of these thre men cōdemned to death. Did womē conspire against *Cesar*, whome they haue cōdemned in a paymēt: What did an. 120000. of the people, whō they haue cōdemned to pay, by p<sup>ay</sup>me, & accusations, & proscribed the onlesse they do it, wherof they ought to be free: And they y<sup>e</sup> withal they haue done, cā not yet performe theyr promise to their Souldiours, we that haue done no wrong haue performed our promise to you, & reserue to do more, when time shoulde serue. Thus God hath shewed his helpe to vs doing iustly, and with God, you haue now to consider men, whō you see here your Citizens, whō you haue sene your Prefors, your Cōsuls many times with prayse, now you see the fleeing to you, as to well doers, & louers of the people, taking our part, & wishing wel to the rest y<sup>e</sup> we shal take in hand. More iust rewards be propounded of vs to y<sup>e</sup> preseruers of the, than theirs y<sup>e</sup> wou<sup>d</sup> destroy the. They care not for vs that killed *C. Cesar*, y<sup>e</sup> wou<sup>d</sup> haue ruled alone, & as thers, that were with vs, which remain in despite of his tirānie, & take not the rule to theselues, but leaue it to y<sup>e</sup> people according to the country lawes. This war is not takē of like cause. They make it for poluer & tirānie, which they haue shewed in their proclamatiō: we make it for no such matter, but only y<sup>e</sup> our cō-

try

they being set free: we may liue quietly vnder y<sup>e</sup> lawes in order, al good men, & the Goddes chiefly do iudge our cause. The best hope to him y<sup>e</sup> maketh warre, is his iust cause. Let it not trouble vs, though we haue serued vnder *Cesar*, for we serued not vnder him, but vnder our cōtrie. The gifts that were giuen, were not *Cesars*, but y<sup>e</sup> cōtries & publique, neither is this y<sup>e</sup> armie of *Brutus*, or *Cassius*, but y<sup>e</sup> *Romaines*, we being your fellow souldiours & *Romane* captaynes. Whiche if they y<sup>e</sup> make warre against vs would vnderstand, euery mā might safely lay downe his armure, & render all the armies to y<sup>e</sup> citie, & make choyse of such as might be profitable to it, which we only desire. But seeing they wil not chōse this, for y<sup>e</sup> wicked tyrānie they haue shewed, let vs, (w<sup>th</sup> warre felows) go to it with sure hope, to serue, as free, the *Romane* Senate & people for their libertie. When euery mā cried, let vs go, let vs go, & we desire to marche out of hande. *Cassius* being glad of this forwardnesse, caused silence to be made againe, & thus sayd: All the Gods y<sup>e</sup> be Lords of warre, requite (w<sup>th</sup> war felows) your faith & promptnesse. Now then vnderstand what promise we that be your Captaynes haue made, as men y<sup>e</sup> be fauoured of the Gods, & how farre we excede our enemies in number & goodnesse. We haue armed legions equall with them: we haue fortified our places with good garde, as wel as they: in horsesmen & nauiers, we do passe them: in aliance of kings & princes, & nations from *Asia*, we surround the. They come by vs only on y<sup>e</sup> face, we go bypon them, on the backe also. For we haue *Pompey* in *Sicilie*, & *Marcus* in *Ionie*. *Norbanus* also lieth w<sup>th</sup> a great name & two legions, to stoppe their passage by sea: all places behinde vs be voyde of enemies both by land & sea. As for mony, whiche some call y<sup>e</sup> strength of warre, they want, neither can performe their promise to their old souldiours, nor exact so much of y<sup>e</sup> cōdemned men as they supposed, because none of their friends is willing to buy y<sup>e</sup> places, which they haue put to sale: otherwise they can get nothing: for *Italy* is wasted with sedition, tributes & cōdemnations. We with great care haue got present plēty, wherewith we may gratifie you agayne, and muche more collected of the nations behynde vs, to be brought vnto vs. And victuall, the greatest wante to mighty

Do. y.

armies,

Money the strength of warre.

armies, they haue none, but onely from *Macedonia* a mountaine countre, and *Thessalia* a straight region, whiche with great toyle, they multe conuey by lande. For if any thyng be brought therein from *Affrica*, *Lucania*, or *Iapigia*, *Pompeius*, *Marcus* and *Domitius* shall shutte them vp. We bothe haue and shall haue from the Sea, the *Ilandes* and all places of the continent, euery day without any difficultie, betwene *Thracia* and the floude *Euphrates*, and that without daunger, no enemy being at our backe: wherefore, it is in our power to doe our feate wyth speede, or to doe at leysure, to consume our enemies with hunger. Whys haue you, (O felow Souldiours) by mans prouision, the rest shall answeare in order, though you, and the Gods. We haue gyuen you for former matter, all that we promysed you, requityng your fayth with multitude of gyfts, the greater labour we will woorthily recompence accordyng to the determination of the Goddes. And now, to them that shall cherefully goe to this feate, for this assembly & exhortatids sake, we wil giue now each from this seate, to a Souldiour a thousande five hundredth *Drammes* of *Italie*, to a Capitayne of a bande five tymes so muche, and to a Tribune, accordyng to the proportion. When he had sayde thus, and encamped his army, with woork, woode, and gyftes, he dismissed the multitude. They remayned praysing *Brutus* and hym very muche, and promysed to doe for them all that shoulde be conuenient. They gaue then the gyfts out of hande, and other beside these, to the beste sort, for many considerations. And as they receyued, they sente them forth in bandes, to *Dorisco*, and they folowed, not long after. At this tyme two Eagles sate vpon the two siluer Eagles in the standerds, beating at them, or as some say, coueryng them, and carried still, and were fedde with publique prouision appoynted from the Generalles, and the night before the day of the battell, they slewe away.

In two dayes comyng to the gulse of *Melina*, they went to *Oeno*, and from *Oeno* to *Lorisco*, and other places, to the mounte *Serris*, which stretchyng to the sea, they kepte still by lande. They commaunded *Tullius Cymbrius* with a nauie and one legion and certayne

certayne Archers, to goe by that coast, which before had bin deserte, although the land was good, the *Thracians* neyther vsing the Sea, nor for feare, receyuing them that came from the contrary coast. The *Grecians* and the *Calcidonians* keeping that shore, and vsing the Sea, flourished in Merchandise and tyllage, the *Thracians* agreeyng with them for the receypt of their Mountaynes, til *Philip*, *Amyntas* some, did ouercome the *Calcidonians* & others, so as nothing is to be seene of the passengers, but onely a little Chappell.

This desert place, *Tullius* quickly passed ouer, so as for *Brutus* company, he espyed a fitte place, and measured it for the Campe, keeping that same course with his Shippes, in so much as *Norbanus* lest the freight of the *Saporians*, as vnprofitable to be kept, which things happened as they desired: for at the sight of these Shippes, *Norbanus* was troubled at *Saporis*, and called *Cedius* from *Turpilis* to come to hym in hast, and he did so. The freights of *Turpilis* being left, *Brutus* men went on the decepte appearing, *Norbanus* and *Cedius* toke *Saporis* manfully, so as *Brutus* people could not passe: wherefore they were afrayde, least they must now goe aboute, as they shoulde haue done at the beginning, and to passe euery place besette, not hauing time conuenient for it, bycause of the Mountaines, and the season of the yeare.

Standing in this stay, *Rasopolis* sayde vnto them, there was a way by a compasse to the Mountayne of the *Sapearans* of thre dayes iourney, neuer gone of men before, for the sharp Rocks, want of water, and thicke of woode: therefore if they woulde goe it, they must carrie water, and passe a straight way, yet passable: and this iourney for the solitarie, the very birdes could not discouer. The fourth day they shoulde haue the floud *Arpesso*, running into the floud *Ermon*, from whence in one day going to *Philipi*, they might sette on their enemies of the sodayne, whome they might so ouercome, bycause they had none other shift. The Souldiours being taughte this way for lacke of other, and in hope to take their enemies at the aduantage, a part was sente with *Lucius Bibulus*, appoynting *Rasopolis* to guide the waye. And greate payne and labour they wente on, and made it

*Saporis*, parte of  
the floud  
by the *Arpessio*.

*Dorisco*, a playne  
in *Thracia* by the  
which *Norbanus*  
did number his  
greate army.  
A roke of iuyv  
Egles.

*Serris* byll at the  
forelande.

*Tullius Cymbrius*.

*Saporis*, a cittle  
at the floud  
*Nestus*.

*Turpilis*.

*Saporis*.

*Rasopolis*,  
*Saporis* people at  
the floud  
*Nestus*.

Solitary way.

*Arpesso*,  
*Ermon*,  
flouds in *Thracia*.

Do. lii.

yet

yet with courage and good hearte the rather, because some that were sent afoze, returned, and sayde, they sawe a floude a farre off.

The fourth daye, being tyred with the sharpenesse of the iourney, and troubled with thurst, their water being spent, whiche they brought for thre dayes, because it was sayde there was no water, they beganne to feare, least they were deceyved, not that they dyd not beleue them that sayde they sawe the floude, but because they thoughte they were ledde a long way, and therefore beganne to exclaime and crye: and when *Rasopola* came to them to encourage them, they reviled him, and threw stones at him. *Bibulus* humbly besought them, that they would patiently abyde the rest of the iourney.

A little before nyghte, the floude was sene of the foremost, and freyght an rskie was made as reason was, with greate gladnesse, whiche beyng receyued of them that followed, it came to the hyndermost.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* understanding this, ledde the rest of theyr armie this harde way, but the crye was so greate, as it was heard of the enemies, whereby they coulde not pzeuente them, for *Rasus*, brother to *Rasopola*, hearing the crye, suspected it was the enimie, and maruelled so greate an armie coulde passe so harde a iourney, voyde of water, whiche scarcely was passable to the wyld beasts, for the hyghnesse of the wooddes: and he freyghte to be *Norbanus* of it, who fledde from the freyghtes to *Amphipoli*.

Thus both these *Thracian* brethren holpe theyr armies, the one in leading an unknown way, the other in describing what was done. So *Brutus* souldours with maruellous boldnesse, came to *Philippi*, whither also arrived *Tullius*, so as all the army mette.

This Citie *Philippi* was called before *Dato*, and for the *Crenida*, because many fountaynes which in Greeke bee called *Crene*, do flowe from the Mountaynes.

This place very fyte for the *Thracians*, Philip walled aboute, and called it of his name *Philippi*.

This

This Citie is builded vpo an hygh hyll, the greatnesse where of comprised the breadth of the same.

On the North side it hath wooddes and hylles, by the whiche *Rasopola* brought *Brutus* and *Cassius* army.

On the South side is a fenne, and beyonde that, a Sea, where from the East, the freyghtes of *Sapean* and *Tupiles* be sene, from the West a large felde, as farre as *Atuicina* and *Drabisco*, and the floud *Strameno*, thre hundred and fifty furlongs about, very plentifull and fayre (where they saye) it chanced a mayde was rauished as she gathered flowers. There is the floud *Zygaster*, in the whiche (as they report) a God brake his Chariot as he passed ouer, whereof the floud had the name. The playne bendeth downeward, so as it is a recepte to them that marche from aboute from *Philippi*, aganste them that sette from *Amphipoli*.

There is another hyll at *Philippi*, not greate, whaine they call *Dioniso*, in the which be mynes of golde, called vntouchable. And goyng from *Philippi* a myle and moze, there be two other hylles, standing two mile from *Philippi*, and moze asunder. In these dyd they encampe, *Cassius* towarde the South, and *Brutus* towarde the North, not myndyng to folloie *Norbanus*; because they hearde that *Antony* was at hand, *Cassius* remaining at *Epilamnium* for sicknesse.

The felde was knowen to be fayre for a battayle, and the hylles for a Campe, and aboute it on the one syde fennes and waters to *Strymon*, and on the other side, freyghtes, desertes, and vnpassed pathes. In the myddest of the hylles a myle ouer, was the way betwene *Asia* and *Europe*, as a gate. This place they fortified with trenche to trench, leauing a gate in the myddest, that it seemed but one lump. There was a floud nygh, whiche some call *Ganga*, and some *Gangites*. And beynde that, the Sea, by the whiche they hadde theyr prouision, with passage and entrie.

They had made *Thasus* the storehouse of their prouision, being xij. mile off, & with their Gallies, had passage to *Nes*, a Citie sixe mile

The hard passage of the Romaines.

The discouragement of the Romaines.

A by all eyes discovered the enimie.

*Amphipoli* a Citie, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*.

*Philippi* a Citie, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*.

*Philippi* a Citie, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*.

*Sapean*, a Citie, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. *Strameno* a floud, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. *Zygaster*, a floud, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. *Atuicina*, a floud, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. *Drabisco*, a floud, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*.

*Dioniso*, a Citie, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. *Epilamnium*, a Citie, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*.

*Gangites*, a floud, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. *Thasus*, a Citie, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*. *Nes*, a Citie, that is betwene *Thracians* and *Macedonians*.

mple from them, and they toyning in this place, trayned the Army.

Antony

Antony came on with great hast, intending to get *Amphipoli* for the stay of the warre, which finding possessed of *Norbannus*, he was glad, and there he lefte the furniture for the warre, wyth one Legion, which *Petianus* ledde. He wente on boldly, and Camped in the fiede, but a myle from his enimies, and streighte was scene the want and abundance of both armies. The one was aboute in frutefull ground, the other beneath in a bottome. They had wodde from the Mountaynes, these from the fenne. They had their water from the River, these from the poles and pittes which they digged for the time. They hadde their victuals from *Thaso*, a fewe furlongs from them, these from *Amphipoli*, aboute fiftie myles off. It seemed that Antony was given thus to do, because there was no more good ground, and the playne being hollowe, in the which, by reason of the overflowing of the floud sometime, he found the water both swete and sufficiente, by making welles and pittes.

Thaso, an Ile and a Citie, over against the floud Neisse.  
Antony's Camp.

Thys boldnesse, although it proceeded of necessitie, yet it astonished his enimies, that so upgh and so soon he was encamped with suche a contempte: wherefore they made many Trenches, and fortified every place with walles and rampyers.

*Cassius* seeing *Antonyes* furie so greate, entrenched that was left to the fenne, being omitted for the streightnesse, so that no parte was undefenced, but a spie of *Brutus*, whyche was hyllie.

*Cassius* hadde the fenne and the Sea, all the rest being taken in with Trenches, ditches, and gates. Thus they both were placed. Quely wyth their Hozsemen, sometime they skirmished.

When all things were provided, and *Cesar* come, yet not able to fighte, for he came in a litter to hys armye, hys Captaynes sette themselves in order to fyghte, and *Brutus* byd the spie from the higher place, easie to be scene, and yet intended not to come downe, but to waste the enemy wyth wante, either

either of them had ninetene legions of armed footemen. But they that were with *Brutus*, were the fewer in number, & they that were with *Cesar* were the more. Of *Thracia* hox me, there were with *Cesar* and *Antony* aboute thirtene thousand: with *Brutus* and *Cassius* twenty thousand: so as for multitude of men, for boldnesse and vertue of Captaynes for armour and furniture of Souldiours, there was most goodly they on both sides. Yet they did nothing many daies, because *Brutus* would not strike the battell, but consume them with stopping of victuall from their enimies. They hadde al *Asia* to serue them, and the nigh places to bring them all thing by the sea: but the enimie hadde little, neither sufficient nor certain. For from *Aegipte* they could receive nothing, because of the dearth that had wasted the countrey: nor from *spaine* nor *Affrica*, because of *Pompey*: nor from *Italy*, because of *Murcus* & *Domitius*: and *Macedonia* & *Thesalia*, could not by a greate deale supplie their want, whiche places, they onely had for their succor. And that was the cause why *Brutus* refused battaile. *Antony* fearing this, determined in any wise to glue the battell, & if it were possible, to make the fenne passable, that he might come vpon the backe of the enemy, and take their victuall that came from chafe.

The number of both armies.

VVante in the tower and camp.

Therefore on a tyme, bringing his men forth in order of battaile, with banner displayde, he appointed a parte of his armye bothe by night and daye, to make a straighte pathe in the same, cutting downe the reedes, and laying tymbre and stones of either side, so as they shoulde not shyinke. The foundation whereof he pyled and made strong with marvellous silence. The thicknesse of the reedes took away the sight of the worke. And when they had wrought tenne dayes, he sent certayne bandes the direct way, and the space lefte betwene, he took and made many Colours. *Cassius* maruelling at the deuise and policie, and intending to defeate the Castells made of *Antony*, entrenched all the residue of the fenne, beginning from the campe to the sea, panning and making bridges and ditches vpon the sure ground, taking in also the waye that *Antony* hadde made, that neyther they that were there could go abroad, nor he helpe them though

Antony's policie & pnticelnesse.

Antony in which a waye in the fenne.

he woulde. *Antony* perceyuing this about midde day, in a rage and furie, brought his whole army, being otherwise appointed, and turned them vppon the fortification of *Cassius*, betwixen the Campe and the fenne, bzinging engins and scales, as though he woulde charge vppon his Campe. In doing this betwene both armies with great boldnesse, *Brutus* souldiours were grieued, thinking it a shame for them to let them so escape, and without commandement, saving of one Capitaine, they sette vppon theyr flooke. *Brutus* meime hauing thus begonne the matter, gaue a charge vppon *Cassius* army, that was in a readinesse, and putte them from their place, and toke their Campe, whiche was common to *Cesar* and *Antony*. *Cesar* hymselfe was absent, shifing off that day, for a dreame he hadde, as he writeth in his booke of Remembraunces. *Antony* seeing the fight to be begonne, was gladd he had brought the enimie to it, yet he thoughte not good to turne into the playne, leasse he shoulde disturbe his battaile. Therefore to doe the rest wylth that fiercenesse he begonne, in running manner he marched and mounted vp, for all the resistance that was made, and by very vehement force, beat backe the battaile of *Cassius*, keepyng the order that was appointed them, they being astonished at thys feate done beyonde all reason. When *Antony* hadde thus broken them, he brake downe the ouerthwart trench with violence, filling the ditch, and slingyng downe the rampyres, and all the rest to the gate, where he distressed the warders, and entred for all the weapons that were throwne vppon him. Some passed ouer the broken walles, some ouer the dead bodies, and al was done so fiercelye and so sodainely, as they that came oute of the fenne to helpe them, were dyuen backe againe, of them that had gotte the wall, wylth the lyke vehemencie: and they only that were wylth *Antony*, entred into *Cassius* Campe, the other stil fighting without. The campe was thought to be strögg, therefore selue kept it, whiche was the cause why it was the moze easly taken. The soldiors of *Cassius* being thus put to the worse, and knowing that their campe was taken, fled verpe confusedly: the matter was equal on both sides: for *Brutus* overcame

*Cassius*

*Cassius* battell, and lodged in his campe. *Antony* ouerthrew *Cassius*, with a maruellous boldnesse and spoyled his campe. The slaughter was confused, for by the greatnesse of y playne, & raising of the duste, one knewe not another, till sometimes they asked, and then called them to their due places. Some returned laden with gere, like Carriers rather than soldiors, which some threw away & toke from them. There was no reioycing one wylth another, because it was not wel knowne what was done: so there was much confusion. On *Cassius* side, numbyng slayes & al sorts, was slaine, viij. M. of *Cassius*, twice so many. When *Cassius* was put from his campe, & could no moze get to it, he wente to the hill of *Phillippi*, and behelde what was done. But he neyther coulde well see nor heare, for the duste and noyse: once he sawe hys owne Campe spoyled. Wherefore he committed *Pindarus* hys page, to kyl hym wylth his owne sword. *Pindarus* stode at the matter, and in the meane tyme a messenger came & tolde, that *Brutus* had overcome *Cassius*, and possessed his Campe. So the whiche *Cassius* saide, tell him we are ouerthrowne, and all the victoize is his. Then he turned to *Pindarus*, and sayde: why doste not thou ridde me of thys dishonour: and so offering hys throte, *Pindarus* cutte it.

Thus they saye *Cassius* died. Some tel after this sort, that a bande of *Brutus* horsemen, came to bzing him the good newes. He thought they had bene his enemies, and sente *Titinius* to knowe the truth. The horsemen receiuing him wylth great ioy as a frend made a loude noyse. *Cassius* fearing he had fallen in his enemies hands, said thus: we haue suffered to see our friend taken of oure enemies, and wet in wylth *Pindarus*, and that he was neuer seen after, so as some thinke that *Pindarus* did it not. This was the ende of *Cassius* life, it chauncing so, that the day of this foughten battel was the daye of his birth. *Titinius* killed him selfe for his long tance.

*Brutus* bewayling the death of *Cassius*, as a rare Romaine, & such a one as the like was not to be founde for vertue & valiantnesse, called him happye, that hee was ridde of cares and troubles, the whych woulde bzing him to the like ende. He committed his bo-

dy. ij.

*Cassius* Campe taken by *Antony*.

The slaughter.

*Cassius* committed *Pindarus* to kyl hym.

Some thinke *Cassius* killed himselfe wylth the dagger that he killed *Cassius*.

*Cassius* is killed on his birth day.

*Brutus* bewyleth the death of *Cassius*.

What occa-  
sion the battell  
begonne.

*Cassius* absent for  
a dreame.

The title of  
*Antony*.

The fight at  
*Phillippi*.

*Antony* taketh  
the Campe of  
*Cassius*.

dy secretly to be buried, that the army shoulde not be discouraged at the sight of it, and without meate or sleepe remayned all that night in setting *Cassius* men in frame. Day being come, the enimies were in order againe to fight, that they shoulde not seeme to haue the worst. *Brutus* perceived their intente, and sayde: Lette vs arme also and make a shewe likewise, that we are not inferiour. Which when he had done, the enimie retired. Then he sayde pleasantly to his friends: They seemed to prouoke vs, as the weaker, but they wil not putte the matter to trvall.

*Cassius and Brutus*  
had time a litle  
before the battle  
dye that the  
battle was at  
*Philippi*.  
A fight on the  
sea.  
Martiall legats.

The same day that the field was fought at *Philippi*, an other very great seate was done in *Ionio*, *Domitius Calpurnius* did leade in great ships. 15 legiōs to *Cassius*, that had a name of Martiall, being so called for the hono<sup>r</sup> of their valiantnesse. He led also a band for his garde, of two thousande men, and foure troupes of horse, & other numbers gathered together, with a fewe Galleyes.

*Marcus* and *Orobarchus* mette them, with one hundred and thirtie long Shippes. A fewe of the former buikes fledde by good sayling. The other, by the sodaine ceasing of the winde, in a sea calme and still, were caught, being by very fortune giuen to the enimies, who without feare bowged and brake them, not hauing any helpe of their felwe Galleyes, being compassed of so many.

Create and diuers was the trauaile of them that were in perill, linking themselves together with their Cables, and with weapons & courage putting themselves in order, y<sup>e</sup> the enimie shoulde not vse them, though they ouercame them. *Marcus* threw darts offire, which did quickly burne the byndings, & the ships seuered asunder, to auoid the fyre. The galleyes were ready to hinder them euery way, wherewith the souldiours beyng grieved, and especially the Martials, that beyng better in valiantnesse, shoulde perishe for lacke of fyghting, some kyled themselves with the fire, some leapte into the enimies galleyes, and kyled some, and were killed themselves: the shippes halfe burned, w<sup>th</sup> their w<sup>ay</sup>, carying men, some consumed with fyre, some with w<sup>at</sup> & thirst. Some with y<sup>e</sup> Cables or plancks were carried

Loke by seate  
of *Brutus* & *Cassius*.

to y<sup>e</sup> rockes, or desert shoars: & some were saued, beyond al reason: some continuing fūe dayes, by eating pitche off the cables and sayles, helde out, till they were driuen to lande by the bylols. There were many that gaue themselves to their enimies being ouercome with calamitie. 15 of their Galleyes yeldeo, whose souldiers *Marcus* toke to him. *Calpurnius* the General came fūe dayes after to *Brundise*, with one shippe, being thoughte to haue bene lost.

*Calpurnius*.

This hadde was in *Ionio*, the same day that the feld was at *Philippi*, whether you wil call it a shipwreck, or a shipfight. The which euils cōcurring together, being after known, caused the greater feare. *Brutus* called his army together, & sayd thus: There is nothing (O fellowe souldiers) in yester dayes fight, but that maketh you superiour to your enimies. You gaue the charge cheerfully, when no warning was giuen you: the fourth legion, so renowned to them, in whome their battaile had their confidence, you ouerthrew utterly: their army you droue to their campe: their campe you first toke, and after spoyled, in so much as you haue farre ouercome the losse you had in the last batail. And where you might haue made an ende of all your trauaile, you chose rather to fall to spoyle, than to followe your enimies that were ouercome: for many of you running befoze them, set vpon their spoile. And in this one, they haue but the one of our campes, but we haue all that they had, so as the recompence of the losse is double. And hauing this aduantage in the fight, how much otherwise we do excede, you may learne of the captiues: for their want of victual: for the striving for it: for the difficult bringing of it: and for the euident getting of so little. For from *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, *Libya*, and *Iberia*, they can haue none for *Pompeius*, *Marcus*, and *Orobarchus*, they keeping those Seas with two hundred and thre score shippes. *Macedonia* they haue consumed: now only they haue from *Thessalia*, which how long can it serue them: Therefore when you see them offer to fight, then thinke they chiefly be forced by hunger, and doe chose death rather by their handes. Let vs contrarywise forsee, that hunger may fight for vs, that we may take them the feebler and more consu-

Oration of *Brutus*.

10p. 115.

med,

med, when it shal be fit. Let not vs be carried with affection be-  
 fore due tyme: nor thinke slownesse, or quicknesse to be experi-  
 ence: nor haue our eye vpon the sea backward, which mini-  
 strerh to vs suche foode and seruice, when we see that victorie is  
 ours without daunger, if you will abide, and not distrust: that  
 though they come forth and prouoke vs, not stronger than we,  
 as the worke yesterday shewed, but for auoyding further feare,  
 that all the courage, which I desire you to keepe, you may shew  
 forth, when I shal require you at once, and the perfect rewards  
 of victorie, when the gods shal haue giuen their sentence of vs,  
 by our perfect deeds, I will giue vnto you. And now for yester-  
 dayes vertue, I giue to euery souldiour, a thousand drammes,  
 and to your Capitaines, as the proportion requireth.

Thus he said, & straight diuided the gifte to euery legion, &  
 some say, he promised to giue the *Macedonia* & *Thessalia* in spoile.

*Cæsar* and *Antony* seeing that *Brutus* would vniwillingly come  
 to the fight, called their people, and *Antony* said thus: Yester-  
 daies worke, (O Men) I perceiue our enemies in wordes doo  
 vnde, as they that chased some of vs, and spoiled a campe, where  
 indeede they confesse al was yours: for I affirme vnto you, that  
 neither y<sup>e</sup> next day, nor yet, willingly wil they come to y<sup>e</sup> fight,  
 which is a most certain surty of yesterdaies feare & losse, as in y<sup>e</sup>  
 manner of contentions, of force, they that are the weaker, go out  
 of the place. They dydde not gather so greate an armie  
 that they might inhabite the Deserte of *Thracia*, by ma-  
 king of their walles, but they made all that defence, for feare  
 of your comming vpon them: and now minding to keepe in, for  
 yesterdaies ouerthrow, when the elder, and the more expert of  
 the Capitaines for very desperation, killed himselfe, which is  
 the greatest declaration of their miserie. Wherefore when you  
 shal prouoke them, and they not aunswere, nor come from their  
 hilles, but truste in their holdes, in stæde of their handes, then  
 you (O Romaine men) enforce them againe, as ye forced them  
 yesterday, thinking it shame to giue place as fearfull, and pro-  
 uoked to reframe, and to be holden the worse men for their ha-  
 ping in. For we come not hither to liue in the playne, nor if we  
 tarried,

tarried, it woulde suffice vs, but the speedy attemptes are to be  
 giuen in warre of the wise, that we may the longer continue in  
 peace. The tymes and the trauaile we muste forese, of whom  
 you cannot complayne, for yesterdaies assaulte and attempte.  
 When you are required, then shewe your vertue to your capi-  
 taines, be not griued with yesterdaies spoile, for riches is not  
 in that we haue, but in that we got by conquest, for that we lost  
 yesterday. For it remaineth safe with our enemye, the which and  
 their owne, they must yeld vs, when we ouercome them: & if we  
 wil go forth to get that, then must we set forth to the fight. Ye-  
 sterday we toke again of theirs sufficiently, & happily more suffi-  
 cient of our owne, for they haue brought together all that they  
 haue by violence spoiled oute of *Asia*, and you comming as  
 from your Countrey, haue leste at home the moste precious  
 things, and onelye brought necessaries. And if you hadde a-  
 ny thing of estimation, you compted it your Generalls, all  
 the whyche, we be ready to giue you, for thys victorie, and  
 for the recompence of this losse. For your sake we will giue re-  
 wards of victorie, to euery souldioure fyue thousand drams,  
 to a Capitaine of a bande fyue tymes so muche, and to a Tri-  
 bune double so muche as a Captaine.

When *Antony* had thus sayde, he sette them in order to  
 fight, but the enemye woulde not come forthwarde. *Antony* be-  
 ing griued, stil set them in battaile ray.

*Brutus* hadde his army in good order, and needed not come to  
 the fight, for he had taken al the wayes for prouision of things  
 needefull.

There was an hill very nigh to *Cassius* Campe, harde for the  
 enemye to take, bycause the nighnesse made it in danger of the  
 archers. *Cassius* had entrenched it, that no man shoulde from that  
 place giue any bold attempt vnto it: which being aband-  
 ned of *Brutus*, *Cæsars* souldiours in the night tooke it, &  
 carrying with them many hurdles & hides to resist y<sup>e</sup> shot. When  
 they had the hill, they led other .x. legions halfe a myle and more  
 towarde the sea, and to the firste foure, they added two legions  
 more, to take by that deuisse all things such to the sea: & if there  
 were

*Cæsars* men take  
 an hill.

were any way beside the seas, as by the Femies, or other mean, they might distresse it, and take the victual from their enimie. *Brutus* made deuises against them, setting vp other forts against their Camps. *Caesars* souldiours also set vp a new worke. Howe was y<sup>e</sup> famine euident, & increased euery day in greatnelle & tear, for they could no longer haue sufficient brought thē frō *hellsa*, & frō y<sup>e</sup> sea there was no hope, y<sup>e</sup> enimies being lords of y<sup>e</sup> ships: and the late losse in *Iouis* being tolde to them bothe, they were the more afraide, the winter being at hande, and they lying in a fenny plaine. Deliberation had for these things, then sent a legion armed into *Acha*, to prouide them necessarie victuals, and to sende it them with all spāde: but not able to auoide the present perill, nor make any other deuice, nor in the reste of the campe, to doe anye more to offend the enimie, they came forth with shovits, and called *Brutus* to the fight, scoffing and rayling at him, and doubting whither this refraining from fight, were like a man besieged, rather than a man beraught his wit. This was knowne to him from the beginning, and he beleued it the rather, because of their want and their losse in *Iouis*, perceyuing his enimies had one mischiefe of another: And he determined, as a man besieged, or any other way to auoide the battell, rather than to come to hands with men driuen by hunger and desperation of all things, hauing their onely hope in their hands. But his army, for lacke of consideration, did not thinke so, but were grieved, that as women within, they were shut up with vblenesse and feare. Their captaynes also were not content, and blamed *Brutus* opinion, thinking with that courage of the souldiours, the sooner to overthrowe their enimie. The cause herof proceeded, that *Brutus* was so courteous and milde to al mē, and vnlke to *Caesar*, that was seuer and imperious in all thinges, so as his commandements were kept without any resistance of the souldiours, not asking questions, nor reasoning what he woulde haue done: but *Brutus* woulde doe nothing withoute the opinion of the Captaynes, thorowe his gentle nature. At length his army by companies and rotoues beganne openly to aske.

What meaneth oure Generals: wherein haue we offended of

of late when we did ouercome, when we did chace, when we distressed our enimies, or when we toke their Campe.

*Brutus* suffered this of purpose, and dyd not call them to anye assemble, leass he shoulde be forced vnsēmely of the rude multitude, chiefly of the hyed soyle, whose manner euer is lyke vnto vnstable seruauntes, to hope in the change of maisters, and to set their safetie in the contrary faction. The Captaynes also being angrie, and wishing him now not to doubt, the armye being in this forwardnesse, woulde do some notable feate, and if any thing hapd amisse in the fight, they myghte returne to theyr Campe, and defende themselves with theyr wall.

*Brutus* was muche grieved wpyth the Captaynes, and fearing they woulde putte hym to the daunger, by lyghte dealing wpyth the army, where as he wythoute doubte or sharpe fortune, was sure of victorie not daungerous, he consented to hys and al their destruction, thus reprouing them:

Like *Pompey* the greate we were forced to fyghte, not commaunding as a Captayne, but rather obeying as a Souldioure.

And I thynke he spake no more, to hyde that he most feared, leass the armye that sometyne serued *Caesar*, woulde take occasion to reuolte, whyche at the beginning, both *Caesar* and he feared, so as they gaue none occasion to them of any offense,

This *Brutus* was brought vniwillingly to sette hys men in order befoze the Trenches, wpylling them not to marche farre from the hyll, that they myghte haue theyr retyre (if neede were) nigh, and bee the surer, and the more easie to marche agaynst their enimies agayne.

Of both sides there was greate preparation of all thinges, and a greate desire of the feate, with a boldnesse of necessitie, the one for feare of hunger, the other of iust reuerence, compelling the Captayne to come forth, that they shoulde not be worse than theyr promise, nor weaker than theyr wordes, and bee thoughte rather gilty of payne for theyr rashnesse, than worthe of prayse for theyr god counsell. *Brutus* goyng among them on horsebacke, shewed a seuer countenance, and exhorted them in selve wordes as the tyme woulde serue.

¶

¶

*Brutus* beareth of purpose.

*Brutus* ouerthrewed like *Pompey*.

¶ Pompey in the campe of *Caesar* and *Antony*.

¶ *Brutus* in the north region of *Italy*.

¶ *Brutus* proud. Both sides to fight.

¶ *Brutus* in the north region of *Italy*.

¶ You would needs fight, you would needs force me, otherwise during the victory, do not deceyue, neyther me, nor your selues of this hope. You haue an hell to fighte with you, and at your backe all is peures. Your enemies be in doubtfull case, being betwixt you and famine.

¶ During sayde this, he rode aboute, and encouraged all the bandes, and with crye they receyuing hym, to his greate please.

¶ *Cesar* and *Antony* going aboute theys, offered theys ryghte handes to them that were nexte, and seuerally exhorted them, and did not hyde theys hunger, that they myghte assure them to the more presente boldnesse.

¶ We haue founde (O men) our enemies. We haue them as we desired out of theys Trenches. Lette none of you be afraide to geue the charge, nor geue place when you be sette vpon, nor lette hym rather chosse, famine and dolorous destruction, that can not be auoyded, than our enemies teeth and bodyes, whiche to your boldnesse, weapons, and traualle, they will easily geue. The presente case requireth speedynesse. You maye deferre nothinge tyll to morrowe, but this daye must determyne all thynges, eyther with perfite victorye, or valiant death. If you haue victorye, you shall winne in one daye vicuall and money, Shyppes, and Campes, and rewarde of victorye of vs. This we must remember, that when we geue the charge vpon them, we doe speake purpose in the myddest of theys force and forwardnesse, to shutte them from theys Campe, and to dryue them to the playne from the hylles, that the wastre be not so begunne agayne, nor that our enemies dryue vs not to idleness agayne, whiche for theys faintnesse haue no hope in fighte, but put all theys trust in refraining from battell.

¶ *Cesar* and *Antony* after this sorte exhorted theys Souldiours, and euery man hadde a respect to appeare worthy Souldiours for suche Captaynes: and then were the more stirred to auoyde the waite, for the suddayne losse in the *font of Sea*, and chose rather with payne and hope (if neede were) to abyde

the uttermost, than to be consumed with an euill, that can not be auoyded.

¶ The matter standyng thus, and euery one moued agaynst hym that was next, the anger of both sides increased very much, and they were filled with boldnesse incessable. And now they did not remember, that they were Citizens together, but as enemies by nature and bloude, they threatned one another: so suddenly hadde rage and furie in them quenched nature and reason. They prophesied alyke of both sydes, that that daye in that feate, should iudge all the Romaine causes. And the iudgemente was geuen in daide. The day beinge spent in preparation tyll the ninth houre, two Eagles falling betwene both Campes, foughte together, at the which was great silence: that Eagle flyng that was toward *Brutus*, whereat a shrill crye was made of the enemies. Both broughte forth theys standerdes. The marche was fierce and vehement. They little needed arrowes, stones, or partes, after the manner of swarre, for they bled none other comming on, than the order of battell, wherein they were broughte vp: and they buckled with naked swordes, and layde on of cyther syde, to put one another from theys ray, the one for theys safetie, rather than for victorye, the other, for victorye and comforte of theys Captayne, whome they had promoued to fighte.

¶ The slaughter and the fighte were great.

¶ The bodys were harte away, and other were put in theys places to serue the souldiours.

¶ The Captaynes goinge aboute, and beholdinge euery where, encouraged them to be valiant. They comforted them that toke paynes, to continue till their laboure. Those that shynke they charged, that their boldnesse that were in the fronte, myght be continued. At length the souldiours of *Cesar*, eyther for feare of famine, or for *Cesar*'s felicitie (for *Brutus* men were not to be blamed) ouercame the battell of their enemies, and putte them backe, as an heape of an heauie masse, yet they turned agayne into theys place slowly and with order:

¶ Q.ij.

but

Nature and  
Country  
forgotten.

Two Eagles.  
A taken before  
the fighte.

The vehemence  
of Souldiours.

¶ *Cesar* and *Antony*  
goinge aboute

¶ *Cesar* and *Antony*  
goinge aboute  
theys

Brutus men  
distracted.

but when their ray was broken, they went away faster, and the second and third bande turned wth them, and disorderedly they, King one vpon another, were broken of themselves, and of theyr enimies, that withoute stay pursued them, till they fledde euidently. And *Caesars* Souldyours then remembryng theyr promise chiefly, fiercely followyng them, gaue an assaulte vppon theyr Campe very dangerously, and on euery side so sette vppon them, that they compelled them to flee, whereof some wente towarde the Sea, and the hylles by the floude *Tygato*.

This alteration beýng made, the Generallcs diuided the rest of the labour. *Caesar*, to keepe them that fledde from theyr Campe, and to holde the Campe hymselfe: *Antony*, to followe the fliers, and to ouerthrowe the remainers, to assaulte their other Campes, and wth euident violence, to putte all to ruyne. And fearing that the Captaynes myghte escape hym, and gather another armye, he sente his Horsesmen to the wapes and issues of the felde, to stoppe them that fledde. Some wente from hyl to hyl (*Rasus* the Captayne beýng theyr guyde, by cause of his experience in the way) and passed by the trenches and rocky places, chacing them that fledde, and keepyng offe from sleýng. Some followed *Brutus* hymselfe. When *Lucinius* sawe them so fast running after hym, he stayde, and as though he had bin *Brutus*, prayed them he myghte be ledde to *Antony*, and not to *Caesar*, by the whiche he was the rather thoughte to be *Brutus*, in auoydyng his vnplacable enimie.

*Antony* vnderstandyng hee was broughte to hym, wente towarde hym in good order, considering the fortune, the way, thynesse and vertue of the man, and howe he myght vse hym. Beýng at hande, *Lucius* méetyng wth hym verye boldly, sayde: *Brutus* is not taken, neyther shall vertue euer be taken of vice. I decepyng these men, thus am befoze thee.

At the whiche worde the Horsesmen beýng ashamed, *Antony* to comfort them sayde:

You haue hunted none euill game, but better than you thynke, so muche is a Frende better than an Enimie, and

*Lucinius* after  
to save *Brutus*.

Boldnesse of  
*Lucius*.

and committed *Lucinius* to wayte vpon one of his friends, and after vfed hym as his assured. *Brutus* fledde to the mountaynes with a comenient multitude, that in the night he might retorne to his campe or take his way by the sea. But when he hearde all passages were kepte, he continued with all his people in armes. And they say he looked vp to the Starres, saying: *Iupiter* thou knowest who is the cause of these euils, meaning *Antonie*, which (they say) *Antonie* after in his priuate perils did confesse, saying: That where he might haue ruled with *Brutus* & *Caesar*, he was now a slaue to *Octauio*. That night *Antonie* continued in armes, that he might haue *Brutus*, makyng a trench of dead bodies and of the baggage brought together. *Caesar* labouryng till midnight, withdrew himselfe for sicknesse, committynge the charge of the army to *Norbanus*.

*Brutus* perceiuyng what wayte his enimies made for him, and hauing no more but foure legions, wherewith he was wel warred, desired the chiefe of his host, whiche now were ashamed and repented of their act, to sende to see, how they might make way to passe the traynes, and to recouer their owne that was kept in the abandoned tentes. They being vnwilling, and now considering moze than they did, and that God was agaynst them, tolde their Generall they had giuen him euill counsell, and they hauing tried fortune so oft, woulde not now put any moze hope in their matter. When *Brutus* sayde to his friends: I am no longer profitable to my Countrey. He called one of his moste trusty friends, named *Strato* of *Epirus*, and wylled hym to kylle hym out of hande, who entreatyng hym to take better aduice, called one of his seruauntes, and sayde: *Brutus*, in thy laste commaundement thou shalte not wante, neyther thy friende nor thy seruaunt. And hauyng thus sayde, he thruste his sword into *Brutus* side, neyther resistyng nor helpyng.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* died, moste noble and woorthy Romaines, and but for one facte, euer folowed vertue. Whome *Caesar* of enimies takyng *Pompeyus* part, hath made frændes, and of friends, vfed them as his chyldren: and the Senate had them euer in greate regarde, and pitied their chaunce, and for

Eq. iij.

their

*Brutus* vwordes,  
meaning by  
*Antonie*, whom  
he sayde should  
once be puni-  
shed for it.  
*Antonie* repen-  
tance.  
A trench of  
dead bodies.

*Brutus* men gy-  
ueth ouer.

*Strato*,  
*Brutus* beýng  
persuaded to  
flee, sayde: yea,  
but wth hands  
not wth feete.  
The death of  
*Brutus*, wher-  
in was scene  
that vertue was  
ouercome of  
Fortune. he say-  
ing, O vertue  
vnhappy, in  
vwordes onely,  
vile, &c.  
One onely fault  
of *Brutus* and  
*Cassius*.

their two fables, decreed all kind of abolition of all things: and  
to that they stood, sente them to promise, that they should not  
stand to it: Not omitting yet the Honour of *Caesar*, nor  
forgetting his Reates, of whose welfare and fortune they mar-  
uelled, being alive, and when he was dead, buried him with  
publike expense, and by *Calpurnius* his Wives to be unmoz-  
led, appointed officers & promissers to Witnesse by his assigne-  
ment, not anything and thing better than *Caesar* had determined.  
But the care and regard for these men, brought them into a sus-  
pition of false accusation: they were soliaized of all men. And  
of the best of the banished men they were thought most hono-  
rable, though *Pompey* were at hand, whose cause was not  
dispardeed, and they felle off, and hope for reconciliation,  
making many things, scarcely having two legions. They gather-  
ed after twenty legions, and about thousand horsemen, and  
about two hundred long shipped, with other sufficient furni-  
ture and money most plentiful, of the willing and unwill-  
ing nations. This Circle late they overcame, and their eni-  
mies of the contrary sort. They have the rule of all the  
Realmes from *Africa* to *Europe*, and whome soever they  
overcame, they brought them to their societie, and made them  
moste tributary of Kings and Princes, and the *Parthians*,  
although their enemies, in matters of small account: but when  
they came to greater things, they could not abide them, be-  
cause they would not acknowledge a barbarous and hostile na-  
tion among the *Romans*. And moste marvell of all it is, that  
their army being the moste parte of *Cassius*, and desirous  
of his felicity, for good will and affection, they would turne to  
the contrary parte to him, being killers of him, and wente with  
them against *Caesars* Sonne, and made faithful to them both  
to *Antony*, fellow in rule and enterprise with *Caesar*. For  
none of them leste *Breus* or *Cassius* taken they were overcome.  
But *Antony*, at hand, they forsoke before the triall. The  
pretence of paynes both under *Pompey* and now, was not for  
themselves, but for the name of the peoples government, o-  
uer glorious, but not commodious. For both of them when  
they

The excellent  
material of the  
author is

The estimation of *fracture* and *cupping* brought the immersion.

The power of  
 Love and Joy  
 199

The port lies in the vic of harbours and princely

The Soulflowers  
flourished under  
Café, were  
nearly to buds.

The South Koreans are finally to learn only 10% of them to the

they saue they could be no longer profitable to their coun-  
trei, dispatched themselves alike. In these severall conside-  
rations *Cæsar* was inuincible, as they that in the combattles  
will neuer giue over, onely hauing regarde to the daunger.  
But *Brutus* in euery place was full of affabilitie and gentle-  
nesse, and not ignorant of Philosophy. Yet by these men, the  
acte agaynst *Cæsar* was done, contrary in all thynge, being no  
single worke, nor in no small matter, for it was agaynst  
their frende, contrary to reason, and agaynst their well doer, un-  
thankfully, whome he had saued in the warre, and agaynst the  
chiefe ruler, iustly in the Senate house, and agaynst an holy  
man, hauing on an holy vesture; and such an officer, as neuer  
was the lyke, so profitable to all menne and to his countreie and  
Empire. The whiche God did punish in them, and many things  
gave tokens of it. For when *Cæsar* was purgynge his hoste, the  
Sergeant put on the crowne the wrong way, and his golden  
consecrate vesture, of picroy, fell to the ground, many greate  
hyrdes sitting by on the campe, made no noyse, and swarmes of  
Bees were continually aboute him.

Maners of Case  
fine.

### The Manners of Dress

Theyr faulte a.  
gynall Cefw.

The worthy  
noble of *Casir*.  
God punished  
the death of  
*Casir* to *Erasmus*  
and *Casir*.  
Tophen to *Casir*.

Tokens to Ernst  
 Ins.

The vvordes  
of Patroclus v-  
sed by Brutus.

The bad Angel  
of *Bruno*.,

Work of god,  
*Casius* despay-  
 reth to lone,

*Prattis* is over-ruled.

Angels (cherly) celebratyng his birth day in song, upon the  
 praising nothing merry about it, without occasion, did cast  
 forth this verse.

But my cruel destiny and bitter sorrowe doth destroy.  
 Caring with his army to hymne at his and Europe, and watch-  
 ing in the night, when lighte, sayle, and a fearefull shype appeared  
 to him. Whome he, boldly asking, what man or God he  
 was, the vision answered: I am Bruce, thyne euill lucke,  
 and at Philipp. I will appeare agayne unto thee. And they say  
 he saue hym there before the laste fight, and when the armie  
 wente out of the campe, on Echiquette, them, whome as an  
 euill token, they killed.

In these things also was a diuine worke. That, *Cassius*, in victorie yet indifferent, gaue ouer all hope without any cause; and *Brutus*, dyuyn from hys good determination of reseruing fighte, falling into the handes of them that were forced, by famine, hymselfe hauing plentyfull food, and shippes at commandement,

maubement, and was rather overcome of his familiers, than of his enemies: and where they had fought many fieldes, they neuer had no hurte. Bothe of them were killers of themselves, as they were of *Cesar*.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* were punished. *Brutus* body being founde, *Antonie* cladde it with a purple pall, and when he had used it with fire, he sente the relikes to his mother *Servilia*, *Brutus* army when they heard he was dead, sente messengers to *Cesar* and *Antony*, who were pardoned, and diuided into their armies, being aboute xiiij. M. They yelded also that kepte the fortres and Tentres, all the whiche were gyuen to *Casars* & *Antonies* shouldours to be spoyled.

Of the Noble men that were with *Brutus*, some were slayne in the battayle, some offered themselves freely to the Generals: some of purpose continued the fighte to be kylled: as *Lucius Cassius* a brothers Sonne of *Cassius*, and *Cato* his Sonne, who falling many times among their enemies, and being forsaken, toke of his headpiece, that he mighte be knotone, or notably kylled, or bothe.

*Labeo* knowne for his wisdom, father of that *Labeo* that now is renoumed for his knowledge in the lawes, made a graue in his tente, bigge enough for his body, & taking order for al things with his seruants, he signified to his wife and childezen what he would haue done, and toke the letters to his seruants to carry, and taking him by the right hande whom he loued best, and turning him as the *Romane* manner was, made him free, and being turned he toke him his sword & offered his throte, & so to him, his Tent was his graue. *Rafcus* the *Thracian* that brought many through the mountaynes, desired a reward, and had it, to saue his brother *Rafcopolis* & whereby it may be perceyued, that at the beginning these *Thracians* were not at variance. But because two great armies at debate shoulde passe their countries, they diuided the certentie of fortune, that he that wanne, might saue hym that lost. *Portia*, *Brutus* his wife, & sister to *Cato* the yonger, when she heard that they both were dead, being diligently kept of his seruants, toke the fire from the hearth, and swallowed the coles,

The

The other Noble men, being to *Thales* some wayes away, some gaue themselves with the rest of the army to *Messell*, *Cornelius*, and *Lucius* *Kibull*, men of like authoritie, that they mighte take counsell for themselves to doe for all the rest. Many gaue themselves to *Antony* as he sayled towarde *Thales*, and all the money, armour and plenty of victual, and any other preparation whiche was great.

Thus *Cesar* and *Antony*, by singular boldnesse, gotte suche a forme at two fight as soone, as none had done before them: no suche, nor so great an army of Romaines, euer came to handes before: not gathered of common Citizens, but of the best Gentlemen: not ignorant of fighting, but long practised of themselves, not of strange or barbarous nation, but of all one language, and one arte of war, of one strength and exercise, hard to be matched therefore among themselves: none cured more boldnesse or fiercenesse in fight, a token of that, the number of souldiers, being equall in bothe fights, and no souldier of theirs that did ouercome. *Casars* and *Antonies* souldiours, did fulfill their Captaines will, in one day and one worke, chaunging extreme danger of famine, and feare of death, into victuall abundant, into safety stable, & into victorie notable. It followed of that fight, that the wise Romaines did prophesie. For the common wealth was thysie iudged by that, seate, and was lyke to haue come to the popolare state agayne. And there was no hate of anye suche troubles among themselves, but in the variance betwene *Cesar* and *Antony*, whiche was the last among the Romaines. The things that in the meane tyme were done vnder *Pompey*, after *Brutus*, by them, that of *Cassius* and *Brutus* friends fledde hither and thither, reteining the remnant of so great preparation, neither were they gone with such boldnesse, nor with such forces of men, of Citizens, or of Captaines in their plourities: for they had no nobilitie, no Senate, nor no glory, as *Brutus* and *Cassius* had.

The ende of the fourth booke  
of Ciuil Diffentions.

Ar.

¶ The fift Booke of *Appian of Alexandria*, of the Ciuill Dissentions of the Romaines.



Antony in love  
with Cleopatra.

After the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Octavian* went into *Italy*, and *Antony* into *Aegypt*, where *Cleopatra* meeting with him, overcame him at the first fight. The which love, brought them to destruction, and *Aegypt* to utter ruine. Wherof *Egypt* also shal be a part of this volume, but not so great, as it can giue it y<sup>e</sup> title, because many of the

ciuill battailes are intermedled with it. For after *Cassius* and *Brutus*, there were lyke Ciuill Dissentions, but withoute a Generall, that commaunded all as they did, but some leading armies here, and some there, till *Sextus Pompey*, the seconde son of *Pompey* the Greake, being lesse of that faction, was sette vp of *Brutus* friends. *Lepidus* being nowe putte from his dignitie, all the authoritie rested in *Antony* and *Octavian*, the whiche things fell out after this sorte.

*Sextus Pompey*.

*Lepidus* deposed.

*Cassius* of *Parma*.

*Cassius* surnamed of *Parma*, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* wente to battaile, was lesse of them in *Asia*, with an army and a navy, to gather mony. When *Cassius* was deade, he hauing no such hope in *Brutus*, toke thirtie of the *Rhodian* ships, which he thought to be sufficient, and burned the rest (the holy ones only excepted) that they should not rebel: and with these and his own shippes he departed.

*Clodius*.

*Clodius* being sent thither of *Brutus* with thirtene shippes, and finding the *Rhodians* revolted (for now *Brutus* was also deade) toke away the garrison of thre thousande souldiours, and sayled to this *Cassius*. *Torquatus* did toyne with them, hauing many other shippes and mony, which he had gathered at *Rhodes* before they revolted. To this navy, as to a thing of power, resorted, all they that had offices in *Asia*, and made legions and souldiours

so

the sea, as well as they could of seruants and people, of the countries & Islands. There came to them *Cicero*, that was son to *Tullius Cicero*, and quierse noble Citizens, that were fled from *Thasos*, and by and by there was a great army, with a sufficient navy of good Captaines, taking with them *Lepidus* also, with an other band, whiche he kept for *Brutus* at *Crete*. And with these forces they sayled to *Murcus* and *Oenobarbus* into the gulf of *Ionis*, where diuiding themselves, part went into *Sicilie* to *Sextus Pompey*, and part remained with *Oenobarbus*, for private faction: and thus of the remnants of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a newe army was made.

*Octavian* and *Antony* sacrificed for the victorie at *Philippi*, and gaue thanks to their souldiours. And to performe their promise, *Octavian* went into *Italy*, to distribute lande to the souldiours, which he did chose for his health. And *Antony* went among the nations beyond the seas, and gathered mony for his souldiours, and diuided betwene them, the lands y<sup>e</sup> *Lepidus* had. Forre beyond the *Alpes*, *Octavian* would haue share, according to the determination of the decre of his vncle *Caesar*.

*Lepidus* was accused to fauour *Pompey* part, which if it were so, he false, *Octavian*, determined to giue hym other Provinces. They licenced the old souldiours except eight thousand, which desiring to serue still, they diuided betwene the, & of them appointed bandes for their bodies. To these there were added eleuen legions that wente from *Brutus*, and xiiij. thousande horse, of the whiche *Antony* toke for hys iorney sixe legions and tenne thousande horse, *Octavian* had foure thousande horse, and five legions, and for those that *Antony* had, he should receiue of *Antony* out of *Calenus*, whiche he lesse in *Italy*, and so sayled to the *Ionian* sea. When *Antony* was come to *Ephesus*, he made sollemne sacrifices to the Gods, and forgane the souldiours of *Cassius*, that were in Sanctuary, and asked pardon, *Petronius* being except, & as many as had conspired *Caesar* death, & *Quintus* that betrayed *Delabella* to *Cassius* at *Laodicea*: & to the *Grecians* and other nations that inhabit about *Pergamo* in *Asia*, in a great assembly of Ambassadors that came for peace, he spake in this wise:

Mr. y.

You

*Cicero* the younger.  
*Thasos* an Island in the *Aegean* sea.  
*Murcus*  
*Oenobarbus*.

*Octavian* goeth into *Italy*.  
*Antony* goeth beyond the sea.

*Lepidus* accused.

*Ephesus*, now *Fulgo*, a cutty of *Ionis*, where was the goodly Temple buylde of *Amazons*.  
*Antony* pardoned.

*Pergamo* a citie in *Asia*, not far from the floude *Caicus*.

*Troy* was called by this name.  
*Laodicea*, a citie in *Asia*, whose citizen *Zeno*, *Antony* and *Augustus* made a king.

Caesar bene-  
ficed to the  
Grecians.

Caesar bene-  
ficed to the  
Grecians.

Pop men of *Greece*, your King *Attalus*, by testament bequea-  
thed you unto vs, whome you founde more benefite fall unto you,  
than *Attalus* was, so, we forgate you the Tributes that you  
payd to *Attalus*, till we had made of Tributes, bycause of them  
that troubled our peace. When we sette Tributes upon you, not  
according to euery mans value, that we myghte exact without  
out perill, but requir'd you to pay a portion yearly. ~~That~~ *Attalus*  
myghte be partaker of your yearly frutes, and feel your  
losse in harde times. And when the *Phyliftes* (that were more  
than they ought) did you iniurie, *C. Caesar* forgave you the thirde  
parte of your Tributes, and forbade that iniurie to be done  
to you hereafter, for he committed to you the gathering of the  
Tributes of your Countrey people. And our good Citizens call  
such a man as he was, a Tyrant: and you haue giuen them much  
money that were killers of the man, that most deserued of you,  
and that against vs, that reneged his quarrell. But so much  
as fortune, favouring the iust cause, hath decreed, not as you  
woulde, but as right was, if you had continued in armes as their  
fellowes, you had bin punishable, but bycause we doo easily be-  
lieue, that you did it by compulsion, we forgie you the greater  
punishment: only we haue neede of your money, your land, & Ci-  
ties, to pay our armies, whiche be eghte and twenty Legions,  
whiche with their appertēances maketh 170. thousand, beside horse-  
men, & other remnant of the common sort. Of this multitude you  
may wel coniecture, what charge we be at. *Othobius* is gone into  
*Italy*, to diuide lands and Cities unto them, and as I might say,  
to bid *Italy* be packing. But if you should not leaue your Cities &  
Countrey houses, your temples and religions, and your aunc-  
sters monuments, we onely require your money, and not all, for  
if you could not beare, but a meane part, which when you heare,  
I thinke you wil goe contented away. As much as you gaue our  
enemies in two yeares (whiche was ten yeares tribute) so much  
wil we require, sauing if it must be paid in one yeare, bycause ne-  
cessitie so cracteth. You may acknowledge thākes, & confesse that  
you are not punished as you haue deserued. Thus he spake to  
please if soldiers, to whom they promised rewards at their win-  
ning at *Adana*, & then they were 43. legions, so many of the were  
condu-

sumed: He had not fully ended his tale, when the *Grecians*, late by  
ground, & many demonstrations accusing the crueltie of *Brutus* &  
*Cassius*, shewing they were rather worthy pardon than punishment.

Tributes put  
upon the *Greci-  
ans* by *Anthony*.

They would gladlye giue to their friends, but they were be-  
rest all of their enemies, to whom they had giuen not only they  
monies, but when that fayled, their iewels and ornaments, wher-  
with they rayned of themselves. At length, with much ado, they ob-  
tained to paye nine yeares Tribute in two yeares.

As he went about the prouinces, *Lucius* brother to *Cassius*, and  
other fearing themselves, when they hadde harde of his mercye  
shewed at *Ephesus*, they came and submitted themselves to him,  
and he pardoned them, except such as were priuie to the conspi-  
racie, for to them he was inexorable. He did comfort the cities  
that were grievously oppressed, and gaue priuileges to the *Lycians*,  
and exhorted the *Xanthians* to restore their Citie. He gaue to the  
*Relians*, *Andrus*, *Tenus*, *Naxus* and *Mindus*, which shortly after he  
toke from them, bycause of their sharpe gouernement.

*Lucius Cassius* is  
pardoned of  
*Anthony*.

Priuileges giue  
to the *Lycians*, &  
*Xanthians* ex-  
horted to re-  
store their citie.  
Hands giuen  
to the *Lycians*  
called *Cnidus*  
nigh to *Indus*.  
Hands giuen to  
the *Arbians*, *Arginus*, *Antima*  
*Zenones* where  
children were  
brought up pro-  
duced child.  
*Gallagrecia* is  
the people he called  
*Gallace*.

He graunted the *Tarsians* and *Laodiceans* libertie, and made  
free all the Citizens of *Tarsus*, that had bin taken with priuilege:  
he receiued the *Athenians* very gently, & gaue the *Fenus*, *Aegi-  
na*, *Icon*, *Seam*, *Sciathus* & *Pepareus*. When going through *Phrygia*,  
*Mysia*, *Gallagrecia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Calabria*, *Palestina*, *Iudaea*, and  
other prouinces of *Syria*, he put gret Tributes upon the. He toke  
by matters of controuersie of princes and Cities, such as hee  
wold himself. And when the controuersie for *Cappadocia*, was be-  
twix *Sisinnus* and *Ariarathes*, he preferred *Sisinnus* for *Glaphyria*  
his fayre mothers sake. In *Syria* he deliuered the towncs of *Si-  
raimes*. In *Cilicia* he accused *Cleopatra*, bycause she did not helpe  
*Caesar* in his wars. She did not so much excuse hir selfe, as boatie  
that she had sent foure legions to *Dolabella*, at the beginning of the  
war: & hauing prepared a flauy, was letted by tempestes, and by  
the chance of *Dolabella* that was sooner overcome than she looked  
for: and that notwithstanding, *Cassius* twice threatening her,  
she contemned him, and *Mureus* also, and with a riche flauy, say-  
led into the *Ionian* sea, & there beside other losses, selliche. Wher-  
fore she returned no more to the sea, after the victorie was won.

*Calabria*, the  
part of *Syria*  
that is next  
*Arabia*.  
*Iudaea* is the  
playne of the  
countrey.  
*Anthony* partiall,  
much preferred  
of *Sisinnus*.  
*Cleopatra* preferred  
*Cleopatra* excu-  
seth hir selfe.

Ar. iiij.

Then

When *Antonie* being caughte in minde with the sight of hir, he began to loue hir, like a yong man, though he were forty yeres of age, his nature (as it seemeth) euer being pliant to that thing: and before, he hadde a minde to hir, when he was a Captaine of hoysmen at *Alexandria*, vnder *Gabinus*.

Now leauing his wonted diligence, hee did all things as *Cleopatra* would haue him, without respecte of God or mannes lawe. In so much, as he sente *Souldiours* to kill *Asinus* hir father, that was fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, crying for mercy: and commaunded the *Tyrans* to deliuer *Scrapion*, Captaine of *Cypres*, to *Cleopatra*, being fledde for safetie to *Tyrus*. Likewise he commaunded the *Arcadians* to doe with an other fugitive, because he toke vpon him the person of *Ptolomeus*, *Cleopatra* brother, being ouercome in *Nile* of *Cesar*, and neuer seene after. He also commaunded *Megabyrus* a Priest of *Diana* of *Ephesus*, to be deliuered, because he receyued *Asinus* as a Quene: but when the *Ephesians* made sute to *Cleopatra* for him, he let him goe: so soone was he changed. This affection was the beginning of his troubles, and ende of his life. When *Cleopatra* was gone home, he sent his hoysmen to spoyle the *Palmyrians*, a little not farre from *Euphrates*, a lighte offence beeing objected to them, for a fashion, because dwelling in the confines of the *Romanes*, and the *Parthians*, they seemed to bee of doubtful faith, for they were merchants, and brought and fetched the wares of *India* and *Perside*, to the *Romanes*: but in very deede it was to enrich his hoysmen. And when the *Palmyrians* had vnderstanding of it, they conueyed away their goods, and garded them with Archers, wherein they excelled. The hoysmen finding the Citie voyde, went away emptie and unhurtfull. At this occasion the warres of *Parthia* seemed to rise, many of the tyrannes of the countrey of *Syria* resorting to them. For this countrey (till *Antiochus* the good, and his sonne) was vnder Kings, successours of *Selenus*: but being brought into the forme of a prouince, they had *Scaurus* their President, to whome the Senate sent other successours, and among them, *Gabinus*, which made warre vpon the *Alexandrians*. *Crasus* succeeded *Gabinus*, which was after slayne of the *Parthians*.

*Antonie* in loue.

*Antonie* made  
cruelly by *Cleopatra*.  
*Tyrus* sometime  
an Islande after  
toynd to the  
land by *Alexander*.  
The King of  
*Aegypt* deade &  
queer founde.

The lightnesse  
of *Antonie*.

The state of  
*Syria*.

*Scaurus*,  
*Antiochus*,  
*Crasus*.

*Parthians*. But after the death of *Cesar*, and sedition rising, euery Citie was holden by an vsurper, the *Parthians* helping them. And now hadde they entred *Syria*, (*Crasus* being deade) one alluring another: from whence *Antonie* drew them away, and made them flee to the *Parthians*. Which being done, he put tributes vpon the people, and did not pacifie the prouince after the commotion of the *Palmyrians*, but diuided his armie into wintering places. He went to *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, of whome being princely receyued, he taried the Winter with hir, lyke a private man in an other mans kingdome, eyther to shewe, that the rule perteyned not to him: or to be the more fitte to frequent the feastful dayes of the Winter. And leauing all cares of a Captaine, he put on a *Greekes* robe, and such a garment, as the *Athenienses* and *Egyptians* Priests do vse. And he resorted onely to temples, schools, and assemblies of Philosophers, keeping company with the *Grecians* that obeyed *Cleopatra*, for whose cause hee had (as hee sayde) made that voyage.

*Cesar Octavian* in the meane time fell sicke in his journey to *Rome*, and verie dangerously at *Brundisio*, where it was sayd, he was deade. Being recouered, he entred the Citie, and deliuered *Antonies* letters to his Captaines, who crayght commaunded *Calpurnius* to deliuer two legions to *Octavian*, and wrote into *Africa* to *Scipio*, to deliuer that prouince: both the which were done. Then dyscharging *Lepidus* of his suspition, he committed *Africa* to his gouernement, and solde such goods of the condemned men, as were not yet bought. Going about to place his *Souldiours* in their dwellings, and to diuide their landes, he founde greate troubles: for, the *Soldiours* required euery best Citie in *Italy*, as they were chosen before the warre. Contrary, those Cities required, that all *Italy* might be contributarie to this diuision, or the places of dwelling might be appointed by lot. The *Soldiours* also required the valow of the landes, because there was no common pay. Both olde and yong women, and children, assembled together in the Temples and publique places, lamenting and complaining, that they being native of *Italy*, should be putte from their houses and landes, as prisoners in the warre. The people

*Antonie* private.

*Octavian* sicke.

Diuision of *Italy*  
to the *Souldiours*.

people wepte for these miseries, and moſte of all, when they remembred that it was not done for the common wealth, but for the private luſt of a fewe, the whiche had ouerthrowne the common weale, and now gaue their ſouldiours rewardes, that they by that giſte, ſhould be ready to ſerue their turnes, and ſtil keepe downe the common ſtate. *Caſar* appeaſed the Cities, and ſhewed the cauſe of neceſſitie, and that all was not ſufficient. And he ſayth truth, for the neighbours were oppreſſed of the ſouldiours, going beynd their boundes, & catching more than was giuen them, & taking euery the beſt. Neyther were they frayed by *Caſars* rebukes, nor contented with new giſts, for they did now little ſorce of the princes, who had neede of their helpe, to hold vp their ambition. For now the ende of the five yeares approched, & euery one had neede of ſeueral helpe to maintayne his Lordſhip. The ſouldiours had neede of them, to keepe ſtil that which was giuen them: they had neede of the ſouldiours fauour, to confirme their rule. *Caſar* alſo comforted the needy ſouldiours with other giſts, borrowing money of Temples, wherby he wounde their hartes, they being thankfull to him, as of whome they had receyued their landes and goodes, and they that were ſpoyled, crying out vpon him, whiche he ſuffered for the ſouldiours ſakes.

*Lucius* brother to *Antonie*, being Conſull, and his wife *Fulvia*, and *Marcius* that had the ouerſight of his things in his abſence, that this benefite might not ſeeme to be onely of *Oſtavian*, nor they haue onely the thanke, and the other generall be defrauded of the fauour of the ſouldiours, by ſubtil meanes, that the placing of the inhabitauntes might be deferred till *Antonies* coming, & whiche when it ſeemed vnpoffible, for the haſte of the ſouldiours, they deſired of *Oſtavian*, that they might place *Antonies* ſouldiours, although by agreement it was graunted to *Caſar* *Oſtavian* by *Antonie*, whiche they denied to be true. Therefore bringing *Fulvia* with *Antonies* litle children to the campe, they beſought them inſtantly, not to ſuffer *Oſtavian* to be defrauded of his thanks, and reuolue that he had gotten. *Antonies* name was then very glorious among the ſouldiours, and others, for the victory at *Philippi* was attributed to *Antonie* onely, by cauſe of

Miseric of Italy.

Inſatiableſſe  
of ſouldioursOſtavian exclu-  
ded vpon.Antonies ſoul-  
diers, expelled by  
his friends.Antonies renown-  
ed.

of *Caſars* ſickneſſe. Though *Oſtavian* ſawe that cōtenuant was broken, yette for *Antonies* ſake, hee was content to giue place: ſo *Antonies* legions were placed wth very much licence, that they ſhould not ſerue to be inferior to the benefite of *Caſar*.

There were other Cities neare to theſe, whole landes were deu-  
ided to the ſouldiours, whiche ſuffered many iniuries of the ſouldiours, the Citizens crying to *Oſtavian*, that diuiſion of landes was now moze cruel, than proſcriptions of lyfe. For then enemies were puniſhed, now innocents are plagued. *Caſar* did well perceiue the iniurie, but coulde not remedie it. For neyther had hee money wherewith to pay the poſſeſſours of the lande, neyther coulde the rewardes of victory be deferred, for the warres that myght enſue, *Pompey* being Lord of the Sea, who cauſed famine in the Cittie, all viſuall being kepte away: *Aenebarbus* and *Marcus*, hauing an other army, and gathering an other naue: and the ſouldiours the moze vnwilling, excepte they haue promyſe kepte: and the ſpace of five yeares was almoſte come, ſo as they muſte haue neede of ſouldiours, and therefore bare with their inſolencie: In ſo muche, as in the Theatre a common ſouldiour wantyng a proper ſeate wente and ſatte in the place of a Gentleman. The people noted it, and *Caſar* rayſed hym. The ſouldiours were angry at it, and when *Caſar* came from the paſſe tyme they compaſſed him, and requyred their ſelow ſouldiour, whome they thought to be deſtroyed. But when hee came, they ſayde he came out of pryſon, whiche by cauſe hee denied, they ſayde hee was hyed ſo to ſay, and was a Traytour to hys company. This rudeneſſe was vſed in the Theatre.

Being called to the diuiſion into the campe of *Mars*, and coming to it by night, they were angry that *Caſar* tarried ſo long. *Nonius* a Capitayne rebuked them, and tolde them their dutie, and put the cauſe vpon *Caſars* ſickneſſe. They calied him ſcatterer, and threw ſtones vpon him, and droue him to take a water, out of the whiche they tooke hym by dead, and layd hym in the waye where *Caſar* ſhoulde paſſe, who was mo-  
niſhed by hys friends, not to truſt to the rage, but hee to auoyde

Oppreſſion of  
Cities.Pompey, Aeneas  
barbus and Marcus  
Lordes of  
the ſea.Inſolencie of  
ſouldiours.Theatre the  
place where  
they behelde  
paſſyme.Inſolencie of  
ſouldiours.Nonius kyled  
of the ſouldiers.

ſol.

ſurder

Vproue of Sol-  
dours.Sufferance and  
liberalitie of  
Hauden.Cause of disor-  
der among the  
Soldiours.Discipline cor-  
rupted.Penurie and  
trouble in  
Rome.

furder inconuenience by hys absence, wente on, and when he salwe the dead body of *Nonius*, he went aside. And when the fault was layde vpon a fewe, he willed them hercafter one to spare another, and so gaue them gistes and distribution of lands, and rewarded some beyonde their owne expectation. Which con-  
fiance of hym they so lyked, as they requyred that the killers of *Nonius* myghte be punished. He sayde, he knewe them well inough, and was satisfied wyth their confession and conscience: and the reste he forgaue. By the whiche mercy and libera-  
litie, being prouoked, they made greate shoutes of hys felicitie. These two contempts of the Souldiours among many o-  
ther, may suffice to be shewed.

The cause of thys, were they, that without lawfull autho-  
ritie, (as happeth in ciuill warres) takyng vpon them to be Capitaynes, led these Souldiours, not to serue their cuntry, but themselves: not agaynst enimies, but agaynst Citizens. This destroyed the discipline of the *Romaines* warre. The Souldiour, rather desirous to serue for pryuate affection, and the Ca-  
pitaynes to abuse them for pryuate commoditie. Not onely a Souldiour, but whole armies were to be bought for money. And it was offence to fauour the good, and prayse to aduaunce the euill. So as for lighte causes, whole armies would go from a good and lawfull leader, to a lewde and vsurpyng Captayne: (lyke agreying with lyke) the Souldiours took them for eni-  
mies, were they neuer so honest, that their Capitaynes hated. And the Capitaynes, to haue Souldiours at hande, suffered them to committe things abhominable, without al reuerence of lawe and iustice. So nolve all discipline being corrupted, they were compted best, that could rayse mosse sedition.

The Citie in the meane tyme, was in great penurie, their pro-  
uision of corne being stopped by *Pompey*. In *Italie*, tillage being almost leste for the continuance of warre, and that that there was, being consumed of the Souldiours: and in the Citie, thieues and murderers by night, were unpunished, for what fouer was done, was imputed to the Souldiour. The commons shutte by theyr shoppes, and were withoute officers, whiche would not serue

serue where thesie was suffered.

But *Lucius*, being well affected to the common wealth, and greued with the power of the thre Princes, continuing longer than the tyme appoynted, contended with *Caesar*: for he onely pro-  
mised helpe to the olde possessioners, making supplication to all the officers, & they promised their seruice to him. Whereby, bothe *Antonies* Souldiours, and *Caesar* himself, accused him as an enemy to him, and *Fulvia* also, as stirrer of warre out of tyme. But a deuise of *Manius* preuailed, which perswaded *Fulvia*, that if *Italie* were in quiet, *Antony* would remayne with *Cleopatra* in *Egipt*, but if warres were styred, he would come quickly. Then *Fulvia* of a womannish passion, incensed *Lucius*, & when *Caesar* wente to place the newe inhabitancies, *Antonies* chyldren and *Lucius* wente with them, that *Caesar* shoulde not haue the whole thanks, by goyng alone. *Caesars* horsemenne scoured the coaste towardes *Sicilie*, that *Pompey* shoulde not spoyle it. *Lucius* eyther afrayde in dede, or sayning to be afrayde, that these horsemen were sente agaynst him and *Antonies* chyldren, wente in haste to the inhabitancies of *Antonie*, to gette a garde about him, accusing *Caesar*, as vnfaithfull to *Antony*. But he answered, that he kept faith & friendship with *Antonie*, & that *Lucius* sought to moue warre, for y he was offended with the rule of the thre, by the which the newe inhabitants might take full possession, & that the horsemen were yet in the coast, & did their duties. With *Antonies* Souldiours vnderstande this, they made a meeting with him at *Theano*, and were reconciled to him with these conditions:

That he shuld deuide no lāds but to such as serued at *Philippi*.  
That the money of the condemned men, & their landes, shoulde be equally diuided among *Antonies* Souldiours.  
That hereafter one alone should not leuy men.  
That two legiōs of *Antonies* should serue *Caesar* agaynst *Pompey*.  
That the *Alpes* towardes *spaine* shoulde be open to them that *Caesar* sent, and not be shutte by *Asinius*.  
That *Lucius* should put away his garde, and exercise his office with quietnesse.

These were the covenants, whereof onely the two last were kept.

*Lucius* taketh  
parte vwith the  
old husbāde-  
men.

*Manius* counsell.

*Fulvia* *Antonies*  
wyfe stirreth  
vwarre.

Requynnyng of  
suspition.

*Theano*, a citie in  
*Pia Appia*.  
An other in  
*Apulia*.

Conditions be-  
twene *Caesar* &  
*Antonies* soldi-  
ours.

St. y,

kept.

*Preneste novve.  
Fulvia a Cite  
in Lazio.*

*Fulvia fleeth to  
Lepidus.*

*Great resort to  
Lucius.*

*Manius answer  
sharpe.*

kepte. And *Salvidienus* passed the *Alpes* spyte of them that kepte them, the rest were deferred. Wherefore *Lucius* went to *Preneste*, affirming he was afrayde of *Caesar* hauing a garde aboute him, and he none. *Fulvia* also went to *Lepidus*, saying, she was afrayde of hir chyldren, for she trusted him better than *Caesar*. And they bothe wrote to *Antonie*, certayne frendes carying their letters, that might certifie him of all thyngs, the copies whereof I haue long sought, and can not finde. When the chiefe of the armies, agreed to take vp this matter, and affirmed they woulde compell hym that were unwilling. They sente for *Lucius* frendes to come to them, whiche they denyng to doe, *Caesar* accused them, as well to the chiefe of the armys, as to the officers of the Cities.

When great resorte was made to *Lucius* out of the Cite, beseeching him to haue compassion of afflicted *Italy*, and take some man, that eyther with him, or with the Capitaynes might make an ende of the matter. And where as *Lucius* had regarde both of them that spake, and also of the thyngs spoken, *Manius* answered sharply. That *Antonie* onely gathered money of strange nations, but *Caesar* did gette mens loue by preuention of the armies and sitte places of *Italy*. For by fraude he had gotten *France*, which was *Antonies* prouince, and for xliij. cities, that shoulde be giuen to the Souldiours, he ransacked almoste all *Italy*. And also gaue money to foure and thirty legions, not onely to eight and twentie that fought in hys quarrell: and that he had spoiled Temples in pretence of warre agaynst *Pompey*, whiche was not yet begon, for all the greates dearth in the Cite, but in dede to winne the fauour of the Souldiours agaynst *Antonie*, in so muche as the goddes of the attaynted, are not solde before they be giuen to the: but if he seeketh peace, in good sayth, he must make acscompt of things he hath done, and hereafter do nothing but by consent of bothe. This was the bolde answer of *Manius*, that neyther *Caesar* shoulde doe any thing alone, nor the countenants betwene him and *Antonie* remayne firme, that is, that either of them shoulde haue full authoritie in their prouinces, and each confirme others ades.

*Caesar*

*Caesar* saying that they soughte warre, prepared hymselfe for it, but the two legions that were placed out of *Ancon*, and first serued his father, and after *Antony*, for the loue they bare to them both, sente Ambassadors to *Rome*, to pray them to haue respect to peace. And when *Caesar* answered that he swerued not with *Antony*, but *Lucius* wyth hym, the Embassadors conferring with the officers of *Antonies* Souldiours, sente a common Embassage to *Lucius*, requiring hym to be contente to committe hys difference wyth *Caesar*, to arbitrement, affirming they woulde take vpon them, excepte he woulde condescende. Hauing obteyned their request, *Gaius* was appoynted the place of meeting, in the miode way betwene *Rome* and *Preneste*. There was prepared a seate for the Judges, and two chayres to steme the cause. *Caesar* came firste, and sente Hozslemen that way that *Lucius* shoulde come, eyther to see what *Lucius* dyd, or whether there were any traynes layde. They lyghted vpon *Antonies* Hozslemen, whiche came as forerunners of *Lucius*, or to see if all were clere: they fell to fight, and some were kyled. Wherefore *Lucius* wente backe for feare of treason (as he sayde) and bicing called of the chiefe of the army, promising hym to conduce him safe, he refused. Thus the pacifiers beeing deceyued, warre was theatned wyth bitter wordes betwene them. *Lucius* hadde fire legions, of the lenie whiche he toke when he was created Consul, besyde eleuen of *Antonies*, vnder Captayne *Caleno*, and all those in *Italy*.

*Caesar* hadde foure Legions at *Capua*, and certayne bandes for his person.

*Salvidienus* broughte other fyre Legions out of *Spayne*.

*Lucius* had money of the prouinces that *Antony* had pacified.

*Caesar* hadde of all them that came vnto hym by lotte, excepte *Sardinia*, whiche was then in warre.

He gotte much of Temples, promising to render it with interest, that is, of *Capitolio*, *Antio*, *Lanuuio*, *Nemore*, *Tibure*, in the whiche Cities he treasures at this day of holy money.

Out of *Italy* all things were not quiet, for *Pompey*, by resorte of condemned Citizens, and auntient possessioners, was greatly

disturb.

increas

*Souldiours of  
Ancon labour  
for peace*

*Gaius a people,  
destroyed by  
Tarquinus Superbus.  
Meeting at  
Gaius.  
A fight by  
chance.*

*The daye  
frustrate.*

*The warre  
breaketh.  
Lucius poorer.*

*Caesars poorer.  
Antony was a  
Cite in Lazio,  
very good vpon  
the Sea.*

*Lanuanium, novv  
Indomus.*

*Treasure houses  
of holy  
money.*

*Tibure novv  
Tivoli.*

*Nemore, not  
farre from  
Ardea.*

*Pompey increaseth.*

Increased, both in mighte, and estimation: for they that feared their life, or were spoyled of their goodes, or lyked not the present state, fledde all to hym. And this disagreement of *Lucius*, augmented hys credite: beside a repaize of yong men, desirous of gayne and service, not caring vnder whome they went, because they were all *Romanes*, sought vnto him. And among other, hys cause seemed most iust. he was lured riche by booties of the sea, and he hadde good store of Shippes, with their furniture. *Marcus* also brought him two legions, and five hundred archers, much money, and fourescore Shippes: and he had another army from *Cephalenia*. Wherefore me thynke, that if he had then invaded *Italy*, he might easily haue gotte it, which being afflicted with famine and discord, looked for him. But *Pompey* of ignorance had rather defend his owne, than invade others, till so he was overcome also. In *Affrica* *Sextus* the Lieutenant to *Antony*, being lately commaunded to deliuer his charge to *Fagius* *Casars* Lieutenant, and sent againe to take it from *Fagius*, who would not deliuer it, but made warre, hauing a bande of discharged Souldiours, and a number of *Africanes*, and the helpe of the Princes there. And when *Fagius* was overcome in both wings of his battell, and also lost his Campe, thinking it had come by treason, killed himselfe, and so *Sextus* once agayne was Lord of both prouinces of *Affrica*. *Bocchus* King of the *Mauritians*, at the persuasion of *Lucius*, made warre vpon *Carinas*, Gouverneur of *spayne* for *Cesar*. And *Antobarbus* with lxx. Shippes, and two legions, and a band of archers and venturers, scouring the sea of *Ionis*, destroyed the regions that accepted the rule of the thre men. And being come to *Brundis*, he partly toke the Gallies of *Cesar*, and partly burned them, and drining the *Brundisians* within their wall, spoiled the lands. *Cesar* sent a legion thither, and willed *Saludienus* to come out of *spayne*. And throughout *Italy* men were mustered in hast, as well of *Casars* Captaynes, as of *Antonys*, for *Lucius*. Byuers fightes there was betwene them both, in iust battell, and in ambushmentes. The sauoure of *Italy* was moze inclined to *Lucius*, because he fought for them against the new inhabitants. Not onely the Cities that were giuen in pray, but also all *Italy* was

Refort to  
Pompey.

*Cephalenia*, an  
Islande in the  
Ionis Sea.  
*Pompey* loseth  
his section.  
Honor of  
*Pompey*.  
*Sextus*.

*Fagius*.

*Fagius* killeth  
himselfe.  
*Brundis*,  
*Carinas*.

*Italy* troubled  
all ouer.

was stirred, fearing the lyke calamitie, and reiecting *Casars* souldiours that borrowed holy money, and partly kylling them, they gaue aide to *Lucius*, keeping their Cities for him. Contrarywise the new inhabitants stucke to *Cesar*, as though epyther laboured for their owne. In this state, *Cesar* called the Senatoures and the Gentlemen, and thus spake vnto them: I know I am condemned of *Lucius* faction as a coward, and afrayde of myne owne weakenesse, and that contempt is increased by your assembly. I haue a valiant army, both that which he iniureth by hyndering their possession, and also that which afozetime haue serued vnder my banner, the rest be as sure, except one meaning. I delighte not in ciuill warres that be not necessary, nor do thinke to abuse the Citizens that be left, to destroy one another, chiefly in this ciuill motion, the miserie whereof shall not be tolde from *Macedonia* or *Thracia*, but shall be scene in *Italy*. The which if it be the felde of this warre, what incommodities shall it suffer. This is the cause why it peth me to beginne first. And now I protest, that I neyther quarrell with *Antony*, nor do anye thing why he should quarrell with me. It is your part, that for your selues you do repproue *Lucius*, with his abettors, whome I praye you to reconcile vnto me: but if they continue in their obstinacie, I shall make it knowen, that I am not slowe for feare, but for consideration. You shall be witnesses not onely to me, but also to *Antony*, that I am drinen to this necessitie, by the insolencie of *Lucius*. When *Cesar* had thus said, they returned in hast to *Preneste*. *Lucius* answered only this, that the matter would come to tryall on both sides shortly, and that *Cesar* dissembled, who had sente a legion to *Brundis*, to stoppe *Antonys* passage from *Italy*. *Manius* also shewed *Antonys* Epistle, false or true I can not tell, whych willed his estimation to be mainteyned, though it were by warre. And when the Embassadors of the Senate did demaunde, if any man did blemish his estimation, & if they did, they should complaine to y Judges. *Manius* vsed many threatnings againe, till they wet away without conclusiō. Yet y Embassadors byd not shew y answer to *Cesar*, either because he knew it particularly, or because they wer abashed, or for some other cause. When present war appeared, *Cesar* made promisiō, & left *Lepidus* Gouverneur of y citie w a garrison

offended the  
Senate.

A letter of  
*Antonys* shew-  
ved.

No conclusiō  
of peace.

*Lepidus* Go-  
uernour of  
the Citie.

Refort to Lucius,  
Alba Longa,  
Minturne of  
two legions.

Furnus besieged  
at Minturne,  
betweene Cam-  
pania and  
Umbria,  
Lucius entreth  
the Citie.

Lepidus fleeth  
Lucius to the  
people of Rome.

Barbatus.

People forsa-  
keth Lucius.

Salvidienus,  
Asinius,  
Pentidius,  
Agrippa.

garrison of two legions. Many of the noble men of Rome reforted to *Lucius*, declaring that the authoritie of thre men did displease them. And thus thys warre followed after thys sort. Two legions of *Lucius* at *Alba* made a tumulte, and droue away their Captaynes, and were readye to reuolte. *Cesar* and *Lucius* both made hast to them. *Lucius* came fyrste, and wpth many fayre wordes and promyses stayde them. *Furnus* broughte hym another army, and *Cesar* cutte off the tayle of it, and droue *Furnus* to an hyll. Ye that nyght following wente to *Sentia*, a Citie of hys faction, whome *Cesar* would not follow for feare of traynes, but the next day besegged the Citie. *Lucius* went to Rome wpth al hast, and sent in thre bandes by night, he following with his armye, where he was receyued of *Nonius* that had the gard of the gate, and toke hys shoulpoures to serue. *Lepidus* escaped, and wente to *Cesar*. *Lucius* assembled the people, and put them in good hope, that *Cesar* and *Lepidus* shoulde be punished for their misgouernement, and that hys bzother woulde willingly giue ouer his unlawfull authoritie, and take the Consulship for it, which was an office instituted by theyr auntient fathers. When he had sayd thus muche, the people beeyng glad, and thinking that the thre mens authoritie shoulde soone ceasse, saluted hym Generall, which done, he went against *Cesar*, gathering by the way another host of the places of *Antonies* inhabitaunce, and settled them, being well affected to *Antony*: but *Barbatus*, who had bin his treasurer in warre, and was sente from hym in displeasure, tolde the people that *Antony* was angry with them that styred against *Cesar*, and the common authoritie. The people beeyng thus abused, forsoke *Lucius*, and wet to *Cesar*. *Lucius* now marched against *Salvidienus*, that brought great power out of France to *Cesar*, and *Asinius*, and *Pentidius*, *Antonies* Captaynes, followed at y<sup>e</sup> tayle, so as he coude not goe forwarde. *Agrippa* a man most trusty to *Cesar*, fearing least *Salvidienus* shoulde be compassed, toke *Lombardy*, y<sup>e</sup> which place he thought *Lucius* could not spare & that he woulde leaue *Salvidienus*, & come against him, & so mighte *Salvidienus* follow at y<sup>e</sup> taile. And *Agrippa* was not pecciued, for whē *Lucius* saw he was deceiued of his purpose, he repaired to *Asinius*, & *Pentidius*, whereby

whereby *Salvidienus* and *Agrippa*, were free to take what aduantage they could: whiche, when *Lucius* perceyued, and durste not fight with them both, he went to *Perugia*, a Citie wel defended, and there encamped, looking for *Pentidius*: but by and by *Cesar*, *Agrippa* & *Salvidienus* comming vpo him, he was besieged with thre armies at *Perugia*: and least *Lucius* might escape their hāds, they sent to *Cesars* other forces, to deteine *Asinius* & *Pentidius*, although they made no great hast, nor appzoned that warre, nor were sure of *Antonies* minde. Beside, there was emulation betwene them, eyther of them seeking to be leader of all;

*Lucius* being thus besieged, neyther durste giue battel, being inferior not only in number, but also in goodnesse of Soldiours, nor departe from thence, so manye being readye to molest him: therfore he sent to *Pentidius* and *Asinius*, by *Manius*, to perswade the to come to helpe hym & the that were besieged. He sent also *Titinius*, with four thousande horse, to spoyle *Cesars* landes, that thereby he myght call him from the siege, and so haue *Perugia*, free to winter in, if neede were, til *Pentidius* and his compayne myght come. But *Cesar* hauing al his power together, compassed the place, eight miles aboute, bycause of the hills that be there, and made a long trench to *Tiber*, that nothing shoulde bee brought from thence to *Perugia*, *Lucius* after lyke sorte trenched the cotes of the hilles. *Fulvia*, commaunded *Pentidius* & *Asinius*, *Atius* and *Calpurnius* to make haste to helpe them that were besieged, and gathered a newe hoste, and sente it by *Plancus* to *Lucius*. Thys *Plancus* by the waye cutte off a legion of *Cesars*. And whereas *Asinius* and *Pentidius* went very slowly, as bycertaine of *Antonies* wil, yet, for *Fulvia* and *Manius* sake, they came forwarde. *Cesar* wth *Agrippa* went to meete them, leauing sufficient forces at *Perugia*. But they disceuered themselves: the one to *Rahenna*, the other to *Arimenus*, and *Plancus* to *Spoletus*. *Cesar* leauing agaynst each of them power to keepe them from ioyning againe together, retourned to *Perugia*, and added rampires to the ditches, making the ditches more large, by thirtie fote, both in breadth and deepnesse. He made also the trenches stronger, and toyned to them .1500. towers of woodde .1x. fote asun-

Occasion of the  
hinderance of  
*Lucius*.

*Lucius* in di-  
stresse.

Siege of *Perugia*.

*Cesar* encloseth  
*Lucius*.

*Tiber* springeth  
aboute *Arrezzo*,  
and goeth thro  
rough *Tuscan* to  
Rome. now *Tes-  
tuer*.

*Plancus*.

*Lucius* power  
disceuereth them  
selues.

*Rahenna* standeth  
at the gulle of  
France.

*Arimenus* on the  
side of the *Pennin-  
us* Sea.

*Spoletus* in *Polonia*.

It.

der,

Sallies out of  
the citie.

Fastine in *Rome*  
yet  
Calendes be the  
firste daye of the  
moneth.  
Iulius was the  
firste moneth of  
the yere.  
Iulius a fyleth  
the campe.

Tumulte in  
*Rome* for corne.  
*Pentidius*.

*Fulginis*.

Blasphemous counsel.

Extremities of  
famine.

Misery of slaves

der, so as they serued for bothe turnes, as well to resist them that came to the Citie, as to keepe them in, that woulde come out of it. In the whych tymes there were manie sallies made out of the citie, *Caesars* men being the better a far off with shot, & *Lucius* more bolde at hand strokes. But whē the work was finished, famine took the citie, & encreased daily. For neither y<sup>e</sup> citizes nor *Lucius*, had made any provision of victuals. Which, when *Caesar* understood, he kept the the straighter. The night before the Calends of January, *Lucius* thinking y<sup>e</sup> feastful time would haue wrought negligēce among the enimies, he gaue an assaulte to y<sup>e</sup> camp, thinking he might haue put in some companions, whiche he had many in diuerse places: but one legion being quickly called of the watch, & *Caesar* coming with his bands, after a sharp fight, *Lucius* was repulsed. At this time in *Rome*, corn being kept for the vse of the soldiors, the people with tumult & contention, ran into priuate houses, & took what corne they could. *Plautius* soldiors thinking it a shame, not to helpe *Lucius*, marched forth, and ouerthrew *Caesars* garisons in euery place. But when *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* were come with more men, they turned to *Fulginis*, a citie not far off fro *Perugia*, where being besieged of *Agrippa*, they signified by night to *Lucius*, w<sup>h</sup> many fiers, where they were. Then it was thought best to try it out by fight. But *Plautius* thought it best to stay, & not to hazard th<sup>e</sup>selues betwene *Caesar* and *Agrippa*, which sentence prouayled. They that were besieged at *Perugia*, when they saw the fiers, they were glad, and thought there was some impediment y<sup>e</sup> they came not forthwards: and when the fire ceased, they thought they had bin destroyed. Then *Lucius* oppressed with famine, made issues out of the citie, from the first watch until break of day, on euery side: but being repulsed in euery place, he retired, & perusing the victuals, commanded, that the bondmen shold haue none, & yet to be kept, that they shold not get out to shew the need to y<sup>e</sup> enimie. They ran about in orchards & gardens, & ate grasse & leaues where they could find any: & whē they were pined, *Lucius* put th<sup>e</sup> into ditches, that the enimie shold not perceiue any burials, nor the Citie be infected with the sawys. But no end being of hunger nor death,

the soldiors being weary, desired *Lucius* to sallie out again, & they would break the contrary trench. Whose seruientnesse when *Lucius* saw, he said: Of late we did not fight so valiantly as we might haue done, now therfore yelde, or fight to death. Euerie man consented. Therfore that the night shoulde giue none occasion to cowardnesse, they desired they might go to it in the daye: and so *Lucius* led them forth, at break of day, with many scales and engins of yron and other, to fill the ditches and climbe the trenches, and wyth all kind of weapons to throw. Thus they issued with great violence, and filled the ditches withoute stoppe, and casting their engins to the wall, some did beate downe the trench: some set by their scales, and some assaulted the towers, and without all respect of death sought it out, notwithstanding the great resistance that was made with the shotte on the contrary parte. This fight was in diuers places, so as the defence was the weaker. The fight was fierce vpon the bridge which they passed, and also scaled the rampire, and were like to haue done some desperate feat, except the most valiant of *Caesars* host, had with like courage come to the resistance, euer being relieved with fresh men: & the other at length being tyred, were thrown from the trench, and their engins broke, and yet they stucke to it without shrinking, though strength and voice failed them. Yet not being able to resist, and ashamed to giue place, they abode it, til *Lucius* did blow the retreat, at the which, when *Caesars* soldiers did make great token of gladnesse, *Lucius* men stricken with shame, took their scales again, and approached the wal: but not able to do any good, *Lucius* againe did cal them backe, y<sup>e</sup> they shoulde not cast away their liues in vaine. When with heauye hearts and against their wills they retired.

This was the end of this sharpe assaulte. *Caesar* then appointed souldiours to warde at the trench, and at a token, to leape vpp to the wall, whiche they dyde, though they hadde none occasion, exercising themselves, and discouraging their foes. *Lucius* souldiours remained sadde, and the wards were negligently kepte, so as diuers fledde into the Campe not onely of the common sorte, but also some Capitaynes.

It. ij.

was

*Lucius* repulsed.

Assaulte of the  
Trenche.

The fiercenesse  
of the fight.

*Lucius* repulsed.

*Lucius inclined  
to peace.*

*Lucius to the be-  
sieged.*

was inclined to peace, pitying the multitude that perished, one thing hindred it, that *Caesars* enemies were afraid of themselves, but when it was heard that he used the fugitives gently, and that he was desirous of no mans death, the *Lucius* thought it expedient, without any further respect, to seek peace. And least the people would deliver him for all, he thought he would prove their minds, and thus saide:

My desire and intent was (O souldiour fellows) to have reduced the common wealth, to that state y<sup>e</sup> our ancestors left it, by cause I sawe the office of the three men toured into Tyranny, and not amended after the death of *Brutus* and *Caesar*, by whome they made their pretence of warre. For *Lepidus* being remoued from their Colledge ship, and *Antony* occupy in far parts, this man alone dothe here what he listeth: the lawes be onely pretences, and shadowes. I seeking remedy for these in-commodities, and minding to haue restored the common wealth, I required that the souldiours, hauing their due rewardes, the power of one might haue bin abolished, which because I could not do, I went aboute to doe it by force and power. When this man accused me to the army, as one y<sup>e</sup> pitied the auncient inhabitation: of the which accusation being ignorant, & not believing it when I hearde of it, by cause I was sure you receiued landes by my diuision: yet many believed that false accusation, and ioy ned with him to make warre against vs, whiche one day they shal find to be done against themselves. For I am witnesse, that you following the better part, haue labored for this aboue your strength. Yet we be overcome, not of the enemye, but of hunger, and as it were forsaken of our Captains. It should haue become me to haue abiden the bittermost for my country, & thereby in the ende, haue had the praise of my good wil: but I cannot for you, whose safetic I preferre before my glory. Wherefore I wil send Ambassadors to the victour, and I wil require him to punish me only, and let you go: & that he would giue you y<sup>e</sup> forgiveness, which I do not aske for my selfe. You being Citizens as he is, & sometime his souldiours, not now offending, but hauing a iust cause of war, be overcome, not with fight, but with

famine,

famine. When he had thus said, he sent by & by three of the officers that were chiefe. The rest of the multitude lamented, either their own case, or the Generalls, which meant wel as they, did, and seemed to be a friende of the common wealth, and sayne, to giue place to extreame necessitye. The Ambassadors that, were sent to *Caesar*, remembred to him their common country, their common souldiourfare passed, the friendships of the noble men of both sides, the custome of their ancestors abhorring from such deadly Dissentions, and other things to this purpose. *Caesar*, knowing that his enemies hoste consisted in olde and young souldiours, used arte, and saide, he pardoned all *Antonies* souldiours, the other he required to submitte to his discretion. Thus he spake openly, but secretly to *Furnia*, he signified he would pardon all, except his private enemies: which private talk with *Furnia*, they had in suspicion, and saide, that war was not made for displeasure, but for common cause, and required *Lucius* either to haue general peace, or martial war. *Lucius* hauing pitie of those noble men that were equall in dignitie with the other, praised them; and saide he would send other Ambassadors to him: and because he thought none so fit as himselfe, he would go alone without an Herald. When it was tolde *Caesar* that *Lucius* was coming to him, he went straight to meete him, and they bothe same in sight, accompanied with their friends, in the habite of a General. When *Lucius* sending aside all his friends, went on with two Sergeants, signifying what he meant: and *Caesar* following that beneuolence, shewed the lyke token of modestie. And when he saw *Lucius* come within his trench, that so he might shew himselfe to be in his power, he firste wente oute of the Trench, that *Lucius* might be free to saue himselfe. Whys they dyd outwardly by tokens of courtesie, and when they were come to the ditch, and had saluted eche other, *Lucius* thus began.

If I had made this warre with straungers, I would haue bin ashamed (O *Caesar*) to haue bin overcome, and more ashamed to yelde myselfe from the whiche ignominie, I would easily haue deliuered my life: But because I haue dealt with a Citizen of lyke authoritie, and that for my country, I thinke it no

It. ii.

Shame,

*Ambassadors to  
Caesar.*

*Caesars answer.*

*Private talk.*

*Lucius goeth to  
Caesar.*

*Caesar meeteth  
with Lucius.*

*Lucius to Caesar.*

shame for such a cause to be overcome of such a manne, which I speake, not that I refuse to suffer any thing that thou wilt put upon me, being come to this campe, without an Herald, but to aske pardon for other, iuste and cominodious for thyne estate. Whych, that thou mayste vnderstande the more playnly, I will separate the cause from mine, that after thou shalt vnderstand that I am the onely cause, thou mayste exercise thine anger vpon me. Thinke not that I will inuey againste thee licentiously, which now were oute of tyme, but will only tell the truth, which I cannot dissemble.

I take this warre agaynste thee, not that I would be a Prince, if I hadde dispatched thee: but that I myghte haue broughte the Common wealth to the rule of the Senate, whiche is now taken awaye by the power of thee, as thou thy selfe canste not denye.

For when you begunne it, confessyng it vnlawfull, you sayde it was necessarie for a tyme, *Cassius* and *Brutus* being aduie, who coulde not be reconciled vnto you. They being taken awaye, the rest, (if any rest there be) being afrayde of you, and takyng armes, not agaynste the Common wealth, and youre tyme being ended, I requyred that the oppressed Senate myghte be restored, not regardyng my brother before my Countrey. For I hoped to haue perswaded him at his retourne, and I made haste to doe it in the tyme of myne offyce. If thou wouldest haue done so, thou shouldest haue hadde the glozve alone, but bycause I could not perswade thee, I wente to the Citie, and thought to gette it by strength and force, being a Senatoure, and a Consul.

These were the onely causes of this warre, not my brother, not *Manius*, not *Fulvia*, nor the landes diuided to the Souldyours, that wanne the feldes at *Philippi*: not the pille of the olde possessioners cast out of the landes: for by myne authoritie, some were appoynted to landes for my brothers Legions,

Legions, the olde owners spoiled. But this calumination thou dydest deuise, that thou myghtest putte the faulte of the warre from thy selfe, to me, and the newe inhabitants. And by this arte, wymmynge the heartes of the olde Souldyours, thou hast wonne also the victory: for it was perswaded them, that I would putte them out by violence. These deuices were to be bled, when thou madest warre agaynste me. Nowe being Conqueroure, if thou bee an ennemie of thy Countrey, make me an enimie also, that coulde not remedie it, being lette by sumpne. And this I speake frelie, gyuing my selfe (as I sayde) into thy handes, shewyng what I thought of thee before, and now also, being with thee alone. Thus much of my selfe.

Now, as concernyng my friends, and the whole army: if thou wilt beleue me, I will gyue thee most profitable counsell. Doe not vse them hardly for my cause, and matter: and seying thou arte a man, and subiect to vnsable fortune, make not thy friends the slower to venture, for thee, if they shall see examples gyuen of thee, nothyng to be hoped, but to the Conqueroures. And if thou reiect all my counsell, as of thine enimie, I maye not bee ashamed to craue pardon of thee, that thou wouldest not erade punishmente of my friends for my faulte or misfortune, but rather turne all vpon me: whiche am the cause of all these troubles: for I haue leste them behynde me of purpose, least if I shoulde speake these things in the hearing, I shoulde seeme to seke myne owne faulte. And this *Cesar* answered.

When I sawe thee come to me without an Herald, I came apace out of my campe, that thou mightest frelie doe that myghte be for thy good. And seying thee acknowledged thy faulte, thou committed thy selfe to my power, I neede not confute the thyngs whiche thou hast objected.

ard againste me firmly, but falsely, hurting mee now as thou diddest before. For if thou haddest come to make confederation, thou shouldest haue come to an angrie Conqueroure not without a cause. But now, seeing without any condition, thou giuest thy selfe, thy friends and army to vs: al anger is taken awaye, al necessitie of truce is cutte off. For nowe I muste consider, not so much what you haue deserued, as what is seemly for mee to doe, whyche I hadde rather doe, epther for Gods cause, for my cause, or for thy sake (*Lucius*): neither will I deceiue the expectation that thou hast broughte with thee.

Thus much do I find in the dayly notes of the Chronicles of that time, in this matter. *Caesar* marvelled at the noble & stout courage of *Lucius*, ioynd with prudence: and *Lucius* marvelled at the clemencie and quicke briefenesse of *Caesar*: the other gathered coniecture of their talke, by the countenance of them bothe. Then *Lucius* sent to the chiefe Captaynes, that they shoulde receiue the watche worde of *Caesar*. They brought a booke of the number, for so was the manner, as it is now, that when the captaine asketh the watche word, he offereth to the Prince a booke of hys number every day. Receyuing the watch worde, they did not leaue the wonted watches, for so *Caesar* commaunded that they should keepe watche severally. The next day *Caesar* sacrificed, and *Lucius* sent the hoste to *Caesar*, carrying their harnesse, but going in their common apparel, and a farre off they saluted *Caesar*, as Generall, and stode legion by legion, as *Caesar* hadde appointed: for he deuised the olde legions from the young. When he hadde sacrificed, he sate in the Generals seate, and commaunded every one to lay down their armour, which being done, he commaunded the old souldiours to daine nighe, that he mighte rejoyce their unharmesse, and make them afraide, yet his meaning was knowne well enough. When whither it was of purpose, or of affection, *Caesar*'s souldiours came cuse of they places, and embraced *Lucius* souldiours, and wept, and sued to *Caesar* for them, and they woulde not leaue, but stil cryed vpon *Caesar*, so as there was muche mourning. But *Caesar* chaunging hys minde, and appeasing the multitude, said thus:

You

You my (fellowe Souldyers) haue alwayes so well serued me, as I can not deny you anything. The young Souldyers, which I thinke haue serued iustly vnder *Lucius* standerd, I remitte: but those that haue heretofore bin ioynd wpth you in warre, and now be saued by your meane, I woulde aske, what iniurie I haue done them, or what grace denyed them, that they shoulde serue another, and beare armour against me and you, and themselves? For I suffered all the paynes for diuision of the landes, of the which these were partakers, whose leuinenesse now, if you will suffer me, I will punish. But they denying that, and continually calling for pardon, I graunt (quoth he) that you demaunde, let them goe free, so as hereafter they agree with you: whyche, being promised on both partes, thanks were cryed to *Caesar*, who was contente that some shoulde be lodged in houses. The common sorte he wylled to lye in theyr Campe, where they fyrste were placed, till he sente them to wintering. When sitting in the hygh seate, he called *Lucius*, and the chiefe out of *Perugia*, among whome, were many Senatoures and Gentlemen, all in heauie shape, who being out of the Towne, a garrison entred. When they were come, *Caesar* toke *Lucius* to hym, the other were committed to hys friends and officers, being warned to keepe them in honest and secrete custody. The *Perugians* crying for pardon ouer the wall, he commaunded to come without the Senate only, whyche being done, he pardoned them.

The Senatoures were putte in prison, and after kylled, except *Lucius Aemilius*, who being in Rome, when y killers of *Caesar* were cryed, he thoughte good they shoulde be punished, and the Citie purged. He mynded to haue giuen the Citie in spoyle to the Souldiours, but one *Sextius*, a madde fellowe, surnamed *Macedonian*, because he hadde serued in *Macedonia*, sette hys owne house on fyre, and threwe himselfe into it, and the wynde being great, blew the fyre ouer all the Citie, and burned it, the temple of *Vulcan* only excepted. This was the ende of *Perugia*, an auncient and goodly Citie, for (they say) it was one of the

*Caesar* pardoneth the young Souldiours.

Souldyers still crye for pardon.

Pardon.

Romans appeared, and were well vsed for a time.

*Perugians* pardoned.

Captaynes of *Perugia* killed.

*Sextius* setteth the Citie on fire. *Perugia* set on fire.

Antiquitie of *Perugia*.

It was first called *Fibia Colonia*, of *Fibius* a Captayne of the *Acheans* that first came thither: but the *Cris* egement of *Armenia* did build it, and of a Griffon which they bare in their standerd, called in their language *Perugio*, they called the Citie *Perugia*. *Caesar* repayed the Citie, and it was called *Perugia Augusta*, with this inscription, *Augusto Sacro Perugia restituta*.

*Caesar* pardoneth

The mutuell of both Generalls.

*Lucius* tendereth

A booke of the number of souldiours. *Lucius* souldiours receiue watche word of *Caesar*.

Souldiours embracing.

twelve Cities, which the *Hetrurians* buylded after their firste coming into *Italy*. Wherefore, after the *Tuscan* fashion, they honoꝝ *Iuno*. And after that, they that followed, chose *Vulcane* in stead of *Iuno* for their patrone.

The next day, *Caesar* made truce with all the armyes, yet some tumultes continued betwene them, till *Canutus*, and *Flauim*, *Claudius*, *Buthinicus*, and diuers other were slayne, who were deadly enimies of *Caesar*.

This ende had the siege of *Perugia*, and the warre that *Lucius* made, which certaynely was very dangerous, and like to haue continued long. For *Asinius*, *Plancus*, *Ventidius*, *Craffus*, *Attius*, and others of this faction, hadde an army diuided into thirtene partes, with fife thousande horsemen, and aboue. All the which, scattered, some to *Brundisio*, some to *Rauenna*, and some to *Tarento*. Some wente to *Murco*, some to *Aenobarbo*, and some to *Antony* himselfe. *Caesars* bandes chased them by land, and *Agrippa* gotte two legions from *Plancus*, which were left at *Camerina*. *Fulvia* with hir children fledde to *Putolo*, and from thence to *Brundisio*, with thre thousand horse, which the Captaynes appoynted for hir conduit. At *Brundisio* she toke Shippe with fife Gallies that were sente from *Macedonia*, and *Plancus* went with hir, who for colwardise, had forsaken the rest of his army whiche serued *Ventidius*. *Asinius* entised *Aenobarbus* to *Antonyes* side, whereof they both wrote letters vnto him, and prepared for him agaynst his coming into *Italy*. There were other bandes of *Antonyes* vnder the *Alpes*, wherof *Calenus* was Captayne. *Caesar* intended to winne them to him, bycause he had *Antony* now in suspition, that if he were his friend, he would keepe them for him, if he pro- ued his enimie, he would serue himselfe: and whylest he soughte a good occasion, *Calenus* dyed. *Caesar* toke the aduantage, and had the army, for *Fufius*, *Calenus* sonne, deliuered all for feare. Thus *Caesar* without any businesse, gotte eleuen legions, and most ample prouinces, from the whiche he remoued the old officers, and plac- ed his owne, and went to *Rome*. *Antony* kepte the messengers that were sent from the inhabitancies, eptier bycause of þ win- ter, or bycause he would not haue them report his doings.

At the beginning of the Spring, he wente from *Alexandria*,  
came

*Lucius* army  
scattered.

*Cameria* in *Latio*.  
*Pubia* fleeth.  
*Putolo* in *Cam-  
pania*.

*Plancus* the  
coward.

*Caesar* taketh  
*Antonyes* bands  
in *Lombardy*.

*Antony* dete-  
neth the mes-  
sengers.

came to *Tirus*, and from thence by *Cipres* and  *Rhodes* into *Asus*, where he heard of the siege of *Perugia*, for the whiche he blamed his brother and his wife, and most of all *Marcius*. He founde bys wife at *Athens*, that was fledde from *Brundisio*. His mother *Julia*, *Pompey* had sente out of *Sicilie*, whither she fledde in company of *Libone*, his father in lawe *Saturninus*, and others of the best sorte that he had, the which assayed to allure *Antony* to *Pompeys* parte against *Caesar*. *Antony* thanked *Pompey* for sending him bys mo- ther, the which he would requite in tyme conueniente, and if he did make warre againste *Caesar*, he would bly his societie, but if *Caesar* and he continued in agreement, he would reconcile him to *Caesar*. And this was *Antonyes* answer. *Caesar* heyrng come to *Rome*, vnderstode that some were gone to *Athens*, but what an- swere they had of *Antony*, he could not tell. When he soughte to discredite *Antony*, with the souldiours, as he that would toyne with *Pompey*, to put them from their possessions, and that manye were fledde to *Pompey*, but for all that, he coulde not winne the souldiours from *Antony*, so greate was the gloꝝ that he had gotte at *Philippi*. *Caesar* thought himselfe good enough for *Antony* & *Pompey* by lãd, for he had aboue 40. legions, but he had no ships, & they had moze than 500. with the which, if they would beset the coast of *Italy*, they might soon oppresse it with famine. Wherefore of many maydens þ were offered him in marriage, he thought to make his best match, & he wrote to *Mecenas*, that he shuld contract him to *Scribonia*, sister to *Libo*, father in lawe to *Pompey*, þ he might haue a pretence to agree with *Pompey* if neede were. This done, he remoued diuers of *Antonyes* friends from their authoritie, & sent *Lepidas* into *Africa* with fife legions of *Antonyes*. When he called to him *Lucius*, and praised him as kind to his brother, that he would take his faulte vpon himselfe: but he coulde not but thinke vnkindnesse in him, that after so great benefite shewed to him, he would not playnely tell his brothers conspiracie.

To this *Lucius* answered, I knewe my sister in lawes ambi- tionis desire to rule, but I toke the commoditie of my brothers , armye, to take the rule from you all, and if my brother would , come nowe to abolishe youre Monarchie, I would take bys , parte alwayes agaynst the for my Countreys sake, although ,

Thi. ij.

priuato ,

*Antony* sendeth  
his wife.

*Pompey* sendeth  
*Julia*, *Antonyes*  
mother to him  
honourably.

*Pompeys* friends  
assayed *Antony*.  
*Antonyes* an-  
swer.

*Caesar* discredit-  
teth *Antony* at  
*Rome*.

Glorie of *Anto-  
ny* great.

Marriage for  
*Caesar* to serue  
his turne.

*Caesar* to *Lucius*.

*Lucius* to *Caesar*.

privately I am most beholden unto thee. But if he will take companions of his tyrannie, I will take thy parte against him, so thou wilt destroy the Monarchie: for the affection to my Countrey shall alwayes prevaile more with me, than fauours of kindred.

Caesar maruelling at the constancie of Lucius, saide, he would not vse hym against his brother, though he would followe him: yet he would committe to him the prouince of Spayne, and appoint Peduceus and Luceius his Lieutenantes.

Thus in shewe of honoꝝ he sente alway Lucius, yet secretly commaunded he should be priuily watched.

Antony leauing his wife sicke at Seicyone, toke the Sea wyth no great army, with a Flaue of two hundred Shippes, whiche he had made in Asia.

Whē he vnderstoode that *Antobarbus* came to meete him with a great army, who was suspected not to be trusted of his worde, (for he was one of the condemned men of conspiracie against Caesar, and in battell at Philippi, fought against Caesar and Antony,) yet he went toward him with five good Shippes, that he mygh seme to trust him, willing the rest to followe after. *Antobarbus* whē he had sight of him, came forwarde with al his Flaue. Then was *Plancus* afrayde, and wisshed him to stay, and firste to trye what he meante, because he was to be doubted. Antony answered, he had rather dye, being deceyued by trust, than be thought to lye for feare. Being come nere, both the Admirals were knownen by their flagges, and sayled one to the other. The Herald of Antony standing in the forepart, epyther ignorant that he was not a sure friend, or of a boldnesse of minde, that the inferioure should stoupe to the superioure, commaunded the other to strike kille, whiche they did, and dyewe to the side of Antonyes Shipp, where they saluted and embraced one another: and the armye of *Antobarbus* receyued Antony for theyr Generall: yet was *Plancus* scarcely assured. And Antony toke *Antobarbus* into his owne ship, and sayled to *Polocenta*, where *Antobarbus* had his footemen. And there *Antobarbus* gaue place to Antony in the Generals tent.

from

from thence they sayled to *Brunduse*, where was five bandes of Caesars in garrison. The *Brundusians* shut the gates to *Antobarbus* as an auncient ennemie, and to *Antonie*, as one that brought an ennemie. *Antonie* toke this pretence to be done by Caesar, commaundement, and therefore, fortified the narrow parte of earth that toynd to the Citie, with ditch and trenched. For this citie is almoste an Island in a porte lyke a crescent, whiche by lande, could not become vnto, when this cliffe was cutte from it, and the place fortified. *Antonie* also, did beset the haven, which is very great, and all the Landes in it, with many Castels that he made. He sent also into sundry coastes of Italy, to take the fitt places, and exhorted *Pompey*, also that he should invade Italy, as much as he coude. He gladly sent *Metodorus* with a great army of .liij. legions, to gette *Corfica*, which was Caesar, where he toke two legions, being amazed at this attonement with *Antonie*. *Antonie*es Captaynes toke *Sigunto* a citie in *Ausonia*. *Pompey* besieged *Thury* and *Cossentia*, & placed his horsemen in their fieldes. Caesar, troubled in so many places at once, sent *Agrippa* to releue *Ausonia*. He commaunded the Souldiours that were placed, to serue: but they, vnderstandyng that it was done by *Antonie*es commaund, denied, whiche troubled Caesar moste of all. Yet he wente to *Brunduse* with an other army, and by fayre wordes made the Souldiours to go with him, the whiche practised by secreete meanes to reconcile Caesar and *Antonie*. And if *Antonie* would not, they would sticke to Caesar, who was now sicke at *Canusio*, and had a greater armie than *Antonie*. When he was come to *Brunduse*, & saue how *Antonie* had cut off the lande from the Towne, he lay and wayted his aduersaries, doyng. *Antonie* was stronger in munitions, by the meane whereof he sente for his armie out of *Macedonia*, and used this policie, to put country men by night into his Shippes, bothe Valleys and other, and to make a shewe of a great army, to come from *Macedonia*, and so began to beate *Brunduse*, whereof Caesar was soꝝ, for he coude not helpe it. At that etyening it was tolde, that *Agrippa* had recovered *Siguntum*, and that *Pompey* was repulsd from *Thury*, and that *Cossentia* was still besieged: whereat *Antonie* was soꝝ. And hearing that

Qu. iij.

Seruilus

Antony and, Antobarbus to Brunduse.

Antony is kept out of Brunduse.

Antony besieged Brunduse.

Brunduse was builded of the *Atchians*, and after inhabited of *Cretenses*, and at laste made an inhabitaunce of Rome: it hath the name of the forme of an Harres head with the horres.

which the *Messapians* call *Brundisium*, for that shape hath the porte, which is one of the best of the world.

Antony vseth compass helpe.

*Pompey* sendeth a navy with *Metodorus*, and besiegeth *Cossentia* & *Thury*.

The space from *Tiber* to *Venetus* is, was called *Ausonia*, by the which name also, Italy was called.

Caesar troubled, *Cossentia*, is yet a Citie, buylded vpon ten hills, and thereof gyueth seven hills for their armies. Souldiours praye for peace.

*Canusio* now is *Canossa*, in *Apulia*.

*Antonie*es policy. *Agrippa* recouerseth the besieged places.

Thurio was a  
citie builded by  
Nicom, coming  
from Aibens not  
farre from the  
which Mammas  
gathered.  
Antonies vali-  
antnesse.  
Thurio, in Ca-  
labria.

Objections of  
Soldiours on  
both parties.

Antonies wyll  
dead.

Cocceius talke  
with Antonie

*Servilius* was comming to *Caesar* with one thousande and two hundredeth horse: he could not stay, but straight fro supper with greates rage, toke his frendes and .iiij. C. horse, and valiantly gaue the onset vpon a .ss. and .b. C. and toke them slepyng at *Vria*, and brought to *Brunduse*. So great a fame was till of him, for the victory he gotte at *Philippi*. The garde of his person, would come to *Caesars* campe, and vpbayde them, their unkindnesse to hym that saued them at *Philippi*. Who answered, that they did but defende themselves. Then they objected one agaynst an other. The one, that they were excluded from *Brunduse*, and that the armie of *Calenus* was taken from them. The other, that *Brunduse* was besieged, and that the coast was invaded, and alliance made with *Aenobarbus*, a killer of *Caesar*, and with *Pompey*, a chief enemy. At length *Caesars* men opened their minde to *Antonies*, that they folowed *Caesar*, not forgettyng *Antonie*, beyng desirous that they might be reconciled. But if *Antonie* would not relent, they would do their uttermost. And this talke had they in *Antonies* campe. Whyles this was a doying, newes came that *Antonies* wyfe was dead, who coulde not beare hys unkindnesse, leauyng hir sick & not bidding hys farewell. Hir death was thought very comodious for them both. For *Fulvia* was an vnquiet woman, & for ielousie of *Cleopatra*, rayled suche a mortall warre. Yet the matter vexed *Antony*, because he was ropted the occasion of hir death. *L. Cocceius* was friend to the both. He the Dominer before was sente of *Caesar* with *Cecinna* to *Antonie* into *Asia*, and *Antonie* sente *Cecinna* home & kept *Cocceius* still. He sekyng occasiō to trie *Antonie*, told him *Caesar* had set for him, & desired he might departe, & asked whether he would wyte to *Caesar*. or no. *Antonie* was content he should departe. But as for wytyng (sayde he) what shoulde we wyte but tauntes one to an other, sayng we are now enemies. And I wrote to hym by *Cecinna*, the copie whereof you shall haue if you wyll. I brought you letters from hym, (sayde *Cocceius*) and enemy you can not take hym, that vsed your brother *Lucius* and your other frendes so well. Why (quoth *Antonie*) he shutteth me out of *Brunduse*, and hath taken myne armie and prouince that *Calenus* kepte. And where he

he is good to my frendes, he hath made them by hys benefites mine enemies. Then *Cocceius* not myndyng furder to stirre so angry a man, departed. And when *Caesar* saw hym, marueling he had tarried so long, sayde, I haue not saued your brother that you should become mine enemy: how cal you (sayd he) your frends enemies, & take fro them their armies & prouinces: wherto *Caesar* sayd. After the death of *Calenus*, so great a charge ought not to be giuen to so yong a man, as *Calenus* soune, *Antonie* being absent, & *Lucius*, *Asinius*, & *Aenobarbus* in armes against me. As for *Plautus* legions, I intercepted, that they shoulde not go to *Pompey*, as the horsemen did. These things were tolde otherwise to *Antonie*, (sayde he) yet he beleued nothing till he was shutt from *Brunduse*. I knewe not of it, sayde *Caesar*, neyther did I commaunde it: the *Brundusians*, & the garrison that I left, could not abide him, when he brought with him *Aenobarbus*, a killer of *Caesar* and a proscribed man, who after the feld at *Philippi*, besieged *Brunduse*, and yet troubleth the coast of *Italie*, burned my shippes, & spoiled the countrey. You haue (sayd he) consented one to the other, to make alliance with whom ye wil. Neither haue *Antonie* ioynd with any man queller more than you haue for regard of your father. *Aenobarbus* is no man killer, neyther any decree of anger made against him, neither was he pryncie to that purpose. And if he be thought vnworthy pardon because he was friend to *Brutus*, then must we see whether al other be not in his case. Consideracie is made with *Pompey*, not to hurte you, but if you make warre vpon *Antonie*, to haue his societie, if not, to reconcile hym to you, who is voyde of faulte: but you are in the faulte. For if warre had not bene made in *Italie*, they durste neuer haue sente Embassages, to *Antonie*. *Caesar* replied, and sayde, that *Fulvia*, *Lucius* and *Antony* began the warre in *Italy*. And *Pompey* durste neuer before invade the coast of *Italy*, but vpon the trust of *Antonie*, not onely trusting vpon *Antonie*, but sente of hym, sayde *Cocceius*, for I will not dissemble, and he shall invade the coste of *Italie* being voyde of haue, if you make not peace. *Caesar* not bruddlyng to heare this diuise, stayde a while: *Pompey* halbe punished, wherewith (quoth he) being already repulsd fro *Thurij*.

Caesar to Coc-  
ceius.

Caesars words  
of Pompey.

Then

When *Cocceius* perceyuing all the controuersie, tolde hym that *Fulvia* was dead, for unkindnesse of *Antonie*, and nolue that she is gone, there is no way but to vtter one an others græfe without dissimulation. *Caesar* beyng appeased by this talke, receyued *Cocceius*, who requested him to wyte somewhat to *Antonie*, as the yonger to the elder. He denied to wyte any thing to his enemy, that woulde wyte nothing to him. He also thought unkindnesse in *Antonies* mother, that beyng of his house, fledde out of *Italie*, and would not seeke to hym, of whome she might haue obtained any thing, as of hir Soune: and to hir hee was content to wyte. When *Cocceius* came forth, many of the Capitaynes declared the mindes of the Souldiours, that except they woulde be reconciled, warre should be made. Which hee tolde *Antonie*, and wished him to cōstermaund *Pompey* from furder inuasion of *Italie*, and to sende *Antobarbus* away, till they were agreed. *Julia* his mother toynd with *Cocceius*, and prayed hir sonne so to doe.

*Antonie* stode in doubt, for if the peace did not take, he must desire *Pompeys* helpe agayne, the whiche woulde be a shame for hym: but his mother putting him in comfort, & *Cocceius* seeming to knowe moze, *Antony* gaue place, and required *Pompey* to returne into *Sicilie*, and he would keepe promise with him, and sent *Antobarbus*, with authoritie into *Bythinia*. When þe army heard this, they chose messengers that might goe to eyther generall, and cutting off al rehearsall of unkindnesse past, to requyre the to linke in amitie. For this purpose, of *Caesars* parte, there was chosen *Mecenas*: and for *Antonie*, *Pollio*: and *Cocceius* was ioyned to them as a frende to bothe. And bycause *Marcellus* was dead, that was husband to *Octavia* *Caesars* sister, they required that she might be made sure to *Antony*, whiche beyng done, all the army, cried, Happy may it bee, continuing their reioyce one whole day & a night. Then *Caesar* and *Antonie*, once agayne deuised the whole *Roman* Empire, and made *Cadizopolis*, a Citie of *Spain* the boundes of bothe their partes, bycause it stode in the ende of the *Adriaticall* sea.

That *Caesar* should haue al prouinces, and Ilandes westward euen to the mayne Sea.

That

That *Antonie* shoulde haue the lyke Eastward, euen to the floud *Euphrates*.

That *Lepidus* should haue *Africa* still, as *Caesar* had appointed.

That *Caesar* should make warre vpon *Pompey*, vnlesse other order were taken.

That *Antonie* shoulde make warre vpon the *Parthians*, to reuenge the iniurie done to *Crassus*.

That *Antobarbus* should be receyued into societie, with those conditions that he had of *Antonie*.

That it should be lawfull for both, to leue men in *Italie*, with like numbers of legions. This peace was sollemnely ratified.

Wherby they sent away their friends about their affayres.

*Antonie* sent *Pentidius* into *Asia*, to repress the *Parthians*, & yong *Labiens*, who by the help of the *Parthians*, made new commotiōs in *Syria*, as far as *Ionia*, all the which he shewed in the *Parthians* warre. *Pompey*, by his Capitayne *Menedorus*, repulsed *Helennus* *Caesars* Lieutenant out of *Sardinia*. Wherfoze *Caesar* would not be reconciled with him. They went to *Rome* together, and celebrated the marriage. Wherby *Antonie* put *Manius* to death, bycause hee stirred *Fulvia* to make warre. He accused *Saluidienus* gouernour for *Caesar*, of the armie at *Rhodus*, that hee woulde forsake hym myster and cleaue to hym: wherof he wrote letters to hym to *Brundise*. This was not liked of all men, declaring vnconstant dealing in too much seeking of amitie. *Caesar* called *Saluidienus* vnto him, as about a matter of charges, and to serue him againe to the army, whom when he came, he slew him with reproche, and deliuered his army to *Antonie*, as suspected.

In the meane time the cytie was oppressed with famine, for neyther durst the Merchantes bring any corne from the East because of *Pompeys* being in *Sicilie*, nor from the West of *Corsica* & *Sardinia*, where *Pompeys* shippes also lay: nor frō *Africa*, where the ruies of the other conspiratours kepte their stations. Being in this distresse, they alleaged, that the discorde of the rulers was the cause, and therefore required that peace might be made with *Pompey*, vnto the whiche when *Caesar* woulde not agree, *Antonie* thought warre was neede full for necessitie, and bycause moze

*Menedorus* dyeth with *Helennus* out of *Sardinia*.

*Manius* is put to death by *Antonie*, & *Saluidienus* accused.

*Saluidienus* killed of *Caesar*.

Famine in *Rome*.

*Caesar* wyl not agree to peace with *Pompey*.

It.

ney

A p. y. ant put  
vpon the pro-  
prie.

The people re-  
f. the decree  
of Caesar and, for-  
tore.

The people re-  
f. the decree  
of Caesar.

V. Who buyeth  
friendship to  
deceit should thinke  
as *Libo* did.

Caesar's speech  
by *Antonie*  
renewed.  
Dead bodies  
cutting the ve-  
ins and later  
sprayed.

There is a confli-  
ct. The alliance of  
the marriage be-  
tween *Caesar*  
and *Calpurnia*  
is a  
*Calpurnia* was  
married to  
of *Caesar*, and  
now *Calpurnia* is  
a widow, it was  
the marriage  
of the marriage  
of *Caesar*.

was made, a decree was made by *Antonie* advise, that every man  
should pay the half of. xv. drames, for every slave y he had,  
which was determined to have bene done in the war of *Caesar*, &  
that somewhat also should be payde of every mans heritage.  
The people toze the decree with great furie, & objected the con-  
fuming of treasure publike, the payling of provinces, the sac-  
king of *Italy*, and all for private displeasure, and yet all would  
not serue, but muste nowe put newe impositions vpon them that  
haue nothing left. They assembled and murmured, & compelled the  
that would not, and with threathings to spoyle and burne they  
houses, gathered all the people. Then *Caesar* with a fewe of his  
freends and garde, came to them to excuse themselves, but they  
threw stones and drove him away, which when *Antonie* heard,  
he came to help him. To him comming the holy way, the people  
did nothing, because he was willing to agree with *Pompey*, but  
prayde him to departe, which when he would not do, they threw  
stones at him. When he brought in his soldiers that were with  
out the walles, & not about him, into the citie, being diuided into  
market places and streates, wounded & set vpon the multitude  
killed the in the streates as they came. And they could not easily  
see for y multitude, nor breake through by running, so that ma-  
ny were hurte and killed, crying and pelling from their houses.

So *Antonie* hadde muche ado to escape and *Caesar* by him was,  
evidently persued and got away. Thus did *Antonie* deliuer  
*Caesar* from present perill. The bodies of the commons that were  
killed, were caste into the river to auoyde the grieve of the sight,  
which came not so to passe, for the soldiers, fished for them as  
the streame carried them, and toke from them their apparell,  
whiche grieved the beholders. Thus this euill ended with enuie  
of the provinces, and yet no remedie for the lacke of things,  
whereat the people grutchted and suffered. *Antonie* wished *Libo*  
his freendes, to call him out of *Sicilie*, to congratulate for the al-  
liance made, and he would procure greater matter, and saue him  
harmlesse. They wrote letters to *Libo*, and *Pompey* was con-  
tent he should goe. And when he was come to the Ile called *Ri-*  
*thea*, and now *Senaria*, the people assembled again and praised  
*Caesar*,

*Caesar*, to send him letters of safecoduit to come to treat of peace.  
which he did, although against his wil. The people also compelled  
*Mutia*, mother to *Pompey*, to go vnto him, threathing els to burne  
hir, & help to make peace. When *Libo* perceyued how the enemies  
were inclined, he desired to speake with the Captaines, that they  
might together agree in the covenants, the which the people com-  
pelled the with much ado, & so *Antonie* & *Caesar* went to *Baia*. All  
other persued *Pompey* earnestly to peace, only *Menodorus* wrote  
fro *Sardinia* that he should make open warre, or bypue off, whyles  
the dearth continued, that he might make peace with the better  
conditions, & had him take hede of *Murcus*, who was a moner for  
peace, as one that sought to be in his authoritie. Wherefore  
*Pompey* put away *Murcus*, and vsed his counsell no more, to home  
before he honoured for his worthinesse and wisdom: whereat  
*Murcus* toke displeasure and wente to *Siracuse*, and to sicke as  
were sent after him to kepe him, spake openly agaynst *Pompey*,  
where with he beyng angrie killed diuerse of the bests aboute  
*Murcus*, and sent to kill him, and to say that his slaves had done  
it, whiche beyng done, he hanged certayne of *Murcus* slaves as  
though they had done it. The whiche craft was not hid, nor the  
wickednesse that he did agaynst *Bythinus*, a noble man and a va-  
liant warrior, and constant to him from the beginning, & his  
friende in *Spain*, from whence he came willingly to serue him in  
*Sicilie*. When he was dead, other men toke in hand to persnade  
him to peace, & accused *Menodorus* as desirous of his office by sea,  
not so much caring for his master, as for his owne power. *Pompey*  
solouing their euill, sayled to *Senaria*, w many chosen ships,  
himself being in a gorgeous galley with fire oyes on a seate, &  
so did passe *Dicarchia* proudly, towarde the euening, the enemies  
loking vpon him. The next morning shales were set in the sea, &  
bridges made, into one of y which toying to the land, *Caesar* came  
with *Antonie*, *Pompey* and *Libo* entered the other bylonge, in such di-  
stance, y one could not heare an other, vnlesse they spake aloud.  
*Pompey* required societie of rule, in place of *Vepidii*. They dinely  
graunted his return to his countrey, then at was dashed. Till offe  
messages wer set betwixen, offering diuerse conditions on both sides.

It is.

Pom. Pompey.

But was a Cl-  
tic not farre fro  
Naples, where  
the old Romaines  
had great de-  
lyte.  
*Menodorus* coun-  
sell.

*Murcus* is put  
from *Pompey*.

*Siracuse*, now  
*Siragusa*, a  
goodly cite of  
*Sicilie*.

*Murcus* and *By-*  
*thinus* killed of  
*Pompey*.

Now *Ischia*.

*Dicarchia*, now  
*Pozzoli*, *Puteoli*,  
an old named  
cite, nearer  
Naples than *Is-*  
chia, being three  
miles asunder  
by land, to the  
which *Calpurnia*  
made a bridge  
by the way, re-  
mains of *Caesar*,  
*Antonie* and  
*Pompey*.

Pompey required that such condemned men as were with him for *Caesar's* death, might be safe in exile, & that the other men of honour & proscribed, might be restored to their countrey and goods. The death continuing, & the people begging peace, it was graunted that they should recover the fourth part of their goods, as redeeming it of the new possessors, and wrote of it to the condemned men, thinking they would accept it, which took the offer, being now afrayde of *Pompey*, for his wickednesse committed agaynst *Murcus*, to whom they went & moued him to agree. He tooke his clothe, as betrayed of them, whom he had defended, and oft called for *Menodorus*, as one expert in matters of state, and onely constant in faith. At length, by the exhortation of *Murcia* his mother, & *Iulia* his wife, they three met agayne, vpon an old pierce of the sea, being wel garded, where they concluded with these conditions.

Pompey's daughter

The conditions of peace, betwene *Antony*, *Caesar* & *Pompey*.

That peace shoulde be, bothe by sea and lande, and the *Sperantes* haue free course.

That *Pompey* should take his garrisons out of *Italy*, & receiue no more fugitiues, nor keepe no nauies in *Italy*.

That he should rule in *Cicilie*, *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and those other Ilandes that now he had, so long as the rule should be continued to *Antonie* and *Caesar*.

That he should send to the people of *Rome*, the coine that now was due.

That he should also rule *Peloponessus*, besides the former *Iles*.

That he should exercise the office of Consul in his absence by his friends, and be admitted to the colledge of the *Bishops*.

That the noble men that were banished, might returne home, except them that were condemned by publique iudgement of *Caesar's* death.

That they that were fled for feare should be restored to their goods. And they that were condemned, only to the fourth parte.

That the slaues that had serued vnder *Pompey*, shoulde be free.

That the free men shoulde haue the same stipendes, that the old soldiours of *Antonie* and *Caesar* had.

These were the conditions of peace, which being written were sent to *Rome*, to be kept of the holy *Virgins*.

Then

When they desired the one to banquet the other, and the lotte fell first to *Pompey*, who receiued them in his greates gally, ioynd to the pierce.

*Pompey* banqueted *Caesar* and *Antony*, and they him.

The next day, *Caesar* and *Antony* feasted hym in their Tentes, pitched on that pierce, that euery man might eate on the shore, but peradventure for their more safetie, for the Shippes were at hand, the gard in order, and the guesstes with their weapons vnder their clothes. It is sayd, that *Menodorus* when they banqueted in *Pompey's* Shippe, sente one to *Pompey*, to put him in remembrance, that now was the time to reuenge his father and brothers death, for he would see that none should scape the Shippe: and that he answered, as became him then for his person and place: *Menodorus* might haue done it without me, it agreeth with *Menodorus* to be periured false, but so may not *Pompey*.

*Menodorus* counsell.

Answer of *Pompey*.

In that supper, *Pompey's* daughter, wife to *Libo*, was espoused to *Marcellus*, *Antony's* nephew, sonne to *Caesar's* sister.

The next day, the Consuls were appoynted for foure yeares, first *Antony* and *Libo*, and that *Antony* mighte make a substitute, next *Caesar* and *Pompey*, then *Senobarbus*, and *Sosius*, lastly *Caesar* and *Antony*, thrice Consuls, and as it was hoped, to restore to the people the gouernement of the common wealth.

Consuls appoynted.

These things being concluded, they departed, *Pompey* with his Shippes to *Sicilie*, and they by land to *Rome*.

At the newes of this peace, the Citie and all *Italy* made great ioy, by the which, ciuill warre, continuall musters, insolencie of garrisons, running away of slaues, wasting of Countreys, decay of tillage, and aboue all, most greates famine was taken away: therefore, sacrifices were made by the way to the Princes, as to preseruers of the Countrey. The Citie had receyued them with a godly triumph. hadde not they entred by night, because they would not charge the Citizens. Onely they were not partakers of the common ioy, that had the possession of the banished mens goods, who should returne by the league, and be their beneficent enemies.

Reioyce for peace.

The banished men, a fewe except that went againe with *Pompey*, toke leaue of him at *Puzzolo*, and wente to the Citie, where

Banished men returne.

Fr. iij.

a new

a new ioy was made, for the returne of so many noble men. The *Caesar* went to pacifie *France*, and *Antonie* to make war on *Parthians*. And *the Senate* hauing approued his actes, as wel past as to come, he sent his Captaynes abroade, & did what he would. He appoynted also certaine kings, only such as should pay a tribute. Of *Pontus*, *Darius*, *Pharnaces* sonne, & *Mithridates* nephew. Of the *Idumeans* & *Samaritanes*, *Herode*. Of *Pisidiās*, *Amynas*. Of part of *Cilicia* *Polemon*, and others of other natiōs. He sente his army that should haue wintered about him, into *Parthiēna*, a natiō of *Illyria*, nigh to *Epidamn*, *the* sometime entirely loued *Brutus*, that he might acquaint *the* to gayne & exercise. Another army he set to *Dardanes*, which is a people of *Illyria* also, that was wōt to make rodes in *Macedonia*. Other he commaunded to abide at *Epirus*, *the* he might haue them all about him, intending to winter at *Athens*. He sent *Furius* into *Africa*, to leade vj. legions of *Scythia* against the *Parthians*, for he had not yet heard, that *Lepidus* had taken them from *Scythia*. These things being done, he wintered at *Athens* with *Octavia*, as he did at *Alexandria* with *Cleopatra*. Only he looked on the letters *the* came frō his armies, and leauing *the* habite of a General, vsed *the* garmets of a priuate mā, and without a garde, wōt in cōpany of two friēds, to heare the lectors & disputations of the *Philosophers*. His dyet was after the *Grecia* māner, hauing *Octavia* euer in his cōpany, as one *the* was fond vpo wōmē. Winter being ended, he changed his māner & gouernement. He had his officers & Captaynes attending at his gates, and all things were done to make feare. The Embassagies that were differred, were now heard, audience was giuē, ships were prepared, and all fall of businesse. Whilēt *Antony* was thus occupied, the leaguē betwē *Caesar* and *Pompey* was broken for some secrete cause, but the open matter was this. *Antony* committed *Africa* to *Pompey*, vpon this conditiō, that he should pay their debtes, or see them payde, or leaue the matter safe. He took nōt the prouince wōth this cōditiō, but to haue the cōntrey wō the debtes. Being grēuēd at this, of his peruerse nature (as *Caesar* said) or bycause he envied that others should haue greater armies than he, or for that he gaue too much credit to *Menedorus*, that said, it was no peace, but a truce, he repaired other ships, & gathered his Gallies, & made

Antony's acts  
approved by the  
Senate.  
Antony maketh  
Kings.

Illyrian people  
betweene Iulia  
and Arabia.  
Samaritanes, a regio  
of Palestine be-  
twixt Iudea &  
Parthia.  
Dardania.

Epirus, now  
Gomara, or Al-  
bania.

Antony's be-  
haviour at  
Athens.

Change of  
Antony.

Caesar breaketh  
with Pompey.  
The pretence  
of the breach.

an oratio to his army, declaring how war must needs follow, & troubled *the* sea by rōuers, so as little commoditie came to *the* Citie by that accōrd: wherfore it was spokē openly, that peace was not made for to relēue *the* of perils, but to adde the fourth to *the* number of *Pyrrantes* increased. *Caesar* tookē some of the *Pyrrates*, & put *the* to *the* torture, to make *the* confesse, *the* *Pompey* sent *the*. *Caesar* told it to *the* people, & signified it to *Pompey* by letters. *Pompey* excused it, & complained of *the* dealings touching *Peloponnes*. The noble mē that remained with *Pompey*, perceiuing him to be alway ruled by *the* that had bin his bondmē, killed some of his frēmade mē, either of *the* selues, or to please *Caesar*, to kinde him against *Menedorus* by *the* matter. Thys they did of purpose, for the hate they bare to *Menedorus*. At *the* time, *Philadelphus*, a frēmade mē of *Caesar*'s, sayled to *Menedorus* for corne: & *Mitridis*, a most sure friēd to *Menedorus*, wōt to deale with *Caesar* for him, promising him *the* rule of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, with thre legiōs, & many friēds. This matter practised eith by *Philadelphus*, or for displeasure of *Pompey*, *Caesar* would not at *the* first, but at lēgh accepted it, thinking *the* peace to be brokē in dede, & called *Antony* frō *Athens*, to *Brundis* at a certayne daye for this war, and sent for the Gallies frō *Rauenna*, and *the* army frō *Lombardy*, to lye at *Brundis* & *Putzele*, to inuade *Sicilie* on both sides, if *Antony* would agrēe therunto. *Antony* came at his day, & not finding *Caesar* there, tarried not, either for *the* he liked not of *the* war against *the* truce, or for *the* he saw *Caesar* make great preparatiō (for both of *the* were ambitious of rule) or for *the* he was feared with a token, for one of *the* watch of his tēt was deuoured of a Wolfe, al laue *the* face, as though it should be knowē who it was, whi he was done without any crye or noise. And the *Brundisians* said, they saw a Wolfe runne frō his paviōs by breake of day. Notwithstāding, he wrote to *Caesar*, not to breake *the* couenant made, and threatned to take *Menedorus* as his slaue, for he was bond to *Pompey* *the* great, whose goodes he had bought. *Caesar* sent his officers to receiue *Sardinia* and *Corfica* of *Menedorus*, and fenced *the* coast of *Italie* with many fortres, that it should not be so subiecte to *Pompey*'s rōuing. He commaunded that more Gallies should be made at *Rauenna* and *Rome*, and sent for a great army from *Illiria*. *Menedorus* he made a frēman, and to guide *the* *Spanie* that he brought, as *Clicca* admirall vnder

Quintus  
Pompey.

Caesar calleth  
Antony from  
Athens.

Antony cometh  
to Brundisio.  
A suspicion be-  
twē *Caesar*  
and *Antony*.  
A token in *An-  
tony*'s Campe.

Antony to *Caesar*.

*Menedorus* is  
claymed of  
*Antony*.

*Menedorus* is  
gouerneth to *Caesar*,  
and is made  
free.

under *Caluissus*. He continued leysurely in making preparation, and was angry with *Antony*, that he would not tarric. With his flauie prepared at *Rauenna*, he badde *Cornificius* go to *Tarento*. As he wente, a tempest rose, and crushed the chiefe Shippe, wherein *Caesar* should goe, which was thought an euill token. And wheras the people thought that warre to be made against the truce, *Caesar* to auoyde that suspicion, wrote to the people of *Rome*, and spake to the army, that *Pompey* had broken the league, by sending Pyratts to the Sea, which was playne by the confession of *Menodorus*, and the Pirats themselves. Whereof *Antony* was not ignorant, and therefore would not let him haue *Peloponnesus*. Whiche he thought himselfe well furnished, he sayled into *Sicilie*, from *Tarento*, *Caluissus*, *Sabinus*, and *Menodorus*, from *Tuscanie*, and his army came by land to *Reggio*, and with great hast all things were done. And *Pompey* did not knowe that *Menodorus* was fledde, till *Caesar* was come, and sayled against both the flauies. Himselfe tarried at *Messina*, and sent *Menecrates* against *Caluissus*, and *Menodorus*, that was a greate enimie of his, being of his condition. He came in sight of the enimie in the euening. They withdrew to the gulfe of *Cuma*, and there rested that night. *Menecrates* wente to *Menaris*. In the morning, *Caluissus* flauie coasted the shore of *Cuma* in the forme of a Crescent, to keepe off the enimie. *Menecrates* came forth, and made sprede againste the enimie, whom, because he could not drawe into the deepe sea, he set vppon them as they were, and kept the at the shore, where they defended themselves. He might take the sea when he would, and come agayne more fiercely, and change his Shippes at his pleasure, but they coulde not stirre, but keepe them from their aduersaries on the one side, and from the rocks on the other side.

When *Menodorus*, and *Menecrates* saw one another, they left the rest of their flauies, and came together with rage and noyse, and it seemed, that which of them ouercame, shoulde be the conquerour of the flauie. Their Shippes with great violence crushed one another, so as the sterne of *Menodorus* shippe was broken, and the pump of *Menecrates*. Then grapeling their Shippes together, they stood firme. The mariners and sculdyoures fought with

fought with no lesse courage and footing, than as if they had bin on the land. They shotte, they darted, and threw stones, and byd cast bridges, to passe from one to another. And because *Menodorus* shippe was higher than the other, they byd the more harme, with lesse payne. Many were killed and hurte. *Menodorus* was stricken through the arme with a dart, the which was straight pulled out. But *Menecrates* was hurt in the thigh with a forked Spanish arrowe, which could not be pulled out. And not being able any longer to fight, he exhorted his company, and leapt into the Sea, and then *Menodorus* took his shippe, and drew it to land, for he could fight no longer. This was the fight on the lesse side of the flauie. On the right, *Caluissus* chased certaine shippes of *Menecrates*. *Demochares* a freemane man of *Pompeys* also, & vicemirall to *Menecrates*, entred vpon the other shippes of *Caluissus*, whereof he drew some to shore, and some he made to flee, & some he set on fire. When *Caluissus* came from the chase, and saw his flauie scattered and fired, he stayde the one, and quenched the other, and because it was night, both they withdrew to their former harborough. This was the end of the first fight by sea, wherein *Pompey* had the better. *Demochares* greatly taking the death of *Menecrates*, as a very greate losse, (for *Pompey* euer used *Menecrates* and *Menodorus* service by sea) leaving al other thyngs, as though not *Menecrates* body, and one shippe hadde bin lost, but the whole flauie went straight from the boyle to *Sicilie*. *Caluissus* lay still as long as he thought *Demochares* would come against him, but when he saw him gone, he refreshed his ships, and kept along the shore. On the other side, *Caesar* with a great flauie from *Tarento*, and his army from *Reggio*, mette with *Pompey* at *Messina* with fortye shippes only. His friends exhorted him to take the occasion of the few shippes that *Pompey* had, and to sette vpon him before the rest of his flauie came, but *Caesar* would not, till he was ioyned with *Caluissus*, assyuring it to be a folly to hazard without helpe. When *Demochares* was come to *Messina*, *Pompey* made him, and *Apollonides* his freemane man also, chiefe of the flauie, in stead of *Menecrates*, and *Menodorus*. When *Caesar* heard of the losse that *Caluissus* had, he crossed the sea to meete with *Cal-*

Pp.

uissus,

*Tarento* is a Citie in *Spalia*, which hath a goodly port, & is in lesse comode. An euill token to *Caesar*.

*Caesar* affirmeth the peace broke by *Pompey*.

*Caesar* into *Sicilie*.

*Menecrates* was a greate company keeping the sea.

*Cuma* was a goodly ancient Citie, not farre from *Naples*, now nothing is left but mirvellous ruines. *Menecrates* fight with youth *Caesar* Captaynes.

The fight betwene *Menecrates* and *Menodorus*.

Fight by Sea.

*Menodorus* hurt.

*Menecrates* diouined.

*Demochares*.

*Caluissus* shippes distressed.

*Caesar* and *Pompey* shew at *Messina*.

*Caesar* refuseth the fight.

New Admirals of *Pompey* flauie.

Sylla, one of  
the noble  
rockes of the  
narrow Sea of  
Messina, is named  
as they say of  
Sylla, the  
daughter of  
Pharao.  
Cicero, however,  
gave it the name  
of the rocke over  
against which  
the ships were  
sunk, or a  
place by which  
the ships were  
lost.  
Sylla, the  
daughter of  
Pharao, was  
the rocke over  
against which  
the ships were  
sunk, or a  
place by which  
the ships were  
lost.  
Sylla, the  
daughter of  
Pharao, was  
the rocke over  
against which  
the ships were  
sunk, or a  
place by which  
the ships were  
lost.

A good lucke  
to Caesar.

Caesar's ship  
sunk.

us, and as he passed betwene Syllia and Sylla, Pompey set upon  
the taile of his flauie, and prouoked the fight by all meanes, but Ca-  
sar refused it, either because he would not fight in the streights, or  
because he would first find Calpurnius. He commanded all to be ready  
the shore, & to lie at anchor, & to stand to defence, if any were set upon  
them. But Demetrius coming in, the rest of his ships upon one  
of the other, so drove them together & upon the rocks, as many were  
crushed & perished cowardly. And by like lucke was here, as was  
at the sight of Cyna. Caesar leapt out of his ship into the shore, and  
help to save them that swamme for their liues, but Cornificius & other  
Captaines without commandement, hopped anchor, & took the sea,  
thinking it better to be overcome fighting, than to perish foolishly.  
And Cornificius with great boldnes took the Admirall that Dom-  
itius was in, who leapt into another. The fight continuing with  
great losse, Metellus & Calpurnius were seen coming, not of Caesars  
company, who travelled for their liues, but of Pompeys people only,  
who therefore retired. It was now night, & they would not match  
with the fresh men, they being weary, the which chanced well for  
the other that were in danger. In the night, many forsooke their  
ships, and went to the mountaines, and made many tokens of fire  
to them that were in the sea, & were all that night without meate, &  
without rest, wanting all things. Caesar being in like case, went a-  
board, & paid them to hold out till the morning. It was not yet knowne  
that Calpurnius was come, neither was there any help from the ships,  
all being in danger of drowning, but by another good lucke, the xij.  
legion drew nigh by the mountaines, which hearing of the losse,  
resorted to the fires by the rocky places, & found their Generall &  
them that were with him weary, & wanting all things: then one did  
help another. And they brought Caesar into an old house, withoute  
any of his chamber, being dispersed in that nightes tumult. When  
he had sente aboute to shew that he was safe, he vnderstande that  
Calpurnius was come, & so being recomforted by two joyful newes,  
he took rest. At breake of day he looked out, & saw his ships, some  
burned, some halfe burned, and some floating, and some broken. Cal-  
purnius being come, he caused as much help, and repaire to be made  
as could be, and the rather, because the enimie was gone: but be-  
hold,

hold, a vehement Southwind blew, and made a rough sea, so as  
Caesars ships were againe crushed on the cliffes & rockes, and one  
against another. Pompey was in the port of Messina, Metellus fear-  
ing the violence of the storme, went further into the sea, and many  
followed his example. The other, thinking the storme would be some  
haile ceased, as is wont in Spring time, kept still about the shore,  
saving themselves with labour: but the winde waxing greater, all  
went to wracke, Cabels burst, & ships brake. The shriek was so  
great, that no good aduice could be heard, no difference betwene  
maister & mariner, no skill nor rule preuailed, all was alike, and so  
they perished. The ships were flitte, the men were drenched, & they  
that coulde swimme, were broken at the rockes: and when the  
flood of that sea came, which is wont to be great, the ships were  
with new rage tossed hither and thither, beating one another, and  
the wind continuing toward night, made them feare the losse to be  
in the darkenesse, and not in the light. Greate lamentation was  
made, and calling one to another for help, but all in vaine. They  
that were cast into the sea cryed for help of them in the ships. They  
that looked for help of them on the land, were crushed at the cliffes.  
So present death was in euery place, and so great darkenesse, as  
neither heauen nor earth coulde be seen, and so euery one looked  
for death, which was more grievous, than death it selfe. Sud-  
danely the winde ceased, and the sunne appeared, the storme  
hauing bin so great, as the men of that countrey affirmed they had  
 neuer scene the like. The which destroyed the most part of Caesars  
ships and Souldiours, who being afflicted with these newe  
calamities, went to Sicily by land with impatient minde. He sente  
for the Captaines from euery place, that no mutinies might be  
made, nor trauell layde for him. He appoynted his army by land,  
to keepe the coast of Italie, that Pompey being encouraged by this vi-  
ctory, shoulde not invade, who neither attempted any thing by  
lande, nor made an ende of them by sea, but suffered them to ga-  
ther together as they could, and with prosperous wind to gette to  
Sicily, either because he thought them afflicted enough, or could not  
use the victory, or (as I sayd before) slowe to invade, contente to  
defend. Of Caesars flauie, scarcely the halfe was lefte, and that

Tempest vpon  
Caesar's ships.

The trouble in  
Caesar's Name.

The looking  
for death  
griuous.  
A vehement  
storme.

Caesar agayne  
afflicted.  
Sicily.

The great  
negligence of  
Pompey.

Caesar want.

Caesar content  
and in vantage.Agrippa is  
that they call  
Gurgens.Antony con-  
meth into Italy.Caesar content  
with Antony.Antony de-  
fines of Italian  
Soldiours.Octavia to his  
brother.Obiecting and  
answering of  
quarrels.Metapontus was  
a faire Citie,  
now utterly  
destroyed.  
Caesar and Antony  
meete.

soze byusede, leauing some to ouersce them, with sozoluful mind he went into *Campania*, soz neyther had he any other Shippes, ha- uing neede of manye, noz time to make them, the dearth beying great, and the people crying soz pence, and blaming that warre, that was made against promise. Heede also he hadde of money, whereof was great want, the people of *Rome* not to be moued to any payments. But *Octavius Caesar*, subtile soz his owne com- mitie, sent *Mecenas* to *Antony* with instructions to call him to so- cietie of warre, which if he refused, he would traſport his legiōs into *Sicilie*, and trie y matter by lād. Being in these cares, it was knowen that *Antony* woulde ioyne with him in warre, and that *Agrippa* had a victoꝝy against the French *Aquitanes*. His friēds also some Cities promised him ships. So he leauing his sadnes, prepared a greater ſaue. At y beginning of the Spring, *Anto- nie* came frō *Athens* to *Tarentum*, with iij. C. ships, to ioyne with *Caesar* in warre according to his promise. He changing his pur- pose, tarried til his ſaue was furnished, and when he was told that *Antonyes* ſaue was sufficiente, he allcaged he had other lettes, y it might appeare he had more quarrell against *Antony*, or despised his help, trusting in his owne. *Antony* taking it grā- uously, remained yet still, and required him once againe. foz ha- uing much adoe, to prepare money for the *Parthian* war, & neede of *Italian* souldiours, he would haue chāged ships for mē, although by cōposition both of them might take vp mē in *Italy*, but it was y harder for him to do, bycause *Italy* was another mā's prouince. Wherefoze *Octavia* went to his brother, to moue him therevnto. He said, *Antony* had forsaken him, whereby he was like to haue bin lost in y sea of *Sicilie*. She answered, that matter was satis- fied by *Mecenas*. Then he laide, *Antony* had sent *Calpurnius* his late ſlaue, to confederate with *Lepidus* against him. She sayd, he went to treate of inriage. foz *Antony*, befoze he should go to the *Par- thians* warre, desired to bestow his daughter vpo *Lepidus* sonne, as he had promised. When *Octavia* had affirmed this, *Antony* sente *Calpurnius* to *Caesar* to trie y truth by torture, which he refused, & sente word to *Antony* to meete him, betwene *Metapontus* and *Tarentum*. *Antony* when he saw *Caesar* lept into a bote alone, signifying y he trusted him, *Caesar* seing y, did the like, & either of thē made hast to get

get ground on y contrary side, but *Caesar* was the quicker, & arrived on *Antonyes* side, and wente in charriot with *Antonie* to hys si- ster *Octavia*, and lodged together without garde. The next day *Antonie* did the lyke by him. Thus they were some at debate for suspiſion, & some agreed soz necessitie. *Caesar* deferred the warre agaynst *Pompey*, till the next yeare. *Antonie* could tarry no lon- ger there soz the *Parthians* warre, so they made an exchange. *Anto- nie* gaue *Caesar* a hundredeth and twenty shippes, soz the whiche, *Caesar* promysed him twentie thousande legions souldiours *Italian* ans. *Octavia* presented his brother with ten shippes, that bothe serued soz burden, and oꝝes. *Caesar* gaue *Octavia*, one thousande choyle men soz his garde, as *Antonie* woulde take. And bycause y time of thze mens authoritie was expired by decre of Senate, they continued it soz ſine yeare more, of their owne authoritie, neither loking soz consent of Senate, noz confirmation of peo- ple, and so departed. *Antonie* making haste into *Syria*, leauyng *Octavia* with his brother and hys sonne, *Menedorus*, being a trap- tour by nature, or fearing the threates of *Antonie*, that sayde he was his ſlaue, or not finding such rewarde as he looked for, or be- ing moued with the daylie rebukes of his olde selowes *Pompeys* late bonde men, and after *Menebrates* death exhorting hym to re- turne as unfaithfull to hys Maſter, hauing assurance he fledde to *Pompey* with seuen shippes. Whiche *Calpurnius* the admirall did not perceyue, wherefoze *Caesar* put him from his office, and plas- ced *Agrippa*. When his nauie was finished, he did purge it, af- ter this sozte. Alters stāde at the sea side touched with the wa- ter. They with their shippes stāde aboute with greate silence. The priestes in boates in the sea make the sacrifices and carie their purgations thrice about the nauie, the Capitaynes goyng with them, wishyng and praying that all vnfortunate and vn- faythfull things might be remoued from it. The bowels of the sacrifices beyng diuided, they thzowe parte in the sea, and parte they burne on the Alters, the people wishyng all good lucke. It was determined that *Caesar* should inuade from *Pureiol*. *Lepidus* from *Africa*, and *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, and so besette *Sicilie*, East, West, and South. And a day appointed, whiche was the tenth

Exchange of  
fortiſſie.Continuance  
of three mens  
authoritie.Menedorus fle-  
eth from Caesar.Calpurnius, displa-  
ced and *Agrippa*  
placed.Purging of the  
nauie.The manner of  
inuating *Sicilie*.

P. 113.

after

Quintilius.

Tables is one of  
the three el-  
bowes called  
Isthmus of  
Sicily, looking  
towards the  
east, and a Cuttye  
of that name.  
The lies of the  
port, others  
write, else he  
teach.

Cesar sacrificed  
to the Sea.

Lepidus,  
Taurus.

Appia.  
The point of  
Miseria.

The ports of  
Pelus.

The loss of  
Cesar's Shippes.

after the longest day of the yeare, which the *Romines* call *Calendis*, in the honour of old *Cesar*, called *Iulie*, whiche before was named *Quintilis*. This day *Cesar* appointed, because of the honour of his father, whose felicitie was perpetuall. *Pompey* placed *Plennius* at *Lilibeo*, against *Lepidus*, with one legion, and muche shotte. The East and West parte of *Sicilie*, he layde with garrisons: chiefly the Isles of *Lipara* and *Cosyra*, least *Lepidus* should get the one, and *Cesar* the other, and be continuall annoyance to *Sicilie*. He kepte the strength of his name at *Mesina*, to be ready at all euentes. After the day was come, they all take shippe in the mornynge. *Lepidus* came out of *Africa*, with a thousande Shippes of burden, lxx Gallies, and xij. legions, five thousande *Numidian* horse, and other prouision. *Taurus* from *Tarent*, of *Ancones*, a hundred and thirtie Shippes, brought onely a hundred and two Shippes, the other were distressed by the pestilence it at was the winter passed. *Cesar* departed from *Patzolo*, hauing first sacrificed to *Neptune*, and the calme sea, to fauour him against the killers of his father. Certen scouters went afoze, to espie the coast. *Appius* ledde the reregarde, with a multitude of Shippes. The thirde day after they were entred, a South winde arose and drowned many of *Lepidus* Shippes, yet he gotte to *Sicilie*, and besieged *Plennius* in *Lilibeo*, and toke many towne of that coast. *Taurus* when the winde turned, returned to *Tarent*. *Appius* sayling by the point of *Miseria*, had Shippeswacke by tempest, parte were losse upon the rockes, parte in the shalowes, and parte crushed one with an other. *Cesar* so soone as the tempest rose, wente to the porte of *Peluso* safe, except one Galley of fire ozes on a side. After the South winde folowed a Southwest winde, whiche so stirred that porte, that the Shippes could not go south opening to the West. noz be stayed with anchoz, but were broken against the rockes, or crushed of themselves, which euill was augmented by the coming on of the night. When it was calme, *Cesar* buried the dead, healed the hurte, clothed the swimmers, and amended the losse as well as he colde. He lost sixe great Shippes, and xxvj. of the lesse sorte, & very many of the small vessels. To amend this want, xxx. dayes were required, & now summer went away.

away. Therefore it was thought best to deferre the warre til the next Summer. But because the people was oppressed with penurie he repayed his nauies as wel as he coulde, & got of his friends some helpe, whiche he sente to supply *Taurus* number. After this losse, *Maxentius* was sent to *Rome*, to appease them that yet had remembrance of *Pompey*, by the way himselfe wente into *Italie*, & had the new landed men be of good chere, and with great space came to *Tarent*, to view *Taurus* name, from thence he went to *Syracusa*, & cheered the legions, and trimmed the Shippes, to haue *Sicilie* shortly againe. *Pompey*, toke none aduantage of this occasion, only he made sacrifices to *Neptune*, and to *Salatia*, whose sonne, now forsooth, he would needs be called, thinking certainly, that God fauoured him so much, as he would giue him victorie still. And was so inflamed with this successe, as he chaunged his purple robe, into an azure, as adopted of *Neptune*. He thought *Cesar* would not haue stirred, but when he heard he returned againe, he was stricken downe, because he sawe he had to do with an inuincible minde. Yet he sent *Menodorus* with vij. Shippes whiche he brought to espie his doings. He disoayning that he had not his old authoritie, & perceiuing he was had in suspition, because he had no more Shippes than he brought, determined to flee againe. And thinking that it would turne to his good, if he shewed any feate worthy praise, he gaue all his money to his companions, & with great hast came vpon *Cesar's* naue, with such a violence, as he toke the Shippes & lay for the garde of the naue, sometime two at once, sometime three, & the Shippes of burden he drowned, burned, & led away, & made great affray in the coast, *Cesar* & *Agrippa* being absent, who was gone to prepare matter for the nauy. When he fel to flouting of his enemies, he droue his shippe into a softe cse, & pretended he had bin a groind, which they thought to haue bene true, and ranne to catch him, as a comon pray: whiche when he perceiued he went away & laughed: whereat *Cesar's* Shoulters were much agrieved. When he had shewed what service he coulde, he deliuered *Rebilius* a Senator whom he had taken, making his will. Then he sayned that *Finidius* a familiar of *Cesar's* would flee away to him, and sayling nigh the ensay, he desired to speake with *Finidius*, of matters that concerned them both.

*Maxentius* goeth  
to *Rome*.

*Cesar* goeth to  
chere the nau-  
dious of *Italie*.

*Pompey* loseth  
occasion.  
He is pulled vp  
vainly.

*Salatia* is the  
sea, here put for  
the Goddesse of  
the sea.

*Menodorus* ma-  
keth a newe  
stricke on *Cesar's*  
nauy.

*Menodorus* illu-  
strateth his en-  
emies.

*Menodorus* deli-  
uereth *Rebilius* a  
Senator.

He maketh his  
deuise by *Finidius*.

Whiche

Which when it was granted, and they meeting alone, he told him, that his sleeping awayne to Pompey was for despightes that Calpurnius had done him. But nowe that Agrippa was the Admirall, he would returne awayne to Caesars service, so Vinidius would bying him assurance from Messala, that was Agrippas Lieutenant, promysing to recompence his faulte with singular service: but tyll he had his assurance, he sayde, he would molest them as he had done, to auoide suspition, and so dyd. Messala doubted at the firste, as of a matter not honest, but at length hee graunted it, eyther for the necessitie of time, or for that he knewe Caesar would be content. Thus once awayne hee fled, and when hee came to Caesar, he kneeled to him and asked pardon, before hee shewed the cause of his former faulte. Caesar bycause of promise was content to pardon him, and appoynted keepers to him, and gaue leaue to the Capitaynes of his Gallies to go whither they would. Then Caesar toke his iourney againe, commaundying Messala to take two legions and ioyne with Lepidus, and go to the haven that is next Taurominus. He sente thre others to Strida in the furthest parte of the Sea to abyde occasion. He commaunded Taurus to goe to mount Silatio, that is a mountaine against Taurominus. Whiche hee did, beyng both fitte for the fight, and for the passages. The army by land followed, & was scouted with light horsemen: the nauy, with Brigandines and ffoystes. Caesar came from Ribone and praysed the order, and returned to Ribon. Pompey placed garrisons on the coast of Sicilie, and kept his nauie at Messina, to helpe when neede were. So Lepidus came out of Africa the other foure legions, with whom, Papias a Capitayne of Pompeys met, and by a pretence of friendship, destroyed them. For they thought hee had bene sente of Lepidus to conduct them and gaue place. Two of y legions perished in the sea, if any escaped by swimming, Tiberius killed them on lande. Caesar, sayled from Ribone, into Strongile, one of the Aeolian Islands, sending ffoystes to espie the coast, and perceyuing many shippes aboute Pelorus, Milin, and Tyndaride, he thought Pompey had bene there. Wherefore he left Agrippa his Lieutenant, and went awayne to Libon. From thence he wente againe to Taurus campe with Messala and thre legions.

21-9741.

Almedorm re.  
uolctn once a.  
Rayne.

*Tauronius* a  
couve of Steele.  
*Tauronius* was  
built of the  
Cafidavis, and af-  
ter a Colonte of  
Rome hauyng the  
name of the bull  
of Minos vythch  
they beare in  
their armes.

Scyllacea, is  
now called  
Capo di Spada  
Lacina daunge-  
rous place.

Papers,  
Legation ships  
destroyed.

**Yucca.**  
Strongly, NOVE  
Shonite, NOTAR  
frö Siche.

*Pelorus*, a poyn-  
t of land, lower a-  
gainst Scylla.  
Mys, now Mys  
Limo.  
*Typharide* is not  
far from Mys.

legions, minding to take *Tauraminis* in *Pompey's* absence, and made him in two places at once. *Agrippa* passed from *Stongyle* to *Hiera*, and took it. The next day he went to *Myla*, to match with *Democharus*, who had xl. shippes. *Pompeius*, doubting of *Agrippa's* purposes, sent other xlv. shippes, to *Democharus*, under the leading of *Apollophanes* his late bondman, hee following with lxx. more. Before day *Agrippa* set forth with halfe his nauie to fight with *Papia* alone, but when he saw *Apollophanes* nauie, and the rest of *Pompey's* shippes, he signified to *Cesar*, that *Pompey* was at *Myla* with the greater parte of his nauie. He kept the battell with his great shippes, commaunding al the reste, to keepe course to *Tenera*, the preparation was great on bothe sides, and the shippes had turrets both at *sterna* and *pompe*. When the exhortation was giuen, they beganne the fight, *Cesars* vpon the face, the others vpon the sides fetching compasses. *Pompey's* shippes were lighte and litle, apte to turne and returne aboute the enimies, *Cesars*, were great & heauie, and therefore the slower, but of more force both to offende and defende. In them, the soldours were more manly: in the other, the mariners, they gotte auantage by compassing aboute, & breaking the *sternes* & sides of the enimie, and with a violence sometime gaue as great a blow as they tooke. On the contrary side, *Cesars* shippes, with their *sternes*, easily put backe these other being litle, and either crushed, or pearced them, and when they fought at hande, they combed them with shotte, and with hookes, helde them harde, and then woulde they leape in to the sea, and were take vp againe of the litle voses that wayed on the shippes. *Agrippa* gaue an onset vpon *Papia* his shippe with such force as he list it. They that fought in the toppe fell downe, the water entred, the lower sorte were drowned, and the other escaped by swimming. *Papia*, being receyued into another shippe, fought agayne. *Pompey* standing vpon an hyl, and perceiuing that his shippes were too weake and weary, and *Agrippa* continually refreshed with the reuerwarde, commaunded them to retire in order, whiche they did in a shewe of fight. But when *Agrippa* folowed, they fledde, not to the rockes, but to the softe oze, that was brought in by the floudde. *Agrippa* being

Her, may be  
do, will be  
tween six & 8  
Paris.  
Pompeii naty.

Agrippa goes to the fight.

The right by  
sea.  
The difference  
of the Shippers.

The difference  
of the men.

Agrippa driveth  
Papa from his  
Shippe.

Papie fighteth  
agayne.

**Pompeii Shipper  
retires.**

advised by his Maisters, not to adventure in those shalows, did cast anchor aboade, as though he would give a new charge it made were, in the night. But being admonished not to follow anger more than reason, and not overlabour the weary Souldour with watching, nor trust too much the cautionelle of the Sea, he hardely departed. Pompey men got to their portes when they had loste thirtie shippes, of the enemies, five were drowned, and many hurt. Pompey praised them for so manly resisting the greateshippes, whiche hee sayde seemed to him, not a fighte by sea, but an assaulte of a wall, and rewarded them as victors, putting them in hope, that, in that narrow Sea, their shippes would ever be the better, and that they might so be, hee would adde somewhat to their height. This was the ende of the fighte by sea at *Asid*, betwene *Agrippa* and *Pipia*.

*Cesar* in the meane season sayled from *Syllia* to *Leucopatra*, being certified that Pompey was gone from *Asina* to *Asid*, because of *Agrippa*; and when he was determined to have passed from *Leucopatra* to *Taurumene*, by night, after he had heard of the late fight, he changed his purpose, & thought it more for his honour to passe by day. For he beleued that Pompey would not long tarry nigh *Agrippa*. And when day was come, he looked from the mountaynes and could have no sight of his enemy: he filled his navy with as many as might be, committing the rest to *Messala*, till the ships should returne for him. Approching to *Taurumene*, he summoned the to render. But they doinge nothing, he passed & found *Antibal*, & the temple of *Venus* to *Archigita*, making his prayers, to overcome his enemies. *Archigita* is a little image of *Apollo*, which the *Naxians* that were sent to inhabit *Asid*, did first create. Going here out of his ship, he had a fall, but he rose againe, and stayed. Pompey came in sight with great naue, to be at every man's sight, for they thought he had bene overcome of *Agrippa*. His horsemen ranged the shore to be even with his navy, & his footmen were scene on every side. The campe of *Cesar* was afearde, & him selfe dismayde, because he could not sende for *Messala*. The horsemen set upon the enemy as they were planting their campe. And if an onset had bene given by sea also, it had bene like that

Pompey

Pompey had bene great feare: but for lacke of knowledge of warre, and not understanding in what feare the enemy was, and doubting to begin the fight so late, they wente to harboze nigh at *Cicomeo*, and the footmen to *Phenice*, to have some distance from their enemy. That night was quiet, and *Cesar*'s men had leysure to finish their trench, but for labour and watche they were unfitte to fight. *Cesar* had three legions, five hundred gentlemen without horse, one thousand light harness, two thousand venturers, & his souldours for the sea. Delivring his footmen to *Cornificio*, to resist the enemy as much as he could by land, he besogge day take the sea, before he should be shut from thence. To the right battayle he appointed *Titmus*, to the lefte, *Garcia*. In a Brigantine he went aboute the naue, and exhorted them, which being done, he put of his robe off honour, as he was wont to doe in extreme perils. Pompey twice gaue him the onset that day, & the night ended, the fight, in which diuerse of *Cesar*'s ships were taken & diuerse burned, & diuerse fled to *Italia* for all that he coulde doe, which were chased of Pompey: & such as swam to the lande, were dispatched of the horsemen or taken. Some got to *Cornificio* campe, whome he receyued, sending onely light horse to conduct the, for he thought it not good to stirre his legions, being out of harte, & the enemy so nigh, in triumph of that victorie. *Cesar* passed that night among his naues, uncerten what to do, whether to sende for *Cornificio* amidst the wreckes of the sea, or to flee to *Messala*: & even by chance, departing with one onely page, with out seruants, souldours, or families, he came to the port of *Abila*, where some sounde him out, in great feare and desperation, and carrying him from shippe to shippe, they brought him at length to *Messala*, which was not far off, where before he took rest, he sent a Brigantine to *Cornificio* and to all the shore, to signifie that he was alive, and promised he would shortly help them. When hee had a little rested, hee wente by night to *Stilida*, from whence *Messala* carried him to *Carinute*, who was ready to saile with three legions, whome hee willed to go to *Lipari*, and hee woulde solow streight. He wrote also to *Agrippa*, to deliuer *Cornificio* from danger so soone as he could, and sent *Lironio* to help with speede,

L.ij.

he

Pompey loseth  
for lacke of ex-  
perience.Cicomeo, Phenice  
signall like.Cesar ordereth  
his battayle.Cesar leaveth the  
robe of a gene-  
rall.

Pompey gaineth.

Cesar in doubt  
deputeth with  
one page.

Abila.

Cesar in desper-  
ation is brought  
to Messala.Cesar signifieth  
that he is well.Cesar goeth to  
Stilida.Lipari be the I-  
lands name  
See. Ciluentia  
number.

He sente *Maceus* agayn to the citie, because some went aboute new troubles which were punished openly. He sente *Messala* to *Patulo* to bring the firste legion. This *Messala* was condemned at Rome of the thre menne, and rewarde was promised to them that would kill him. When he fledde to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and after their death, he gaue himselfe and his naue, to *Antonius*. This I thought good to remember, as an example of the *Romane* vertue: that where *Messala* had him that condemned him in his power, cast into utter desolation, he restored him to his state and preferred him. *Cornificius*, although he might easily haue kept the enimie from the campe: yet because he wanted victuall, he prouoked them to battaile. *Pompey* thought not good to fight with them that were desperate, hoping to subdue them by famine. *Cornificius* marched receyuing into his batayle the binamed that escaped the sea: being greatly annoyed w<sup>th</sup> the horsemen in the plaine, which were most part *Affricanes* and *Phryges*. The fourth day he came to a dry place called *Pharyng* plotte of the fire, burned & dreyed euen to the sea, the which the inhabitantes dare not go to, but in the night, so great is the heate. *Cornificius* durst neyther passe that way in the night, because the *Phryges* did not shewe, nor they skilfull of the way, nor coulde not abide by day, the heate was so intollerable. Whir it could not be aswaged: nor they go but fast, because the horsemen so folowed them. And being come to the issue, they sawe naked men, who ranne vpon them, and clasppeing with them, put them in daunger of choking, with *Phry* which being yet troubled, the soldours were in desperat<sup>ion</sup>. But *Cornificius* comforted them, & tolde the there was a well at hand, & so they put backe those rude people till they came to the well, which they found possessed with other enimies of like sort. When they were utterly out of hope. For they sawe an army coming, and could not tell whether it was frend or foe, but it was *Laronius*, whom when they that kept the well saw, they fled, fearing to be interclosed. Whereat the weary soldours made great shoutes & cries, which *Laronius* answered. They runne on heapes to the wel. Their Captaynes forbidding the to drinke too hastily, they that would not follow that counsel, died presently.

Thus

Thus beyonde all hope, *Cornificius* broughte his army safe to *Myla* to *Agrippa*, who had taken *Tyndarida*, furnished w<sup>th</sup> all things necessary, and sitte for the warre by sea, whither *Cesar* sent both footemen and horse. He had in *Sicilie* one and twenty Legions, twenty thousande horsemen, and aboute five thousande light horse. *Pompey* held yet with garrisons, *Myla*, *Nauloco*, and *Pelors*, and all the sea coast, who being afrayde of *Agrippa*, kept continuall fyres to use against the ships. He kept the mouthes of *Tauraminio* and *Myla*, and shutte the pathes of Mountaynes with walles. He also molested *Cesar* beyond *Tyndarida*, who would not yet fight, and supposing that *Agrippa* would arriue, he went with speede to *Pelors*, leaving the streightes of *Myla*, whiche *Cesar* forthwith did take, with a little towne called *Dianis*, notable by the tale of the goodly *Oxen*, which were taken a way when *Phry* slept. When the noyce of *Agrippa* his coming was ceased, and that *Pompey* heard the streightes of *Myla* were possessed, he called for *Tissens* with his army. *Cesar* going to encounter w<sup>th</sup> him, missed his way in the night in the hill of *Myconio*, where he lay with but a tent. And whereas the rayne was very greates, as is wont in Autumne, he stode all night vnder a French target, the doubleyours holding it ouer him. The horrible and fearefull sounds of the hill *Mongibello* were heard, and the flashing of fire was seene, and *Phry* saoure of *Phry* bymistone was felt, in so much as the *Germanes* lept out for feare, and thought it no tale that they had heard of that hyl. After this, he wasted the Countrey of *Palestina*, where he mette with *Lepidus*, taking by coine, and they both layde sege to *Messana*. Many skirmishes there were, but no great battell. When *Cesar* sente *Taurus*, to keepe victuall from *Pompey*, and take the Cities that remained for hym, by the which difficultie, being drinen to his tryal, he determined to aduenture all at one fight. And because he thoughte himselfe too weake by land, he sent his Herald to require the fighte by sea. And albeit *Cesar* had no good will to match by sea, hauing hitherto had euill lucke: yet thinking it dishonorable to refuse him, he appoynted a day to the fighte, with thre hundred shippes on a side, furnished with all weapons and defence that they coulde deuise. *Agrippa*

Z.ij.

Inuen

*Agrippa* taken *Tyndarida*, whiche was a Citie named of *Tyndarus* father of *Leda*.

*Pelors* is one of the four hills of *Sicilie* toward Italy.

*Myla* is a Round and a Citie both, with a Port, now called *Melazzo*. *Dianis* is a Citie also in *Spain*. They were the Oxen of *Phaethon*, which she in their tyro riders kept.

*Myconio*. *Cesar* in perill againe.

The hill *Actus*, now *Mongibello*, so, that spouteth fire.

*Germanes* afrayd of the noyce of *Actus*.

*Palestina*. *Messana* beleaged.

*Pompey* desireth to trie all by a fight of equal number of Shippes.

*Messala*.

*Romane* vertue.

The drye place.

Daunger of *Cornificius*.

Naked citi-  
zens upon the armed  
*Romans*.

The *Romans*  
griuously trou-  
bled.

*Laronius*.

Soldours per-  
ished with hasty  
drinking.

Grapple, the  
invention of  
Agrippa.

The Route on  
fought by Sea.

The profile of  
the grapple.

Like-ness of  
armour in which  
they fought.

invented a grapple, that is, a vassel of five cubites long, layd once with yron, hauing a circle or ring in eyther ende, and in the one; a crooked hooke of yron, and in the other, many ropes, which drew the hooke by gumes, when it was cast with a sling, agaynst the enemies Shippes. When the day was come, the first onset was of the small vessels, not withoute eseries, throwing dartes and stones, and shotte fyred, as well by hand as by engine. The ships rushed one against another, some on the sides, some on the sterne, and other on the poupe, thereby the shouldpoures were shaken, and the vessels broken. Some used their shotte and dartes a farre off, and there were little boates to take vp all that fell in the water. The shouldpoures and the sparriners contended who should do best. The exhorting of the Captaynes did good, and the engines did help, most of all the grapple, whiche reached the small ships a farre off for the lightnesse, and held them fast, drawing them by the ropes: neyther coulde it be cutte off, because it was couered with yron, nor the ropes be touched, because of their length. Neyer was this engine knowen, that they might haue armed their weapons with yron. They rowed on the stordaine, thrusting their ships on the sterne, to get aloofe. When the enemies did so, there was the force of me equal, but when the grapple came, it was a thing by it selfe: The ships fought ioyned together, and leaping out of one into another, and scarcely coulde they one be knowen from the other. Their armour and weapons was alike, their shape was all one. Their priuie token was vnderstood to both, which was cause of muche deceit, and after, of confusion, for they distrusted their owne, for feare to be deceyued, and so did not know what they might do. In the meane time the hurt was great, the sea was full, as well of men, as of armour, and ruines of the broken and crushed vessels. For after they came to fyghte at hand, they threw no more fire.

Both the armies of footemen stode vpon the shore, with doubtfull minde whyther the victory would incline, for in a multitude of fyre hundred Shippes, they coulde not discern, bearing all alike, excepte it were the colour of their toppes, wherein they onely differed, and onely they coniectured by the

markes

markes they hadde, and by the noyses and voyces, holwe the matter went. But when Agrippa vnderstood, that Pompey had the worke, he exhorted his shouldpoures to stande to it, that they might obtayne the victory, whiche was in their handes, and so they dyd, with suche furie and violence, as the cranie fledde, and ranne taen selfes a ground, where they were eyther taken or burne, whiche when they that kepte the sea, dyd see, they paid it.

When the salue of Caesar sang the song of victory, the which the footemen on the shore answered with no lesse gladnesse.

Pompey perceyuing the ouerthrowe, fledde to Messina, not remembryng his forces of footemen, the whiche by and by yeldeo to Caesar, and shortly after the horsemen did the lyke. The whiche when Pompey hearde, he commaunded to put all things into the sea, and the shippes that were left, and leaping the habite of a Generall, would flee to Aradus, whose mother he hadde saued in lyke daunger. And that he might be the better welcome, he sente to Plennius to bring the eyght legions that he had at Ephesus, whiche he would leade with hym. But when he perceyued that his friends and shouldpoures did continually yelde to Caesar, and that the enemy was entred the narrow sea, although he was in a strong and well furnished Citie, yet he would not tarrie for Plennius, but fledde with his seayntene shippes. After he was gone, Plennius came to Messina, and kept that Citie.

This was the end of this last fighte by sea, in the which, only thre, askeby, shippes were sounke, and caught and twenty of Pompeys. The remnant were all defeated by Agrippa, except xvij. with the which Pompey fledde away.

Caesar remayned at Naulecho, and commaunded Agrippa to be sarge of Messina, whiche he did with the fellowship of Lepidus, Plennius sente for peace, Agrippa thoughte it good to deferre the answer till the morning. But Lepidus was content, and to winne Plennius shouldpoures to hym, permitted halfe the spoyle of the Citie to them, which they hauing obtayned beyond all hope, began glad to haue gone with their liues that night, sacked by Citie with

Agrippa receiue  
the victory.

Reioyce & cele-  
brity by Caesars  
men.

Pompeys army  
yeldeth to Caesar.

Pompey fainteth,  
and prouideth  
to flee.

Pompey fleeth  
vvun xvij. shippes

Naulechi.

Messina sacked.

*Lepidus* desired both  
the spoyle of  
Africa with  
Poenia, and  
reneweth his  
army.  
*Lepidus* thinketh  
to be Lord of  
Sicilie.  
Quarrelling be-  
tweene *Caesar*  
and *Lepidus*.

with *Lepidus* Shouldpoures. By this meanes *Lepidus* waunte Ple-  
nius legions, who sware unto him, so as nowe, hauing two and  
twenty legions, with a great name, was not a little proude, and  
thought to winne sicilie, because he had gotten diuers places be-  
fore, to the which he sent his garrisons to keepe out *Othavian*.

The next day, *Caesar* expostulated with *Lepidus* by his friends,  
saying, he came as a confederate to resolt to sicilie, and not to  
get it for himselfe, and he alleadging, that his authoritie was  
taken from him, and that *Caesar* had it alone, he could be content to  
render *Africa* and *Corfica* for sicilie. When *Caesar* was angry, and  
came vnto him, and charged him with ingratitude, and depart-  
ed, so as they stode in doubt of each other, keeping warde seue-  
rally. The Shippes lay abanchoz, and it was suspected that *Le-  
pidus* intended to haue burned *Caesars* ships. The armies fearing  
a new ciuill warre, had not the like estimation of *Lepidus*, that  
they had of *Caesar*: for him they accounted wise and diligente, and  
y other remisse and negligent, because he suffered their enemies  
to be partakers of the spoyle. When *Othavian* vnderstode this,  
he caused his friends to deale with the Captaines secretly, and  
to promise them liberally, and many were wonne vnto him, spe-  
cially of *Pompeys* band, thinking their state not sure, excepte *Caesar*  
consented to it. *Caesar* came in person with many Horsemen, which  
he left without the trench, and entered the Camp with a few, vn-  
beknowing to *Lepidus*, for lacke of foresight, protesting that new  
warre was moued against his will: wherefore the Shouldpoures  
saluted him as Generall, and *Pompeys* parte that were corrupted,  
asked him forgiveness. To the which he said, he marvelled that  
they should aske forgiveness, not hauing yet done that was con-  
uenient for them. They vnderstanding his meaning, took the  
ensignes, and brought them to *Caesar*. Other pulled downe they  
Tentes. But when *Lepidus* heard the tumulte, he came out ar-  
med, and straight a fray began, where one of *Caesars* Pages was  
killed, and himselfe strooke through the best plate, but not hurte,  
wherefore he departed in hast to his Horsemen. A garrison is-  
sed at his running away, whereat he was so angry, as he was  
not quiet, till he had beaten downe that Castell, the which  
being

*Lepidus* army  
reualleth.

*Pompeys* Soul-  
dours sicke  
to *Caesar*.

*Caesar* stricken.

A Castell bea-  
ten downe,  
whose garrison  
killed at *Caesar*.

being done, other Castels gaue ouer in like sort, some presently,  
and some the night following, some neuer spoken to, some pre-  
tending some occasion, by being vexed of the Horsemen: yet  
some abode the brunt, and repulled the, for *Lepidus* euery where  
sent helpers to them, the which reuolting also, the rest that were  
willing to him, changed their mind. And first againe the *Pompey-  
ans* that yet remayned with him, forsooke him by little and little,  
*Lepidus* caused other to be armed to kepe the in, who being armed  
to that intent, took their ensignes, and with the aid of others, ioynd  
themselves to *Caesar*. *Lepidus* threatened them that went, and prayd  
them also, and he took the Standerds, and sayd, he would ne-  
uer deliuer them, but when a Shouldpoure said, Thou shalt deliuer  
them dead, he gaue place. The last that forsooke him was the  
Horsemen, who sente to *Caesar* to know, if they shoulde kill him,  
which he denyed. Thus *Lepidus* being forsaken of all men, and  
hauing lost his army, changed his habite, and went to *Caesar*, and  
many ranne to see that sight. *Caesar* rose when he came, and would  
not suffer him to kneele, but depriving him of all authoritie, re-  
seruing only a priestly office, in y apparell that he came, he sent  
him to Rome. Thus he that had bin many times a Generall, and  
sometime one of the thre rulers, making officers: and condemning  
many as good as himselfe, liued a priuate life, vnder some of the  
whome he had attainted before. *Caesar* would not persecute *Pom-  
pey*, nor suffer other to do it, either because he would not meddle  
in another mans iurisdiction, or would behold *Antonyes* doings,  
to haue iust occasion to fall out with him. For now that al other  
aduersaries were taken away, it was thought ambition would  
make them two quarrell, or because *Pompey* was none of the con-  
spirators, as *Caesar* did after affirme. Nowe had he an army of  
xlv. legions, of xlv. M. Horsemen, and of other Shouldpoures  
as many more, which he gathered together. He had five hundred  
Galles, and many Shippes of burthen, which he sent to the ow-  
ners. He gaue the Shouldpoures a rewarde for victorie, and pro-  
mised more in time to come. He distributed crownes, garlands,  
and other honors, and forgau *Pompeys* Captaynes. Thys so  
greate felicitie, Fortune did enuie: for his owne armie fell to

*Caesar* shew-  
eth to *Caesar*.

*Lepidus* utterly  
forsaken.

The horsemen  
sente to  
*Caesar*, to know  
if he would  
haue *Lepidus*  
killed.

*Lepidus* Ceri-  
ued, only a spe-  
ciall thing  
referred.  
The mutabilitie  
of Fortune.

*Caesar* would  
not follow  
*Pompey*.

*Caesar* might  
winne.

Ennie follow-  
eth Fortune.

And.

muti-

Mutinie of  
Souldiours.

mutinie, desiring to be discharged, and requiring the rewards promised at the field of *Philippi*. He answered, that this warre was not like any of the other, notwithstanding, he would reward them for all, together with *Antonyes* Souldiours, when he should returne. But as concerning their discharge, he put them in remembrance of their oth and obedience. But seeing them still obstinate, he ceased his rebukes, least the Souldiours lately yielded, should follow their trade, and promised that *Antony* and he, would discharge them in conueniente tyme, and that he would now not vse this in any cruell warre, for by the help of God, all was ended and done, and now he would leade them into *Spania*, and other barbarous nations, where they should get great booties. They sayde they would not goe, vntil he would reward them thoroughly. He sayd he would reward them, and also giue them garlandes & garments of honoꝝ and prayse. Then sayde *Optimus*, one of the Tribunes, Garlandes and purple garments bee rewardes of Children, Souldiours haue neede of money and landes. The multitude sayde it was true. Then *Caesar* was grieved, and came from his seate, and they that stood nexte the Tribunes, prayed him, and rebuked the other that would not agree with them. He sayde, he was sufficient alone to defende so iust a cause. The nexte daye he was not seene, nor coulde bee knowen where he was become. When the Souldiours not one at once for feare, but altogether, requyred to be dismissed, *Caesar* spake as sayde as he coulde to theyr Captaynes, and discharged them that had serued at *Philippi* and *Meditana*, as the most olde Souldiours, and commaunded them to depart the Ile, least they should corrupt the rest. Thus much he sayd to them that he discharged, that though he discharged them now, yet he would reward them. Speaking to the other, he made them to witness the periuie of them that departed, not discharged by the leaue of theyr Generall, and prayed them, and promised to dismiss them shortly, and that they should not repent their ductie done to him, and that now he would giue to euery of them five hundred drammes. Then he sette a talke vpon such of fiftene hundred Talentes, and appoynted *Lien* tenants

Optimus rudely  
speaketh to  
Caesar.

Optimus not seene  
agayne.

Souldiours  
dismissed.

tenantes for *Sicilie* and *Barbarie*, and diuided his army. *Antonyes* Shippes he sent to *Tarent*, the rest of his army he sent partly into *Italy*, and partly he tooke with him, when he went out of the Ile. Commynge towarde *Rome*, the Senate receyued him with all kinde of honoꝝ, permytting to himselfe to receyue, whyche he would, eyther all or some at his pleasure. He was mette a farre off with them that had garlandes, as well of the Senate, as of the people, of whome he was first brought to the Temples, and then to his house.

Honours offered to  
Caesar at  
Rome.

The daye following, he made an Oration to the Senate and to the people, he declared his doyngs in order, and the administration of the common wealth, from his beginning to this day. Whiche Oration written of himselfe, he published with many examples, and pronounced peace and tranquillitie after so long ciuill warres. Tributes were payde here forgaue, and lykewise the gatherers of the tolles, and the fynes for offences.

Caesar declares  
his actes to the  
Senate and the  
people.  
Caesars Oration  
published.

Of the honoꝝ of the Senate, he accepted a Chariot in the Theatre, and yearly solemnities of the dayes of his victories. And an image of golde in the common place, with this inscription. For peace gotten, after so many warres both by lande and sea. But he refused the chiefe Bishopshipp, which the people offered him, whyche by aunciente custome was not vsed to be taken from any man aliue, for *Lepidus* had it, and when they would haue hadde him kylled *Lepidus* as an enimie, he denyed it. Then he wrote manye letters to the armyes, with commaundement to bee opened all at a daye appoynted, and then to doe as they were commaunded, whyche was, to restore all bondmen in *Rome* and *Italy*, to their maisters or their heyres, that had freedome giuen them at the request of *Pompey*, all the which returned to their old state. The like he did in *Sicilie*. If any were vchalenged, he put them to death in the Citie from whence they came. This seemed to be an end of ciuill warre, when *Caesar* was eight and twenty yeares of age, and consecrated as a God. The Citie and *Sicilie* was troubled very much with robbers and rouers, with such boldnesse, as they openly committed their lewdnesse.

Modestie of  
Caesar.

Inscription of  
peace.

Bondmen restored to their  
maisters.

Caesar honoured  
as a God, at  
xxvij. ye. of  
his age.  
Robberies in  
the Citie.

V. V. V. V. V.

V. V. V. V. V.  
paynted in the  
night in the  
Cittie.The hope of  
restoration of  
the common  
state by *Cæsar*  
words.Tribune per-  
petual.Tacitus, a hill in  
the furthest  
shore of Italy.  
Pompey spoyleth  
the Temple of  
Juno.  
At this time a Citie  
in Italy now  
called.  
Vayne hope  
of Pompey.  
Liberia.Pompey with  
double device.Titus sent a  
pupil Pompey by  
Antony.

To correct these, *sabinus* was sent, who put manie of them to the sword, and spent a yeare, before he coulde ridde them, and at that time (they say) the bands of watches were appoynted, which continue to this day. The speedy recolle of this, brought greates estimation to *Cæsar*, who exercised manie things after the olde manner by yearely officers, and burned all the letters that were written in the time of warre, and promised to restore the common wealth so soone as *Antony* returned, for he knew that he also would giue up his offices, now that there was no ciuill warre. Therefore, being extolled with immortall prayes, the Tribuneship was giuen him for euer, with a meaning, by the taking of this, to leaue all other, of the which he wrote priuately to *Antony*: and he gaue his aduice by *Bibulus* going from him, and placed *Lieutenants* in his prouinces, intending to be his companion in the warre of *Stamonia*.

*Pompey* fleeing out of *Sicilie*, came to the shoze of *Lacinio*, where he spoiled a rich Temple of *Juno*. From thence he went to *Mitylene*, where his father left him and his mother, when he made warre with *Cæsar*. And because *Antony* was gone to the *Parthian* warre, he intended to yield to him at his returne. But where it was reported that *Antony* was overcome, and he belieued it, he conceived an hope to succede him in all the prouinces, or that at the least in part, taking example of *Labienu*, who came ouer *Asia*. Being occupied with these cogitations, he heard that *Antony* was come to *Alexandria*. He prepared himselfe to both courses, and wrote to *Antony*, to be his friend and fellow, only meaning to espye his doings. And secretly he sente other Embassadors to the Princes of *Thracia* and *Pontus*, minding to passe into *Armenia*, if he did not obteyne his purpose.

He wrote also to the *Parthians*, hoping they would take him for a Captayne in the warre, being a *Romane*, against *Antony* they *Romane* aduersary.

He prepared Shippes and Souldiours for the same, pretending to be afraid of *Cæsar*, and to prepare them for *Antony*'s use. But when *Antony* hearde of his purposes, he sente *Titus* chiefe Captayne agaynst him, that receyuing an

armie

armie and naute *Syria*, he should resist *Pompey* with all his power, but if he had rather receyue *Antonies* truste, he should beying him to him honorably. The Embassadors of *Pompey* made this request.

They are sent to thee from *Pompey*, not that he coulde not be admitted into *Spain*, a prouince that oweth him good will for his fathers sake, if he list to make warre, whiche holpe him when he was younger, and now offereth him theyr ayde: but because he had rather enioy peace with thee, or vnder thy banner, make warre, if neede be. Which is no new intent, but when he ruled *Sicilie*, and invaded *Italie*, and saued and sente thee home thy mother, he desired thy friendship, whiche if thou haddest accepted, neither had he bene driven out of *Sicilie*, whereto thou diddest lende thy shippes, nor thou bene overcome in *Parthia*, *Cæsar* not sending thee such army as he promised. Yea thou mightest haue brought *Italie* vnder thy power. But although he were refused, when time was, he now desireth thee, not to be illuded and deceyued with so many fayze wordes and assurtie, remembryng that *Pompey* also after promise to the contrarie was iniustly invaded of *Cæsar*, and spoiled of his portion, whereof no parte hath redoubted to thee. Now thou onely arte the lette, why he hath not the only Monarchie, which he hath long thirsted after. For you had bin at war before this, if *Pompey* had not bene. And thou oughtest, to foresee these things of thy selfe, so for the good will, whiche he beareth thee, he had rather haue the amitie of a playne and liberal man, than of a subtil and crafty fellow. *Pompey* is not angry, that thou lentest shippes agaynst him, being constrained, that thou mightest haue men of him, but putteth thee in remembrance, how much thy army not sent thee, did hinder thee. And to be shorthe, *Pompey* committeth himselfe to thee, with all his shippes, with a trusty army, whiche haue not forsaken him though he fledde, thou shalt purchase a great prayse, if being in peace, thou wilt preferue the Soune of *Pompey* the great: that if the warre be broken, whiche is feared, thou mayst haue a confederate of such might and estimation. When *Antonie* hearde this, he sayde, If *Pompey* meaneth good faith, I haue giuen commission to *Titus*

Ana. iij.

to

Pompey's Embassadors to the  
Senate.Antonie to Pompey's  
Embassadors.

Pompey's messen-  
gers taken.

Excuse of Pompey.

Antonie a playne  
man.  
Furnius.

Pompey trayneth  
his men.  
Oenobarbus.  
Amyntas.  
Pompey's officers  
nured.

Curtio put to  
death.

Theodorus killed.  
Lampsaco taken  
by Pompey.  
Cyzicus a cite in  
the shore of Hel-  
lespore.  
He besiegeth  
Cyzicus, in hope  
to take the strait,  
& cutte off the  
maine of great  
strength.

Achilles a part of  
Greece.

Pompey's dilate  
gentle manner.

Scamandria a cite  
betweene the  
pointes of the.

People resort  
to Pompey.

to bring him to me. In the meane time, Pompey's messengers that were sente to the Parthians, were taken of Antonies officers, and brought to Alexandria, of whome, when Antonie had learned all things, he sente for Pompey's Embassadors, and shewed them to them. Then they excused him, being a young man and in extreme necessitie, fearing to be reiect of him, and dyuen to proue the moste mortall enemies of the people of Rome: but if he were sure of Antonies mynde, he should haue no further feyre. He belieued it as a playne man, and nothyng suspitious. Furnius being president of Asia, receyued Pompey very gently, not being hable to reiect him, nor sure of Antonies mynde. But when he sawe him trayne his Souldiours, he gathered an army of the countrey, and sente for Oenobarbus, capitayne of the armie, and for Amyntas a frende, who assemblyng quickly together, Pompey complayned that he was vsed as an enemy. Then he had sent Embassadors, to Antonie, and looked for answere from him. In the meane while he practised to take Oenobarbus, by the helpe of Curtio his frende, but the practise being discovered, Curtio was put to death, and Pompey kylled his late bondman Theodorus, who was onely priue to that counsell. And because he doubted of Furnius, he tooke the cite of Lampsaco by composition, where many Italians dyd inhabite, appoynted by Julius Caesar, whome he allured to his pay with great promyses. Now had he two hundred and thre legions, and besieged Cyzicus both by sea and lande, from the whiche he was repulled. For there was a litle bande of Antonies, and certen sworde playfers that were brought by there. And where Furnius absteyning from battayle, did euermore encampe nigh him, and kept him fro foraging, which he went aboute in the territoire of the Achians, Pompey set vpon the fore parte of his campe, and sente other aboute to do the like behinde. Whereby Furnius resisting him, his campe was taken of the other, and dyuen to flee by the fieldes of Scamandria, where Pompey killed many of them, for the field was most with the shoures. They that escaped durst not turne againe to the field. The people of Mysia, Propontide, & other places, that were poore & consumed with payment, came to Pompey's seruice

seruice, being renouned for his late victorie. But wanting horsemen, and being shrewdly handled in foraging, he heard of a bande of Italian horsemen going to Antonie (whiche Octavia had sente from Athens) and sente to corrupt them with golde. The president of the countrey took them, that brought the money, and distributed it to the horse men. Pompey at Nica and Nicomedia gathered muche money with greate successe. Furnius a gayne coming into the felde and encamping nigh him, there came lxx. shippes out of Sicilie in the spring, which were lesse of them that Antonie had lent Caesar. And Titus came out of Syria with a hundred and twentie shippes and a greate army, all the which arriued at Proconnesco, of the which Pompey being afrayde, burned his shippes and armed his Mariners hauing more trust in the lande. But Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Therinus, Antistius, & other honorable frendes of Pompey, & Furnius moste dere vnto him, & Libo himself, his father in lawe, when they saw that Pompey was allwayes to weake, they yelded themselves to Antonie. He being thus forsaken, went into y<sup>e</sup> midland of Bythinia, intending to go into Armenia. Furnius & Titus folowed him: he being secrete, departed out of his tents, and with great iourney they ouertooke him at night, and seuerally encamped aboute an hill without ditche or trenche, being late and they weary. That night Pompey set vpon them with thre thousande men as they were sleeping, & put them to flee naked shamefully: but if he had assailed them with his whole power, or folowed them as he should, he had gotten perfect victorie. But fortune would not suffer, and he got nothing thereby, but that he went on his iourney. They recovering horses, folowed him, and kept him from viuals, so as being dyuen to speache, he desired to speake with Furnius that was sometyne a frende of his Fathers, and a man of greate dignitie. And standing on the bankie of the riuer, he sayde, he had sente Embassadors to Antonie, and in the meane season wanting viualles, dyd that he had done. If you make warre vpon mee by Antonies commaunde, met, he seeth not wel for himself, not perceyving a greater warre, to hang ouer him. But if you do it vpon your owne authoritie,

Pompey's money  
the son of Syrac  
George.  
Nica, a cite  
Pompey's money  
taken.

He gathereth  
more.  
Nica, a cite in  
dardie places.  
Nicomedia, a cite  
Nica, a cite in  
Lythonia.  
Proconnesco, a cite  
in Propontide.

Pompey's frendes  
yeelde to An-  
tonie.

Pompey assaileth  
his enemies by  
night.

Pompey loseth  
occasion.

Pompey desireth  
speech with  
Furnius.

I pray you and beseeche you that you would cease till my Em-  
 bassadours retorne, or carie me safely to him. And to you, O  
 Firmus, I will committe my selfe, so you will promise me to deli-  
 uer me safe to *Antonie*. Thus much hee sayde, hopping in *An-  
 tonie*, as a gentle man, and seeking to passe his iourney quietly.  
 To whom *Furnius* thus answered. If thou wouldest haue com-  
 mitted thy selfe to *Antonie*, thou shouldest haue done it at the  
 first, or being quiet, haue looked for answer at *Attylens*: but  
 making warre, thou haste brought thy selfe to this case, if thou  
 repentest thee, blame not vs. *Antonie* hath appointed *Titius* to  
 receyue thee, to hym therefore, committe thy selfe, of whom thou  
 mayst require that thou requirdest of mee. For he commaunded,  
 that if thou playest the parte of an enimie, to kill thee: if not, to  
 bying thee honozably vnto him.

Pompey to Firmus  
 Firmus.

Pompey hateth  
 Titus.

*Pompey* was offended with *Titus*, as vnthankfull: because hee  
 had made this warre agaynst hym, whome he once toke and  
 saued hym. Therefore *Pompey* was the more grieved to come in-  
 to his handes, that was but a meane man: whose fidelitie he sus-  
 pected, eyther of his behaviour, or of the former iniurie hee had  
 done him, before he did him pleasure. Wherefore once agayne  
 he yielded to *Furnius*, & desired to be taken, but it was not graun-  
 ted. Then he desired *Amyntas* might take him, which whē *Fur-  
 nius* sayde, he should not do, because it were a wrong to him that  
 had commission from *Antonie*, and so they brake. *Furnius* Sol-  
 diours thought hee woulde haue yielded the nexte day to *Titus*.  
 But he in the night, making fires after the manner, and sound-  
 ing the trompe at euery reliefe of the watche, with a fello went  
 out of the campe, not telling them what he woulde doe, for hee  
 meante to haue gone to the sea, and haue set *Titus* campe a fire,  
 whiche peradventure he had done, had not *Scaurus* gone from  
 him and signified his departure, and whiche way he went. Then  
*Amyntas* folowed him with fiftene hundred horsmen, to whom  
 when he drewe nigh, his people forsooke hym, some openly and  
 some secretly. When he sawe himself forsoaken of all sides, hee  
 yielded to *Amyntas* without condition, refusing *Titus* condi-  
 tions. Thus the yonger Sonne of great *Pompey* was taken,  
 losing

Pompey yeldeth  
 to Firmus: vvhich  
 he woulde not  
 take him nor  
 suffer Amyntas  
 to do it.

Pompey intent,  
 discovered by  
 Scaurus.

Pompey forsaken  
 of all handes.

Pompey yeldeth  
 to Amyntas  
 without condi-  
 tion.

losing his father when he was very yong, and his brother, when  
 he was toward mans estate. Which two being taken away, he  
 lay close a great whyle, and bred *spayne* wth priuie robberies,  
 till he hadde good resort to him, and then he professed hymselfe to  
 be *Pompeys* sennet, and in the open rodes: and when *Julius Caesar*  
 was slayne, he moued playne warre, beeyng ayded wth greate  
 multitudes and forces of the subdarne, gayning shippes, and  
 publike treasure. He oppressed *Italy* wth famine, and broughte  
 his enimies to what conditions he woulde, and that most is,  
 when the wicked condemnation was executed in Rome, he saued  
 manye of the noble men, that enioyed theyr Countrey by his  
 benefyte: but fortune not fauouring hym, he woulde neuer  
 take the aduantage of his enimie, neglecting manye occasions,  
 he woulde lye still.

The conning  
 vp of Pompey.

The goodaies  
 of Pompey.

Negligence vnder-  
 did Pompey.

This was he that now is in bondage.

*Titus* commaunded his army to sweare to *Antony*, and put  
 hym to death at *Mileto*, when he hadde lyued to the age of fortye  
 yeares, eyther for that he remembred late displeasure, and for  
 got olde good turnes, or for that he had such commaundement of  
*Antony*.

Titus putteth  
 Pompey to death  
 at Mileto, a Citie  
 in the endes of  
 Ionia and Caria.

There bee that saye, that *Plancus* and not *Antony*, dyd com-  
 maunde hym to dye, whiche beeyng president of *Syria*, had *An-  
 tonys* signet, and in greate causes wrote letters in his name.  
 Some thynke it was done wth *Antonys* knowlege, he fear-  
 ring the name of *Pompey*, or for *Cleopatra*, who fauoured *Pompey*  
 the great.

Plancus.

Some thynke that *Plancus* dyd it of hymselfe for these causes,  
 and also that *Pompey* shoulde geue no cause of dissention be-  
 twene *Caesar* and *Antony*, or for that *Cleopatra* woulde turne hyr  
 fauour to *Pompey*.

When hee was dispatched, *Antony* tooke his iourney into  
*Armenia*, and *Caesar* agaynst the *Slauonians*, continuall eni-  
 mies of the *Romaines*, neuer obeying the *Romane* Empire, but  
 reuoltyng in euery ciuill warre.

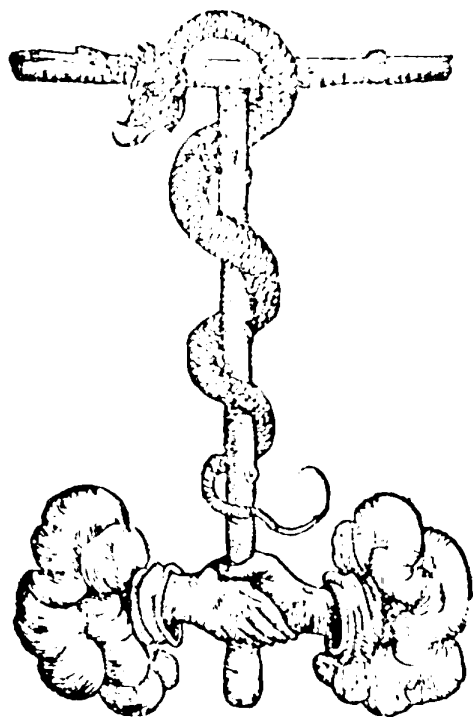
The Illyrians  
 now Slauonians.  
 continuall eni-  
 mies of the  
 Romaines.

Whh.

And

And because the warres of *Italy* are not thoroughly known  
vnto me, nor sufficient to make a lust volume, and can not be  
declared commodiously otherwise, I haue thought it good  
to referre them to the time, that they were subiect  
to the *Romanes*, and making a compendious  
Treatise of them, to ioyne them with  
the assayes of *Ar-  
cadeuse*.

FINIS.



# Faultes escaped in the printing of the five Bookes of ciuill vvarres of Rome.

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Corrected.
1	15	thoulde	thou
3	35	<i>Lisbia</i>	<i>Lisby</i>
4	1	duke of <i>Lima</i>	duke of <i>Lenia</i>
4	vlt.	<i>Colligant</i>	<i>Colligant</i>
5	20	of that	of them that
13	2	<i>Papirus</i>	<i>Papirus</i>
16	33	pastime	pasture
25	25	<i>Hofians</i>	<i>Hofians</i>
29	17	<i>Falerno</i>	<i>Falerno</i>
32	16	<i>Canue</i>	<i>Canue</i>
38	21	<i>Cuthagus</i>	<i>Cuthagus</i>
50	17	meanes	malice.
54	14	warres	wayes
69	vlt.	<i>Gargana</i>	<i>Garganus</i>
70	8	birdes	burdens
73	20	<i>Cateline</i>	<i>Catiline</i>
83	35	that <i>Asilo</i>	<i>Asilo</i> that
85	26, 28, 29.	<i>Ptolomie</i>	<i>Ptolmie</i>
95	3	<i>Dyrachium</i>	<i>Dyrachium</i>
97	2	<i>Sypris</i>	<i>Sycoris</i>
102	14	nnalpe	manly
105	1	Baron	barne
106	13	sepyning	seeming
107	34	of. viij. C.	sauing. 80.
110	1	<i>Verona</i>	<i>Verona</i>
114	7	flingers	flingers
110	12	any. 120.	onely. 120.
115	2	fourtie	400.
115	27	so	see
126	9	<i>Mesbridates</i>	<i>Mesbridates</i>
140	17	came	comming
161	2	40.	400.
ibid.	5	horse	ho'te
ibid.	18	<i>Tisurum</i>	<i>Tisurum</i>

¶ A CONTINVATION  
of Appian of Alexandria:

*Wherein is declared the last acte of the wo-  
full Tragedie of the Romaines bloudie  
Dissentions, in the whiche Marcus Antonius  
was ouerthrowen by sea at Actio, and  
by land at Alexandria:*

Where both he and Cleopatra killed themselves, after the which,  
Octavius Caesar was the only Monarch of all the  
Romane Empire alone.

*In this we be taught: That Gods vengeance is sharp, although it be  
slow, and that peoples rule must give place, and princely  
power prevaile.*



AT LONDON,  
Imprinted by Raulfe Newberry  
and Henry Bynniman.

Anno, 1578.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE,  
his singular good Mayster, Sir  
*Christopher Hatton, Knight, Cap-  
taine of the Queenes Maiesties  
Garde, Viz chamberlaine to hir Highnesse,  
and one of hir Maiesties most hono-  
rable priue Counsaile.*



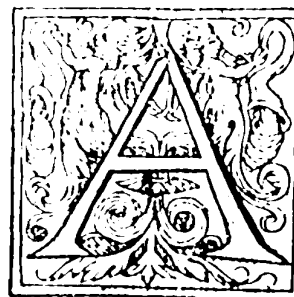
S the losse of old possesiōs, is  
a grieſe to the landed men: euē  
so the decay of aūtient bokes,  
is a smart to the learned sort.  
*Titus Linius* father of the *Romane*  
historic (whom to see, repaire  
was made of Gentlemen frō  
farre places, vvhiles he liued)  
hath not escaped the iniurie of  
time, but bin left vnperfute, to  
the great sorowv of posteritie,  
after he dyed, *Cornelius Tacitus* that folowed him both in mat-  
ter and age, could not auoyde that iniquitie, althoughe the  
Emperor *Tacitus* commaunded his bokes to be written ten  
times euery yeare. This Authour *Appianus Alexandrinus*, hath  
had the like lucke, for al the estimation he vvas in, the halfe  
of his labour being lost, and the last part of the vvhole ciuill  
tumult not now to be had frō him, but briefly supplied o-  
therwise, that the end of the *Romanes* wo, & the beginning of  
our ioy, might be declared, the one successiuelly folovving  
of the other. The vvvhich it may please your honour to ac-  
cept, according to your accustomed goodnesse, beseeching  
the liuing Lord long to preserue the same.

Your Honours humble  
seruaunt. H. B.

*dria, till the ouerthrow of M. Antonius,*

*vvhiche vvvas the laste ciuill dissention after*

*thewhiche, Octavius Caesar had the rule of all  
the Romine Empire alone.*



After that Octavius Caesar, and M. Antonius had agreed with Sextus, the younger sonne of Pompey the great, it was determined that Antonius shold make warre vpon the Parthians, to reuenge the death of Crassus. Wherefore presently he sent Ventidius to repressse the Parthians, and he to gratifie Octavius,

was content to marie his sister, and to he made the holy minister of Iulius Caesar that was dead, he re- mayning in Rome, ruling by common consent, with Octavius Caesar, as well the matters of the Cittie as of the whole Empire. And as it befalleth betwene such Princes, to make pastimes in play and matches, Antonie alwayes had the worse, at the whiche he was somewhat moued. He had in his company an Aegyptian, after y manner of a Southsayer, who, cyther to please Cleopatra, or to shew the very truth, tolde Antonie then, that his fortune was obscured by the fortune of Octavius. Therefore he abused him to go furder off. For, sayth he, whē thou art abrode, thy nature is noble and coragious, but when thou art with him, it is delect and afrayde of his. Antonie, whether by this motion, or his owne inclination, was content to leaue all there to Octavius, and to go towarde his olde loue of Aegypt, yet caryng his new wife with him into Græcia, pretending an earnest desire to reuenge the iniurie that was done to Crassus, which was after this sorte:

*Antonie marieth Octauia.*

*Antonies fortune is overcome, of Caesars.*

Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar, were all suters for the Consulship in Rome, agaynst them stode Cicero and Cato. Crassus and Pompey were chosen, and they continued Caesars authoritie in France for five yeares longer, whiche he only desired. In castyng lottes for

*Crassus, Pompey and Caesar.*

¶ Ccc.

the

Crassus goeth to  
the vvarre a  
great order.

Exercitation.

Imperator.

Hierapolis an  
holy cite in A-  
sia, full of mirace-  
lous things.

Tokens.

Antonie goeth  
against the Par-  
thians to reuenge  
Crassus.  
Antonie disbe-  
rer by his dis-  
tendants than by  
himselfe.  
Pentidius.

the prouinces, *Spaine* fell to *Pompey*, wherof he was glad, being giuen to please his wife: and the people was gladd, being desirous to haue *Pompey* nigh the Citie. *Syria* fell to *Crassus*, wherof he was onely gladd, and all other so. For they perceiued he was wholly giuen to spoyle the countrie of *Parthia*, whiche was not comprehended in the lawe of the prouinces. Wherefore *Antonie*, the Tribune of the people, forbade *Crassus* to invade *Parthia*, but he being animated by *Cæsars* letters out of *France*, and by *Pompeys* presence in *Rome*, wente forwarde, notwithstanding that the Tribune, at the gate of the Citie did stande by, with fire and sacrifice, comyng him in the name of moste straunge and fearefull Goddes, not to procede, the which kinde of exccration, the *Romans* thinke to be moste horrible, bothe to him that doth pronounce them, & to him, against whom they be pronounced: when *Crassus* had passed the seas, and lost many of his shippes, sayling before due time, and after he had gotten some cities by accord, and wonne one by force, he woulde needs be called *Imperator*, for the which he was mocked, because that name was not giuen to any by the *Romans*, before he had in a plaine batayle, ouerthrowne. x. M. and spending one winter like a rent gatherer, without any exercise of his soldours, & in spoiling a Temple at *Hierapolis*, in the entry of the which, he & his sonne, fell one vpon an other, & being offered help of the king of *Armenia*, if he would make his iourney thorough his countrie, which was the better way, he refused it, & went rashly thorough *Mesopotamia*. And at the passage ouer a brydge which he had made, it thundred & lightened in his face, & blew downe a parte of the brydge, and after he was come ouer, his campe was twice set a fyre by lightning. These & many other tokens might haue moued him, but he went forth, till both he & his sonne and. xx. M. *Romans* were slaine, & x. M. taken, and al the despite done to them that could be deuised. Upon this occasiō did *Antonie* leade his army against the *Parthians*, & by his Lieftenant *Ventidius* gaue them a great ouerthrow, whyles he was at *Athens*. Wherefore he made great feastings among the *Grecians*, and being ready to go forth, he wore a garland of holly *Oliue*, & to fulfill an oracle, caried with him a vessel of water. In the

the meane time *Ventidius* gaue an other ouerthrow, in the which, *Pacorus* the kings sonne was slaine, the which although it seemed a sufficient reuenge for *Crassus* death, yet he gaue the the thirde ouerthrow betwene *Media* & *Mesopotamia*. Then *Ventidius* thought it good to stay, least *Antonie* should enuie him. And when he had subdued them & reuolted, he besieged *Cōmagenus Antiochus*, in *Syria*, who promised to giue a thousand talents & obey *Antonie*. Unto whom *Ventidius* willed him to send his Embassadors, because he was at hand: which being done, he would not receiue & offer, that it should not seeme that *Ventidius* hath done all. But when the citie stood at defence, and would not yelde, he was soze rie he had refused the condition, & was content, to take three hundred talents, & go his way agayne to *Athens*, hauing done little or nothing in *Syria*. He rewarded *Ventidius* very well, & sent him to *Rome* to triumph, & only he had triumph of the *Parthians*, a man of base bloud, & auaced by *Antonie*, who confirmed & saying of *Cæsar* & *Antonie*, & they did better pꝛeuaile by their Lieftenants, than by themselves. Now was *Orodes* the king of *Parthia*, killed by his sonne *Phraates*, from whom many fled away, & among other *Moneses* a noble mā came to *Antonie*, who cōparing his miserie, to *Themistocles*, & his owne felicitie, to the kings of *Persia*, gaue him three cities: euē as *Xerxes* gaue. liij. cities to *Themistocles*, for his great, dyinke and meate, and as some say, twice more, for his lodging and apparell. And when the king sent for *Moneses* to be restored, *Antonie* was content with it, and offered hym peace, so he would render the Ensignes and the captiues that were taken at the losse of *Crassus*. Then he took his iourney by *Arabia* and *Armenia*, where he increased his army by the confederate kings, wherof the greatest was the king of *Armenia*, who lent him. 6000. horse, & 7000. footmen, he mustred his army, & had of *Romane* footmen. li. M. of *Spanish*, *French*, & *Romane* horsemen. x. M. of other nations of horse & footmen, xxx. M. And this great power, & he cast a terror euē to the *Indians*, only the vaine loue of *Cleopatra*, brought to none effect. For the desire he had to come againe into his companie made him do al things out of time and order. He had leste his laste wife *Octauia* with her children, and the children had

*Samosata*, a citie where is a rage of amaraclous nature.  
*Antonie* refused good offer.

*Antonie* returneth.

King *Orodes* killed by his sonne.  
*Moneses* to *Themistocles* compared.  
*Antonies* liberality, to counteruayle kings of *Persia*.

Vaine loue.

had by his first wyfe *Fulvia*, with *Ottavium Caesar*. And beyng now in the Casse partes, was wholly given to the wanton desire of *Cleopatra*, to whome he gaue the prouinces of *Cypres*, *Calosyria*, *Phanicia*, and a parte of *Cilicia* and *Iurie*, wherewith the *Romanes* were muche grieved, and also with his crueltie to *Antigonu* kyng of *Iurie*, and with his vanitie in the chyldezen hee had by *Cleopatra*, calling the one, *Alexander*, the Sonne, and the other *Cleopatra* the Moone. Yet was *Cleopatra* not the fayrest woman in the worlde, but very wittie and full of artificiall deuises, and had the casse to beguyle *Antonie*, who was easie to be ledde. For haste, hee woulde not suffer hys arme to reste after so long a iourney: for haste hee leste his engines behinde him, whereof one was called a Ramme of foure score fote long: for haste hee leste *Media*, passing by the leste hande of *Armenia* into *Atropatia*, whiche hee spoyled. When hee besieged the great Citie of *Phraata*, where hee founde hys errour, in leauyng hys artillerie behinde. Therefore to cause hys men to do somewhat, he made them caste vp mountes. In the meane time the kyng came forth with a mighty army, and hearing that the artillerie was left behynd, he sent a great parte of his horse men, which slew *Tatianus*, and ten thousand that were left for the custody of the Engines, & toke and spilled the munitiō. The which did much discourage his Soldiours, & caused that the kyng of *Armenia* forsoke him, for whose cause he made the warre. The *Parthians* were very bragge vpon the *Romanes*, wherefore *Antonie* toke ten legions, and all his horsemen to range the countrie, thereby to prouoke the enimie to fight. When he had gone one dayes iourney, he saw the enemies round aboute him, therefore, in his campe he determined to fight, yet would not so seme, but rayfed his campe as to goe away, commaundyng that when the fote men were at hande, the horsemenne shoulde sette vpon the enimie, whiche stode in a triangle battayle to beholde the *Romanes* good order, shakynge their dartes. When the tyme serued, the horsemen gaue so fierce an onfette vpon them, as they toke away the vse of theyr shotte, notwithstanding they stucke to it. But when the fote men came, with shoute and fearefull shew, the

*Parthians*

*Cleopatra.*

*Antonie* killed the kyng of *Iurie*.  
Vanie of *Antonie*.

Haste maketh vaine.

*Atropatia* one part of *Media*.

The artillerie of the *Romanes* taken.

*Parthian* Horsemen were disordered, and turned their backs. *Antony* thinking to make an ende of the warre that daye, gaue them the chase, and yet toke but xxx. and kyled lxxx. Whiche agayne did much discourage the *Romanes*, since they lost so many at their cariage, and wanne so little at this victory.

*Antony* kyled lxxx. men in this victory.

The next day *Antony* returned to his Camp, and by the way at the first mette with felo of his enemies, afterwards more and more, and at the last all, so as being much molested with them, with much adoe he got to the Tentes, where the enimie assauled the trench, the which, diuers for feare did forsake. Wherefore *Antony* punished every tenth man, and sedde the rest with barley. The warre was greuous to them both, for *Antony* could no more goe a foraging without great losse. And the kyng feared, that if his men shoulde lye in the fielde all Winter, they would forsake him. Therefore he deuised this policie. The noble men of the *Parthians* suffered the *Romanes* to carrie away their prapes, with great commendation of their worthinesse, and that the kyng woulde be glad of peace, and so riding neerer the army, would rebuke *Antony* for keeping them there in so strange a countrey, out of the whiche, though the *Parthians* were theyr friends, it shoulde be harde for them to escape. When *Antony* hearde of this, he caused to be enquired, whether these men wold speake by the kings consent, which they answered to be. When he sente to the kyng, that if he woulde restore the Captiues and ensignes, he woulde depart. The kyng sayd, he would sende them to him, if he would depart quickly. Therefore *Antony* made vp, and retired. At his going away, he did not speake to the Souldyours as he was wont to doe, being very eloquente that way, whereat many were offended, committing the matter to be done to *Demetrius Menobarbus*. Being in his way, one *Mardus*, well acquainted with the *Parthian* manners, whose faith the *Romanes* had woued before, tolde *Antony* it was best for him to goe so, as hee might haue the hilles on his right hande, and not to hazarde hys army laden with armour to the *Parthian* archers and horsemen in the playne way. *Antony* consulted with his counsell, pretending yet not to be asfayde of the breach of peace, and accepting

Punishment. To be felle vpon hys, was a punishment among Souldyours.

Craft of the *Parthians*.

*Antony* omitted a Generalles part.  
*Mardus*.

Eccl. iij.

the

the counsell as compendious. *Antony* required suretie of *Marcius*, he had him bind him, till he came into *Armenia*. So being bound, he brought him two dayes quietly.

The third day when *Antony* looked for nothing lesse than the *Parthians*, *Marcius* espied the banke of a riuer to be broken downe, and the water flowing abroade, which he coniectured to be done by the enimie to hynder the passage of *Antony*. Therefoze he wilhed *Antony* to loke to it, for they were not farre off. *Antony* sette his men in order, and by and by the *Parthians* came vpon him, whome he receyued with his shotte. So there was muche hurte done on both sides, till the French horsemen brake vpon them, and put them by for that day. *Antony* being taught hereby, went on with a square battel, fencing the same thoroughly with the shotte. The horsemen were commaunded to giue repulse to the enimie, and that done, not to chace them farre. So when the *Parthians* these foure dayes had receyued as much hurt as they had done, they minded to retire, because the winter was at hand.

The fifth daye, *Fulvius Gallus* a valiant man, desired *Antony* to haue a greater bande of shotte, and more horsemen, and he would do some notable feate, which when he had receyued, he put backe the enimie, not returning to the arme againe as they did befoze, but pursuing them along without feare, whiche when the leader of the reuerward did see, he called him backe, but he would not obey. And whereas *Titus* toke the banner to turne backe, he put it forward againe, and badoe him meddle with his olme matters, and wente so farre, as he was compassed of his enimies, and compelled to sende for helpe, wherein *Canidius* that was in greate credite wth *Antony* dyd not well, for he sente but a fewe at once, which were soon put backe, and utterly hadde bin lost, hadde not *Antony* come wth his legions in time, and abated the courage of the enimie. Notwithstanding three thousande *Romans* were slayne, and foue thousande hurte, and *Gallus* wounded with foure darter, of the which he dyed. *Antony* went about weeping, and comforting them: they desired him to be content, for all was well, if he were well. Great lone bare the

*Parthians* vpon the *Romans*.

*Parthians* from the *Romans*.

*Fulvius Gallus* taketh in euill interprete.

*Titus*.

*Canidius*.

*Romans* slayne.

*Antony* weepeth.

the souldyours vnto him, for he was compted one of the best Captaynes of that time. The enimies were so encouraged by this victozy, as they wayted at the Camp all night, thinking the *Romans* would haue bin gone: And in the morning the number was much encreased, for the king had sent the horsemens gard of his person, but came at no sight himselfe, so as there was nowe fortye thousand horsemen. *Antony* would haue gone among the souldyours with a blacke golwe, but his friends would not suffer him: so he went generall like, and prayed them that hadde done well, and rebuked them that had done otherwise. They prayed him to pardon them, and to punish euery tenth man. Only they desired him to leaue his sorow. Then he held his hands vpto heauen, saying: If anye disneyne of God remained of his former fortune, he desired it might fall vpon him, so the *Romans* army might be saued, and haue the victozy.

The next day he went moze warily, when contrary to theyr looking, the *Parthians* came trolling downe the hill, thinking to haue gotten pray, and not to haue founde warre. The *Romans* toke in their archers and such other, into the midst of the battell, causing the to kaele, and they stouping, couered them with their shields, vpon the which the *Parthians* arrowes slied off. And the *Parthians* thinking that the *Romans* had stouped for wearinesse, made a shoute, and came vpon them with their stauces, at the whiche time the *Romans* rose, and so encountred with them, as they droue them away. Thus were they troubled byuers dayes, and made but little way.

Nowe was there wante in the Campe, for they coulde gette no come, and their Cattell was spent, partly by losse, and partly by carrying the wounded and sick men. A barly lose was solde for the waighte of silver. They ate strange hearbes and rotes, and some that brought present death, with a kinde of madness, for they coulde do nothing else but roll stoues, so as all the Campe was almost occupied in picking and turning of stoues. Theremedye of thys was wyne, whyche wanted in the host, therefore when they hadde vomited the melancolike, they dyed. Manye thus dying, and the *Parthians* still coming vpon

*Antony* toucheth.

*Antony* prayeth.

Politic of the *Romans*.

*Parthians* repulsed.

V Want in the *Romans* Camp.

Barly bread. Hearbes venemous. Frensy in the Camp.

V Vine.

The way of  
Xenophon.

Antony vvaied

V Vaier.

Salty water.

upon them, *Antony* oftentimes cryed, Oh the tenne thousande, meaning the tenne thousand *Greekes*, which, under the leading of *Xenophon*, passed safe a farre longer way, in despight of their enemies. Nowe when the *Parthians* perceived they could not preuaile againste the *Romans*, nor breake their order, but were all wayes put backe, they began to deale gently againe wth the forragiers, shewing the strings of their bowes vnbente, and to make an ende, onely a fewe *Medians* shoulde followe the tayle, to keepe the *Townes* from spoyling. These wordes made the *Romans* glad, and *Antony* minded to goe the champion way, and leaue the hilles. And being entred this way, one *Atthridates*, a cousin of that *Monesis* that fledde to *Antony*, came vnto him, and required to speake wth one that coulde the *Parthian* tong. To whome *Alexander* of *Antioch*, a friende of *Antonys*, was appoynted. He tolde him that *Monesis*, for good will to *Antony*, had sent him to shew, that vnder the hilles which he saw before him, nexte vnto the which the playne way led to yne, the *Parthians* lay in secrete, to beguile him againe by their faire wordes. Therefore if he woulde saue himselfe and his host, he shoulde not leaue the way by the hilles, where in dede he shoulde finde labour and thurst, but the other way he shoulde not escape *Crassus* misfortune. This saide, he went his way. *Antony* communicated this wth his friendes, and wth *Mardus*, who affirmed it to be most like the truth. Therefore sayd it was best to goe by the hilles, though it were paynesfull, and shoulde lacke water one daye. Therefore *Antony* toke this way, and commaunded every man to carrie as muche water as he coulde: but there was lacke of vessels, and the most part carryed it in their sallets. When the *Parthians* spied had told whiche way *Antony* went, contrary to theyr manner, they came vpon him by night, and by breake of day, set vpon the reereward, warrred with labour and watching, so they were compelled both to march, and to resist the enimie. Now was the foreward come to a floud, whiche was very clere, but salt, that was soeuer drinke of it, was full of payne. *Mardus* gaue them warning of it, but the *Souldiours* would not be ruled. When *Antony* raine aboute, praying them to refraine and passe on, for a little

little farther was a floud of healthsome water, and so chose a way, that the *Parthians* could not follow them. And to cause the *Souldiours* to haue some shadow, he blew the retreat, and pitched his tents. Which being done, and the *Parthians* going backe, as they were wonte, *Atthridates* came agayne, and spake wth *Alexander*, telling hym, that after the *Souldiours* had rested a while, they shoulde comoue and passe ouer the next floud, for so farre the enimie would followe. When *Antony* heard this, he toke many cuppes of gold to *Alexander*, to giue *Atthridates* as many as he coulde carrie away. So *Antony* departed, and hadde much ado, for the enimies followed so hard, as they lacked his carriage, and toke his tables and plate of golde, and as many as hadde anye thyng, they kylled and spoyled, whereby it was thought that all the armye was disorderd, and scattered, in so much as *Antony* called one of his chamber to hym, and wylled him, if he commaunded hym, to kyll hym, he shoulde do it vpon his oth, and take away his head, that he might not be knowen when he was dead. *Antony* being in this sorowe, *Mardus* dyd comfort hym, affirming that the floud was at hande, whiche he knew by the colonesse of the airc that there was felt. *Antony*, to bring all to quiet, commaunded to Campe euen there. By breake of daye, the *Parthians* againe charged vpon the tayle, in defence of whome, the shotte was sent, and the battell defended them with their shields. The *Parthians* durst not come to hand strokes, so as by this time the foreward was come to the floud, ouer the which, *Antony* sent first the hurt & sicke *Souldiours*, and appoynted all the *Horsemen* to encounter with the enimie, by the whiche meane, they that wente ouer, might haue leysure to drinke. When the *Parthians* sawe the floud, they vnbente theyr bowes, and sayde, the *Romans* myghte nowe drinke at leysure, for they had so deserved by theyr vertue.

The *Romans* beeyng past the floud, did marche in order, not yet trusting the *Parthians*.

The sixth daye after theyr last fyghte, they came to the floud *Araxes*, whiche diuideth *Media* and *Armenia*. And because this floud was harde to passe, they were agayne afrayd of theyr enimies.

Atthridates.

Antonys giftes.

Antonys treasure spoyled.

Antony in dread.

Collyayre taken out of water.

Araxes diuideth Armenia from Atropatia.

mies had layne in a wayte; but passing quietly, as soone as they came to land, they reioyced at it, as they do that see it from the Sea, and embraced one another, wringing for joy. Now followed there another inconvenience, for the Countrey being plentiful, and the Souldoyours taking too much, fell into many diseases, and dyed. *Antony* then mustered his men, finding he wanted twenty thousand footmen, and foure thousand horsemen, halfe of the which dyed of diseases. From the Citie of *Abrastu*, they had bin comming seaden and twenty dayes, in the which they hadde fought eyghtene times with the *Parthians*, of whom they coude not haue perfitte victory, bycause the King of *Armenia* forsooke them, whose army hadde bin moost expert to haue deale with the *Parthians*; wherfore euery man counselled *Antony* to be reuenged of the King. *Antony* using policies, shewed all courtesses to the men of the Countrey, and sent so fayre messages to the King, as he came vnto him, whome he committed by and by, and carreyed him to *Alexandria*, where he triumphed ouer him, which thing greued the *Romanes*, that *Antony* would defraude his Countrey to please his Concubine. The winter was so greate, that he lost eyght thousande, before he coude come to a Castell called *Leuce*, where he was in great agonies, till *Cleopatra* was come. When like a foolish yong mā, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes and riot, running from his table to the sea side euery day to see if she were come. When she came, she brought much apparrell, and money to geue the Souldoyours. Some say, *Antony* toke them to hir, to geue the *Romanes*.

Now was there a variance fallen betwene the Kings of *Parthia* and *Media*, for the spoyle of the *Romanes* goodes. The *Median* King sent to *Antony* to come agayne, and he would some tyme with him with all his power which was very great. *Antony* was not a little glad hereof, bycause the helpe of the *Medians* might be the meane for hym to conquer *Parthia*, and so intended to make a new iourney.

At *Rome* *Octavia* desired to goe to hir husband. *Antony*, *Cesar* was content with it, not so muche to pleasure his sister, as to take occasion by the euill handling which he suspected would followe of hir,

hir, to moue iust warre against. *Antony*. When she was come to *Athen*, she receiued letters from *Antony*, to say thus, by cause of his newe voyage. She smelling the matters wrote vnto him to know whether she should send the things which she had brought him, that is to saye, many coats for his Souldoyours, great plenty of Castell, money, and rewards for his Captaynes, and two thousande freshe Souldoyours, for the gaue of his person, all the which, were well set out to hym by *Agrippa* his melienger. When *Cleopatra* heard this, fearing that if *Octavia* came, she would put hir out of concept, she bestrode hir, she pined herselfe, she wepte, and wayled, and would needs dye for *Antony* sake, why sayd, he would take his iourney in hand. *Antony* there were that blamed *Antony* as ruge and hard harted, that he would put so louing a Lady and so great a Queene in danger of hir life, eyther for his wimes sake, or for anye other cause, in so muche as *Antony* was made a tame cole, and deferred vnto the next sounner his expedition, and returned to *Alexandria* to winter with *Cleopatra*. Now was *Octavia* returned to *Rome*, and hir brother willed hir to goe to hir owne house, but she went to *Antony* house, which she kept with so good order, and cherishing as well the children he had by *Fulvia*, as by hir selfe, as it did aggravate the fault of *Antony*, that he would forsake so vertuous a *Roman* Lady, for an *Egyptian* stranger. *Octavia* desired hir brother, that if there were none other cause of warre but by hir, that he would not moue it, for she should beare the blame. Wherfore in all requests she did help *Antony*es friends, wherby vniwillingly she hindered *Antony*, who was now so fond of warre, as he would haue *Cleopatra* called by the name of the Goddess. *Isis*, Quene of *Aegypt*, *Cyprus*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, and *Casaria*, whome it was thought she hadde by *Julius Cesar*, to be hir companion in these Kingdomes. The sonnes that he hadde by hir, he called Kings of Kings. To *Alexander*, *Armenia*, *Media*, & *Parthia* to *Ptoleme*; *Phoenicia*, *Syria*, & *Cilicia*, he appoynted. In *Rome* *Cesar* accused him of this geare before the Senate. *Antony* by letters, accused *Cesar* likewise. First, that he had not made him partaker of *Sicily*, one of y<sup>e</sup> which he had wrong *Pompey*. Then, y<sup>e</sup>

Add. is,

he

S. 110.

In the of the  
Romans.Antony taketh  
the King of  
Media by flight  
Antonyes true  
strength displa  
yeth to the Ro  
mans.  
Leuce.Antonyes fond  
ness.Antony called  
by the Median  
name.Cesar seeketh  
occasion to  
seize Antony.Antony forbids  
Octavia to come  
to him.

Nag.

State of Cleo  
patra.

Antony doeth.

Octavia.

Modestie of  
Octavia.Antonyes foo  
lishness.  
His  
Casaria.Accusations be  
tweene Cesar  
and Antony.

Objections of  
Antony.Answers of  
Caesar.

Canidius.

Naile of An-  
tony.

Domitius.

Cleopatra labou-  
reth to carry  
with Antony.Progreſſe of  
Antony and  
Cleopatra.  
Song.Paſſime out of  
time.

Lucus.

Cleopatra con-  
ſulteth Octavia.Antony a Citizen  
of Athens.  
Antony playeth  
his Recorder.

he had not reſtozed the Shippes which he had ſent him. Thirdly, that hauing depoſed Lepidus his fellow in authoritie, he kept thoſe profitſes and prouinces to his owne vſe, and that he had di- uided Italy to his owne ſouldiours, and not remembred his. To theſe Caesar answered, that bycauſe Lepidus ruled out of order, he had brought him to order, his prouinces he would participate with him, when he would diuide with him Armenia. As for his ſouldiours, they hadde no portion in Italy, no more than he in Media & Parthia. The Antony heard of this, he ſent by a ſpy Canidius with xvj. legions to the ſea. He carrying Cleopatra with hym, wente to Ephesus, whither all his ſauie aſſembled, to the number of eyght hundred ſhippes of burden, of the which, Cleopatra gaue him two hundred, and two hundred talentes for the expences of the warre. Domitius and other of Antonies counſell, would haue had Cleopatra to haue gone to Egypt, till the warre were ended. But ſhe corrupted Canidius to tell him, that it was not honorable to remoue hir that was at ſuche charge for the warre, nor ſure to exaſperate the Egyptians mindes, in whome was grent part of his forces by ſea. So Antony muſt liue with Cleopatra, till they were both brought to death. From Ephesus they wente to Samos, where they made luſty cheere. For as all Kings, Princes, and prouinces were commanded to bring all manner of munition for the warre thither, even ſo all kind of players, and people of paſſime, wer willed alſo to be there, that at what time all the world as it were was in ſorrowe for þe ruine that was toward, that only Iſland was in all joy & pleaſure. The Kings ſente all prouiſion thither, ſtriving who ſhould make greateſt banquettes, in ſo much as it was ſaide, if there be ſuche cheering before the war, what triumphing will there be, when the victory is gotten. From hence they wet to Priene, where were ſhewed all þe Comedies & Tragedies, and then to Athens, where as kinds of new ſhewes were deuised. Here Cleopatra, for emulation of Octavia, to whome the Athenians had done great honoures, gaue a greate largelle to the people, and they againe made a decree of honours to be done to hir, at the which, Antony was as a Citizen of Athens, and in the name of the Citie made an Oration vnto hir.

Antony.

Antonie had ſent to Rome, to remoue Octavia out of his houſe. She went from it, with all his chyldren, weeping and lamenting that ſhe ſhould be any cauſe of the warre. The people lamented, bothe hir and Antonie, ſpecially they that had ſene Cleopatra, who did not excell Octavia, neyther in beautie, nor in ſloure of yeares. Caesar Octavius was aſtrayde, when he heard of Antonies expedition and great preparation, for he had nothing ready, nor money to prepare, in gathering of the which, if Antonie had come on, Caesar had bene in great danger. For whyles money is ſo cracted, men are tumultours, but when it is gathered, they be quiet. Therefore it was thought a greate folie in Antonie, to detract the time. But what ſhal a man ſay, That that wilbe, ſhalbe.

Titius and Plancus two chiefe aboute Antonie, and they that gaue him aduiſe he ſhould ſend Cleopatra away, ſetde from him to Caesar, bycauſe Cleopatra began to maligne at them: and they did belwray Antonies Teſtament, being pruiue to it. It was kept of the Virgines Veſtalles, to whome Caesar ſente to haue it: they would not deliuer it, if he would take it from them, he might. So he ſtent, and toke it away, and firſt by himſelfe redde it, and noted what might be ſayde agaynſt it. When he called the Senate, and redde it openly, wherewith many were grieved, thinking it not reaſonable that a mans minde for his death, ſhoulde be ſcanned whyleſt he was aliue. The greateſt faulte that was founde, was this, that he had willed whereſoeuer he died, that his body ſhould be caried to Alexandria, and ſente to Cleopatra. Furthermore, one Calpiſtus a friende of Caſars, objected agaynſt Antonie, That he had giuen hir the Librarie of Pergamo, in the which was two hundred thouſand bookes. That he would riſe from the table, and trample vpon hir ſete by compaſſe. That he ſuffered the Ephesians in his preſence, to call hir Soueraigne. That when he gaue audience to Kings and Princes, he would receiue letters of loue from hir written in tables of pennele and Criſtall, and readethem. That when Furnius, a man of authoritie in Rome and very eloquent, did pleade a cauſe before him, Cleopatra came by in a litter, & he left the court, and ranne downe to hir, and leaping vpon the litter, went away with hir. Many

Dob. liij.

men.

Octavia is put  
out of Antonies  
houſe.

Caesar in vwant.

Slackneſſe of An-  
tonie.Exaction of mo-  
ney.Titius, Plancus,  
Antonies friends  
forſake him.Antonies teſta-  
ment beviuayed.Caesar objected  
agaynſt Antonies  
teſtament.Librarie of  
Pergamo.

men thought *Calpurnius* forged these crimes. Therefore *Antonie* friends made meanes to the people of *Rome* for him. And sent *Geminus* unto him, to warne him to take heed, that he losse not his power, and be pronounced rebell to *Rome*. When *Geminus* was come into *Greece*, *Cleopatra* suspected he came to entreate for *Othello*. And being at supper, she taunted him, and vsed him spitefully: but he bare all, till he might haue *Antonie* alone. But whate y<sup>e</sup> would not be, but he was commaunded to tell why he came cut at supper: he sayd that other things required a sober conference, but one thing he knew both sober and dronke, that all should be well if *Cleopatra* went into *Aegypt*. *Antonie* was angry at that. And *Cleopatra* sayde, Thou haste done well, *Geminus*, to tell the truth without any torture. *Geminus* went hys way out of hand. The Parasites of *Cleopatra* dyd cause many other to flee from them, because they coulde not beare their despites and contumelies, among whome was *Syllanus* and *Pellius*, who sayde he feared to be destroyed of *Cleopatra*, for so *Glaucon* the Whisitian had tolde him. When *Caesar* was ready, the warre was denouced against *Cleopatra*, the authoritie taken from *Antonie*, because he had committed it to a womans lust, and not in his right wits, being bewitched by hir. And lesse all the warre to be directed by hir Eunuches and Russians who also had the commandement in ciuill affayres. Diuerse unlucky tokens were scene at the beginning of this warre, both in *Italye* and *Greece*.

*Antonie* had a nauie of warlike ships to the number of fiftie hundred, wherof 110 were made for triumph. He had an hundred thousand footemen, & 11. M. horsemen. *Bochim* king of *Africa*, *Tarcondemus* king of *Upper Cilicia*, *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* king of *Paphlagonia*, *Antibryetes* king of *Commagena*, and *Adallus* king of *Thracia*, were present at this war. *Polemon* King of *Pontus* sent ayde, likewise *Manchus* of *Arabia*, and *Heraclides* the Iewe, and *Amintas* the king of *Licaonia* and *Galatia*. Also the King of *Media* sent him succour. *Caesar* had 250. shippes for the warre, 11. M. footemen, & as many horsemen as the enemy. *Antonie* had rule from the floud *Euphrates* & *Armenia* to the sea of *Tonia* and *Iliria*. *Caesar* had all from that sea to the west *Ocean*, & from thence to

to the *Tuscan* & *Sicilian* sea. So much of *Africa* as bent forwarde *Italye*, *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, and the pillars of *Hercules*, *Caesar* had. The rest from *Cyrene* to *Aethiopia*, *Antonie* helde. So much was he thrall to this woman, that where he farre passed in good fortune, for his pleasure he put all his strength in a nauie. And when he understode that the Captaines of the nauie found fault for lacke of good seamen, he supplied the want with rogues, carters, haruest men, and labozers of wasted *Greece*, and yet was not the nauie furnished, but many shippes voyde and vnable to fight.

*Caesar* made not his shippes huge & for ostentation & shew, but light & swift, & them well furnished, whiche he helde at *Tarent* and *Brindise*. From thence he sent to *Antonie* to require him to loose no time, but to come forth, & he would giue him safe robes & portes for his nauie, and giue him conuenient ground in *Italye*, to lande his men surely & quietly. *Antonie* on the contrary side bragging chalenged to fight with him hand to hand, which if he would not doe, then to fighte with him in *Phasall* field, where *Caesar* fought with *Pompey*. But *Caesar*, whiles *Antonie* lay at anchoz at *Actio*, whiche is now *Nicopoli*, passed the sea to get the towne of *Ephesus*, whiche is now called *Toryne*. *Antonie* being ascard, the enemy should set vpon his shippes vnfurnished, made a shewe of great readinesse by shipping oares on euery side, and so kept the porte. Whereby *Caesar* being deceiued, went backe, and *Antonie* desired to take away the water from him, which was scant & naught. He dealt gently concerning *Domitio*, contrary to *Cleopatra*s opinion, for he being sicke, toke a litle boate & fled to *Caesar*, y<sup>e</sup> which although it grieved *Antonie*, notwithstanding he sent him all his goodes & seruants. The which, because it was openly knowen that he was fled, so grieved him, that he died. The kings *Amintas* & *Deistarras* went to *Caesar* also. And because *Antonie*s nauie was not sufficient, he was compelled to looke & trust to his army by land. And *Candius* y<sup>e</sup> was general of the footmen, perswaded him in any wise to send *Cleopatra* home, & go to *Thracia* or *Macedonia*, & try y<sup>e</sup> matter by lãd. For *Dicomes* king of the *Getes* was ready to help him with great numbers. And y<sup>e</sup> it shold be no shame to him to refuse y<sup>e</sup> fight by sea, because *Caesar* had y<sup>e</sup> practise of it by reason of y<sup>e</sup> *Sicilian* wars: but

The manner of  
*Caesar*s Shippes.

*Caesar* prom-  
ised *Antonie*.

*Antonie* chaleng-  
ed combat  
with *Caesar*.

*Actio*.

*Toryne*.

*Candius*.

*Geminus*.

*Cleopatra* telleth  
*Geminus*.

Answer of  
*Geminus*.

*Geminus* telleth  
truth and is bla-  
med.

*Romans* fleeeth  
from *Antonie*.

Warre pro-  
claimed.

Nauie of *Anto-  
nie*.

Confederate  
kings.

Nauie of *Caesar*.

Countries of  
either side.

but it should be a great blame vnto him, not to vse his forces by lande, wherein he was moſte experte, and suffer the ſame to be abuſed by ſea. But *Cleopatra* byged him to fight by ſea, although ſhe deſpayred of the victorie, and ſecretely prouided all meanes to ſlie away. In this time *Antonie* was in ſome daunger, there was a certayne narrow ſpace of grounde, betwene him and his nauie, ouer the which it was his manner to paſſe without feare, of the which, when *Cæſar* was aduertised, he layde wayte for him, he which, being a little to quicke, toke him that came befoze *Antonie*, and he hardely eſcaped and ranne away.

When it was determined to fight by ſea, they burned all the vnprofitable veſſels, and kepte the Gallies of the beſt force, into the which he put twentie thouſand ſoldiers, and two thouſand Archers. Then a certayne Captayne, that had bene a good ſeruant, and was an expert ſoldiour, thewed his wounded body to *Antonie*, crying, O generall, why doeſt thou diſtruſt theſe woundes and weapons, and putteſt thy truſt in brittle veſſels? Let *Egyptians* and other like make their fight by ſea, giue vs the land, in the which we haue bene wonte to ſtande and die, or elſe to conquire. *Antonie* answered nothing to him, but with his hande and head, ſignifying he ſhould be of good cheere, paſſed by, all hope layde aſide, for where as the maſters of the ſhippes, woulde haue taken away the ſarles, he commaunded them to be carried into the ſhippes, that none of the enemies ſhoulde eſcape him, as he pretended. That day, &. xliij. daies moze, the rough weather deferred the fight. The fifth day, the weather being fayre, they made the fight. *Antonie* and *Publicola* had the righte wing, *Cæſar* the left, and *Marcus* and *Iuſeius* the midde battayle. *Cæſar* appoynted *Agrippa* to the right, he helde the left. *Canidius*, had *Antonies* land ſoldiours. *Taurus*, had *Cæſars*, being in order and quiet on the ſhore. *Antonie* went about his nauie in a ſoſte, exhorting his ſoldiours, to fight without remouyng, becauſe of the weight of the ſhippes, and commaunded the maſters, that ſtanding (as it were) at anchor, they ſhoulde not ſturre at the onſet of the enemy, but auoyde the diſadvantage of the place, in the mouth of the porte.

They

They ſay, that when *Cæſar* wente out befoze day to view his nauie, he mette a man leadyng an Aſſe, and aſking his name, he ſayde, my name is *Fortunate*, and mine Aſſes name, is *Via* *ſtorie*. The ſozne of this place, with the figure of the man and the Aſſe, he did ſette vp afterwarde in a table of Braſſe, in the common place of Rome. When he had ouerlooked the reſidue of his nauie, he betooke himſelfe to the righte battayle, and behelde his enemies quiet in the ſtraights: for it ſeemed they had lien at anchor: and ſo helde his ſhippes backe a good while, being two miles off. At ſix of the clocke, a good gale beganne to blowe, when as *Antonies* ſoldiours woulde tarry no longer, truſtyng in the greatneſſe of their ſhippes, moued the left battayle. When *Cæſar* ſawe that, he was gladd, and held ſtill his right battaile, that he might the moze get his enemies out of the ſtraights, and with his ſwiſte ſhippes, fight well manned. When the onſet was giuen, they did not courageouſly encounter, for *Antonies* ſhips could not well ſtirre to giue a good aſſault, which is beſt done by mouyng. *Cæſars* ſhippes were not fitte to giue the charge vpon the front, becauſe of the others ſharpe and ſtrong beakes: nor durſt do it on the ſides, for breaking of their owne beakes, for the greate tymber and yron worke of thoſe mighty veſſels. Therefore it was like a fight on lande, or rather, as I may ſay it, an aſſault of a wall. For three or foure of *Cæſars*, did ſet vpon one of *Antonies*, and fought with their dartes, pykes, and ſpyed weapons. And *Antonies* menne ſong downe their weapons from their towres out of their caſting Engines. *Agrippa* began to ſtretch forth to compaſſe the reſt, which when *Publicola* ſaw, he was forced to do the ſame, and ſo diuided from the midde battayle. And the fight being very ſore on bothe ſides, and vncertayne, to whome the victorie woulde fall, *Cleopatra*, with her threſcore ſhippes, which were placed behinde the greate ſhippes, brake thorough to their greate diſorder, and toke themſelues to flight.

Here did *Antonie* ſhewe himſelfe to haue forgotten his owne ſtrength.

*Antonie* ſoloweth.

rice and charge, and verified the olde saying, *That the minde of a louer lieth in an other body.* For as though he had bene amiered to hye, and coude neyther lyue nor die without hir, by and by, so sone as he saw hir shippe vnder sayle, he forsoke all, and left his soldours to the slaughter of his enimie, for whom they shed their bloudes, and with two companions of *Egypt*, got into a Bygandine, folowynge *Cleopatra*, to bying both hir and himselfe to reprochfull death. When she did see him commynge, she sette out a flagge to call hym, so he beyng hoysted by to hye, did not looke vppon hye, nor she vppon him, but wente and satte solitarie in the foreparte of the shippe, holdynge his het de with bothe his handes.

Shortly *Casars* swifte shippes that did followe hym were in sight, whome *Antonie* put backe, sauing one, in the whiche *Enricles* was, who fiercly pursued, shakynge his speare with threating wordes. *Antonie* standynge still and askynge, who is hee that foloweth *Antonie*? it is *I* (quoth hee) *Lachars* sonne, that by the good fortune of *Cesar* do pursue thee for my fathers death. Yet did he not take *Antonies* shippe but the other that was of the same goodlikenesse, in the whiche was all the riche furniture of *Cleopatra*.

When hee was gone, *Antonie* satte still after one soyle and in one place, and spake not to *Cleopatra*, eyther for anger or for shame. But when hee was come to *Tanara*, the womenne that were familiar to them bothe, brought them to talke, and then to boorde and bedde. Entendynge to sende from thence into *Africa*, he chose one of the Quenes riche shippes, full of Golde and Silver, and gaue it to his frændes, wishynge them to prouide for themselves. And when as they wepte and prayed hym to be of chere, he desired them to soloue his requeste, and wrote to *Theophilus* his officer at *Corinth*, to geue them quicke dispatch, and to helpe to hyde them, till *Cesar* might be pacified.

Many of the shippes of burden, and some of his frendes, were come from the fight, declaring that the navy was losse, but they

they thought the army by lande was safe. Wherefore he wrote to *Caesar* to make haste by *Macedonia*, and bying his armie into *Asia*.

In this case was *Antonie*.

*Cesar* had a long fighte with *Antonies* nauie, the whiche at length, by the vehemencie, bothe of the rage of the Sea and courage of the enimie, gaue ouer, onely fife thousande beyng slayne, and thre hundred shippes taken.

There were but fewe, that knewe of *Antonies* slepyng, and when they hearde it, they wondred, as at a thyng incredible, that he, hauing ninetene legions of footemen, and twelue thousande horsemen, woulde forsake all and runne away, as though he had not knowne the vnstabilenesse of Fortune, and had not proued the chaunce of warre, full many a tyme. The soldours thought still hee woulde come among them, in so muche as when *Cesar* sente messengers to them, they reieted them, and so continued seuen dayes, but when their Capitayne *Canidius* was stolne away by night, and they left comfortlesse, they yelded to the Conquerour, who sayled vnto *Athens*, and makynge vnitie with the *Gretians*, distributed corne among them, being afflicted before, with all kinde of exaction and seruitude. When *Antonie* had sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, from *Pactonio*, hee wente into *Africa*, with two frændes only, the one a *Gretian*, and the other a *Romane*, and there lyued solitarily, till hee heard that his Lieftenantes there, hadde forsaken him: When he would haue killed himselfe, but his frændes did stoppe him. And so hee wente againe to *Cleopatra*, who was diuising by great expenses to carrie hye nauie into the nooke of the straghtest place of the Sea, that is thought to diuide *Affrike* and *Asia*, that she might be safe from inuasion. But, because the first shippes that came, had euill lucke, and for that *Antonie* hoped his footemenne were safe at *Asia*, hee caused hye to leaue off, and sented the mouthes of the floudde *Nilus*. This beyng done, *Antonie* buylded him an house in the Sea at the Lanterne, and ramed it aboute, separating himselfe from the company of men:

Cec.ij.

Asia.

Louer.

Antonie is hoysted into Cleopatra's Shippe.

Antonie is pursued.

Enricles.

Silence of Antonie.

Tanara, a foreland.

Antonie's requeste is to be of chere, and to helpe to hyde them, till Cesar might be pacified.

Men amazed at Antonies made note.

Soldours good opinion of Antonie.

Antonies footemen, yeldeth.

Pactonio a port: to vyne.

Antonie in despair.

A deuise of Cleopatra for hye salatie.

Antonie foloweth the trade of Toun.

Affirming he would followe the trade of *Timon*, that was surnamed, *Hater of men*. For when as he was forsaken of his frendes, and deceyued of suche menne, as he had brought to aduancement, he took this ingratitude so to the harte, that he would refuse all mens societie: euen as *Timon* dyd, who was a Citizen of *Athens*, and called that house *Timons Tabernacle*. The firste that brought hym newes of the losse of hys fote-men at *Acte*, was *Candius* hymselfe. And shortly after it was tolde hym that *Herode the Iewe* was gone to *Caesar* with certayne legions, and that other Wynces dyd the lyke, none of these thyngs dyd moue him, but as being well wyllyng to leaue bothe hope and care, contented hymselfe with *Timons Tabernacle*. But being otherwise perswaded by *Cleopatra*, he came to the court to *Alexandria*, and there gaue hymselfe to feasting and banquettyng, so as the *Alexandrians* dyd nothyng else a great whyle, but make good chere. This maner of felowship, vsed among them that would lyue, they forsooke and beganne an other, whiche was called, of them that would die together, the whiche was not inferiour to the other, in delicacies nor superfluitie, and as many as had sworne to dye together, made suche feastes in order by course, one to an other.

*Cleopatra* beside all this gaue hys selfe to the searche of moste spedy payson and venom, and caused not onely suche growyng thyngs as were accompted moste effectuous to be sought, but also the lyuing beastes and Serpentes, and made a proue of them all in some of hys folkes. When bothe shee and *Antonie* sente to *Caesar*. Shee requyred that the kyngdome of *Egypt* myght be entayled to hys chyldren. *Antonie* desired he might lyue a pryuate lyfe in *Athens*, if he might not doe it in *Egypt*. For lacke of other frendes they were fayne to sende *Euphrasius* their Scholemayster to him. For *Alexas* of *Laodicia* had deceyued *Antonie*, and by the meane of *Herode the Iewe*, gaue hymselfe to *Caesar* who dyd not accepte hym, put him in chaynes, and sent him to die in his countrey. This rewarde had he for hys unfaithfulnesse to *Antonie*.

Caesar

*Caesar* would not heare *Antonyes* requests, but promised *Cleopatra* all kinde of courtlesie, if she would reiect *Antony*. He sente his Liberte *Thyrenus* a learned man, that might moue that magnificall Lady wyth the hope of so lusty a yong Emperoure. He vsed so long and pleasing oration, that *Antony* had him in suspition. Therefore he toke him, and caused him to be whipped, wryghting to *Caesar*, that he was stirred by his pride and insolencie, which would moue a man though he were in miserie. And if this (quoth he) doth graue you, take my Liberte *Hipparchus* is with you, and whippe him, and then we shall be euen. Howe *Cleopatra* that she might wipe away all suspition, honoured hym maruellously, and celebrating hir owne birth daye, meanely, as hir case required, she honoured his, so nobly and princely, that many that came poze to the feast, went rich away.

At this time *Agrippa* wrote to *Caesar* from *Rome*, that in any wise he should repaire thither, for the case required his presence. By this occasion the warre againste *Antony* was deferred tyll the next sommer, when *Caesar* sent forces againste his Captaynes in *Assike*, and went hymselfe against him in *Asia*. And when he had taken *Pelusia*, it was suspected that *Cleopatra* was contented that *Seleucus* shoulde deliuer it, but she to purge this crime, toke the wife and chyliden of him to be punished. She had a goodly sepulchre made, ioyning to the Temple of *Isis*, in the whiche she had placed all hir treasure, and princely things. And *Caesar* being afrayd, that if she were driuen to desperation, she would set all on fire, put hir in great hope alwayes. Now was he come wyth his army to the Citie, and his horsemen lay at the horserace, vpon the which *Antony* came out so fiercely, as he droue them to the Camp. When he returned into the Court, and toke *Cleopatra* in his armes, and kissed hir, and recommended him vnto hir, that had fought best, and she gaue him an head peece, and a coate armour of golde. Yet he that night fledde to *Caesar*. When *Antony* challenged *Caesar* once againe to fight hande to hand. *Caesar* answered, there were many wayes for *Antony* to dye. When seing there was no way so honourable to dye, as in fight, *Antony* determined to set vpon *Caesar* both by Sea & land, and at supper bad

Cec. iij.

his

*Antony cheereth  
his men.*

*Antony in the  
night of severeth  
musicke.*

*Antony ships  
forsake him.*

*His horsemen  
forsake him.*

*Antony com-  
plaigneth of  
Cleopatra.  
Cleopatra heeth  
from Antony.  
Message of  
Cleopatra.*

*Antony greets*

*Herod slayeth  
Antony, killen  
himselfe.*

*Antony strength  
is overthrown  
by Octavia.*

*Domitius.*

*Antony is carried  
hither lead into  
the Sepulchre.*

his me drinke & make merry, for he coulde not tell if they should do so any more, or serue other Lords, for as for himself, he should not live. And when they wept at the words, he sayd, he would not leade the to a fight, by which he might rather hope for a glorious death, than a sure & triumphat victorie. About midnight, was heard ouer all the citie such a pleasant noyse & musicke, as is wont to be used in the sacrifice of *Bacchus*, the which went forth of the Citie into the enemies Camp. It was expounded, that the God, whom he had most serued, did now also forsake him. In the morning, he brought forth his footemen, & placed the vpon the hills about the citie, where he stood to see the successe of his nauie, the which coming nigh to the enemy, saluted the as friends, & they did the like, & so yielded to the. When this was perceyued, *Antony* horsemen fled to *Cesar* also: his footemen did fight it out, & were overcome, which being done, he retired into the citie, crying, he was betrayed of *Cleopatra* to the, against whom he had made war for his sake. She being afraid of his furie, got him into his Sepulchre, causing the bridge to be drawne, & to be kept close and shut. This done, she sent one out to tell him that she was dead. When he heard it, he sayd, Why temptest thou *Antony*? The he went into his Chamber & unharnessed him, saying, O *Cleopatra*, I am not tormented that I am without thee, for I wil sone be with thee, but that I being so great a Captayne, should be preuented of thee, & art but a woman, in such a case of fortitude. Herod his faithful seruāt was with him, whom before he had sworn to kill him when he should commaund it: Now (saith he) is the time for thee to do it, and take him his sword. He turned his face and killed himself, and fell dead at *Antony* feet. Ah good *Fros* (quoth *Antony*) where thou couldest not abide to doe it to me, thou hast taught me to do it my selfe, and so he thrust the sword into his belly, and layd downe vpon his bed. The stroke was not so great, as it coulde dispatch him; there fore he commaunded them that were by, to make an end of him, but they went out of the chamber, leaving him crying and lamenting. til *Diomedes* came from *Cleopatra*, to bring *Antony* to her, to he hearing she was aliue, commanded to be carried to her in their armes to the doore of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not open, but let downe staires & lynes to heaue him vp, whiche she

she and her two women did, that onely were with her there. It was a pitifull sight to see him all bloudy, and yielding the ghost, to be halld vp so hardly, holding forth his hands, and stretching himselfe toward her, as well as he could, the poore woman not having strength enough to do it, till *Cleopatra* with both her hands, bending downeward as much as might be, got him vp, they were below, crying vpon her to haue pitie vpon him. When she had him in, she layde him vpon a bed, lamenting and tearing her mourning sworde, & wiping the blood from his face, called him Lord, husband & Emperour, forgetting her owne sorow, for compassion of him. He being somewhat comforted, desired a cuppe of wine, either for that he was a thirst, or that he might the sooner be dispatched. When he had dronke, he wished her to prouide for her selfe, so well as she could, her honoꝝ being saued, & among *Cesar*'s friends, to trust *Proculeius* most: and that she should not afflict herselfe for him, in this great alteration, but rather comfort herselfe, that she had dealt with him that was most mighty & full of power, who being a *Romane*, was not thorough cowardise overcome of a *Romane*. This said, he yielded the ghost, when as *Proculeius* was come from *Cesar*, for when *Antony* had stricken himselfe, & was drawne vp to *Cleopatra*, *Dercetius* one of his gard took his bloudy sword, & caried it to *Cesar*, telling him how it stood: which when he heard, he went into his closet, & wept for *Antony*'s chance, that had bin a valiant mā, & his companion in many battels. Then he red his letters to his friends, declaring how proudly & arrogantly he answered to his gentle letters, & he commanded *Proculeius* to do all that he could, to get *Cleopatra* aliue, for he feared the destruction of her treasure, & thought it would be no small honoꝝ to him, if he might bring her in triump. She would not talke w<sup>th</sup> *Proculeius* w<sup>th</sup> him, but far of, so as hardly her voyce could be heard. Her request was, that her kingdome might be established to her children. *Proculeius* had her be of good chere, and remit all to *Cesar*, and marking the place, sent word to *Cesar*, who sent *Gallus* to talke with her, and he of purpose prolonged the communication, till *Proculeius* hauing got scaling ladders, with two more, got into the window to where *Antony* was taken in, & went straight to the place where she was talking w<sup>th</sup> *Gallus*. The one of the women cried, O w<sup>th</sup> happy *Cleopatra*, thou art take aliue. The she would haue stricken her

*A pitifull sight.*

*V Words of. Antony at his death.*

*Proculeius.*

*Antony dyeth.*

*Dercetius.*

*Cesar weepeth for Antony.*

*Request of Cleopatra.*

*Gallus.*

*Proculeius getteth into the secret Sepulchre of Cleopatra.*

Proculeus stayeth  
Cleopatra from  
killing himselfe.

Epaphroditus.  
Caret of Caesar to  
keepe Cleopatra  
aliue.

Caesar honoureth  
a Philosopher.

Caesars mercy to  
the Alexandrians.

Cleopatra bury-  
eth Antonyes  
body very  
princely.  
Cleopatra kept  
from killing hir  
selfe by hunger.

Caesar cometh  
to Cleopatra.

Cleopatra submit  
to Caesar.

She beareth one  
of hir seruants.

hirselle, for she ware a dagger: but *Proculeus* ranne quickly, and embraced hir with both his hands, saying: *O Cleopatra*, you doe iniurie both to your selfe, and to *Caesar*, in taking from him the acte of clemencie, and casting an infamie of vnsauithfuinesse. Then he toke the dagger from hir, and cut hir garments, that she shoulde haue no poyson about hir. Then *Caesar* sent his fre made man *Epaphroditus*, with commaundement, that he shoulde in anye wise see hir kepte aliue, in all other thinges, doing most gently and curteously. When he entred the Citie with *Antony* the Philosopher, holding him by the hande, that the Citizens mighte see in what honoz he had him. Being come into the common hall, and the Citizens lying prostrate for feare, he willed them to rise, saying, he forgot them firste for *Alexanders* fame that builded the Citie, then for the beautie of it, thirdly, for *Antony* sake. The body of *Antony*, *Caesar* was contente that she shoulde burie, which she did with hir owne hands, by the labour where of, getting an agew, she was glad she hadde suche a cloke, to refrayne from meate, and kill hirselle with hunger, whiche, when it was perceyued, *Caesar* threatned hir the losse of hir Childzen. When she was contente to be releued againe. And after a fewe dayes, *Caesar* came to see hir, and comforte hir. She lying very homely in hir night gowne, lept out of the bedde, and fell downe at *Caesars* feete with trembling voyce, and beaue chere. Hir body was deformed with hir owne stripes, whereof the printes were sene: hir eyes were sonke, and hir couloure swart: yet by hir behaviour declare, that hir grace was not extinct, whiche by appere out of that forpined and wasted corpe. *Caesar* willed hir to sit, and he sate by hir, she making excuses, that she had done al for feare of *Antony*, all the whiche when *Caesar* had reproued, she gaue hir wholly to his mercy, and toke him a note of suche treasure as she had. The which, when one of hir Treasurers *Seleucus* had corrected that she had hidde somewhat from him, he lepto vnto him, and knocked him aboute the pate, whereat *Caesar* smyling and blaming hir, *O Caesar* sayd she, is it not a græse, that seeing thou dost not disceyne to visit me in this wofull state, to be accused of my seruants for keeping a fewe womens thyngs, where

wherewith I would winne thy wife *Linia*, and thy sister *Octavia*, to make thee the more fauourable to me. *Caesar* was glad of these wordes, thinking she had desire to liue, and granted hir al that and more to, beyond all hope, thinking he hadde deceyued hir, but she deceyued him. *Cornelius Dolabella* a noble yong man in *Caesars* camp, had a great desire to *Cleopatra*, to whom *Caesar* gaue leaue to come and tell hir, that he would go home by land through *Syria*, and that she and hir childzen shoulde be sent to *Italy* by shippe. When she vnderstode it, she desired *Caesar* she mighte firste celebrate *Antonyes* funerall, wherewith he was content. She came to the graue with hir women, and sayde, Of late (noble *Antony*) I did burie thee, being free: now I honoz thy buriall, being captiue, and garded, that I should not consume this wretched body with too much lamenting for thee, whiche is reserued to be shewed in triumph of thee. Other honours at my hand thou shalt not looke for, being ready to be caried away from thee. Nothing did separate vs lying, but now in death we must be parted: thou a *Romane*, must lye here, and I unhappy *Egyptian*, in *Italy*, so far forth to be partaker of thy Countrey: but if the Gods there can do any thyng, (for oure Gods haue deceyued vs here) forsake not thy wife, which is aliue, neyther suffer in me a triumph to be made of thee, but burie & close me here with thee. For of infinite græses, there is none so great to me, as this shorte time that I haue lyued without thee.

When she had ended these laments, and put on garlands, and kissed the graue, she commaunded a bath to be made ready for hir. When she was washed, she wente to meate, and had greates chere: then a chest was brought out of the Countrey to hir by a man, and the gard asking what it was, he toke away the leaues, and shewed them the figges. They maruelling at the forme and greatnesse of them, the man smiled, and desired them to take the. They suspecting nothing, bad him carrie them in. After this, she sent *Caesar* hir writings sealed. When all other being remoued, but hir two women, she shut the doores. When hir letters were come to *Caesar*, he redde them, and founde hir onely request to be with greates petition, to be buried by *Antony*, whiche when hee

fff.

law,

Caesar granteth  
all things to  
Cleopatra.

Dolabella is sent  
to Cleopatra.

Cleopatra cele-  
brateth Antony  
s funerall.

V Words of  
Cleopatra.

Cleopatra decey-  
ueth Caesar.

The Gard is  
deceyued.

Cleopatra last  
request to Caesar.

law, he suspected by and by what was a doing, and was mynded to haue gone straight thither hymselfe, yet first sent to see what was done, but she was dispatched suddaynely. For they that ranne thither, founde no alteration in the Gard, and opened the doores, and found hir dead, lying in a bedde of gold most royally. One of hir women called *Ira* lay dead at hir fete. The other, whose name was *Charmium*, being ready to fall downe dead, trimming the Crowne vpon hir head, to them that cryed, is this well done *Charmium*? yea very well (quoth he) for one that is descended of so many progenitours Kings. When she had said thus much, she fell downe dead by the beds side. They say a Serpente called *Aspis*, was brought among the figges, and covered wyth the leaues, the whiche did sting hir to death, whose nature is, to giue an heauinesse and sleepe, without any shynking or marke in the skinne, onely putting forth a gentle sweate out of the face, as one were in a trance, and hard to be wakened. Some saye, there were two little spots in hir arme, whiche *Cesar* epyther belæued, or else would so haue it belæued, for in hir Image þe brought into triumph at Rome, he set forth the Serpent, and two markes in hir arme. Wholsouer it was, *Cesar* was sory it was so charged, yet did he highly commend hir noble mind, and caused hir to be royally layd by *Antony*, and hir women to be nobly buried also. *Cleopatra* was xxxix. yeares of age, and hadde reigned. xxiij. whercof. xiiij. was with *Antony*, who liued. liij. yeares, or at the most. lvi. *Antonyes* Images were throlwen downe, *Cleopatras* were not remoued, for *Archibius* hir friend had obtayned that of *Cesar* for a thousand talents. *Antony* had seauen childe by thre wiues, whercof *Attius* the eldest was only killed of *Cesar*, the rest *Octavia* brought by with hirs. *Attius* was betrayed of hys Scholemaster *Theodorus*, who toke a goodly iewel from hys necke when he was killed, the which being required, and denyed of him when he had it, caused that he was hanged.

*Cesarione*, whom *Cleopatra* had by the first *Cesar*, beyng also betrayed of his Scholemaster, who she had sent with him, & a great treasure into *India*, was slayne, after she was dead. Hir daughter called *Cleopatra* of hir name, he married to the flourishing king

*Iuba*.

*Iuba*. He promoted *Antonie*, that was sonne to *Fulvia*, to so high fauour, that next *Agrippa* and *Luia* his childe, he was chief. Wher he had by *Marcellus* two daughters, and one sonne named *Marcellus*, whom *Cesar* did adopt & made him his sonne in law. The other daughter was giuen to *Agrippa*. *Marcellus* dying shortly after this marriage, *Octavia* desired that *Agrippa* mighte marrie hys daughter, & *Antonie*, hys. Hir other daughters were bestowed vpon *Domitius Aenobarba*, & *Drusus* *Luia* sonne, and steppechilde to *Cesar*, of whom came *Germanicus* and *Claudius*. *Germanicus* died, & *Claudius* was Emperoure. Of *Germanicus* came *Caius* who was Emperour also. *Agrippina* that had *L. Domitius* by *Aenobarba*, did marrie with *Claudius* the Emperour, who adopted *Domitius*, calling him *Nero Germanicus*, and was Emperour. Thus of *Antonie*es race diuerse Emperours issued. Albeit himselfe had the lamentable end that you haue hearde, and was the only cause why the *Roman* state was nat restored to a common wealth agayne as the noble *Brutus* protested when he died, al whose execrations came vpon *Antonie* befoze he died. Epyther for that God woulde plague *Antonie*es euill life: or that he woulde chaunge the state of that mighty comon wealth, whiche had all the worlde at suche a becke, as they might doe what they woulde, whose outrageous dealings as wel in fozeine as ciuill murders, it pleased God to punish with so great alteration, or else for some secrete determination for the nationie of his ony sonne *Iesus Christ* our Lord. For now is *Cesar* the only Monarche without any competitor at all, and yet had no childe to whom to leaue it, but adopted *Tiberius* his wiues sonne, whome, that he might see Emperour, it is thought she holpe to dispatche *Cesar* befoze his time, who had the title of *Augustus* giuen him, a thing neuer done befoze to any *Romane*, not onely for augmenting and encreasing the Empire of Rome, but also for the deuination and destinie; by which it was assigned vnto him. And after he had shutte the gates of *Ianus* temple, for that a generall peace folowed through out the worlde, he disposed himselfe to set good orders in the citie, and made many good lawes for the preservation of the same, in the whiche time diuerse tokens appeared of the coming of a greater Prince.

Itt. ii.

than.

He vseth one of *Antonie*es sonnes in great fauour.

Change of marriage.

Emperours of *Antonie*es line.

*Antony*, the cause of the alteration of the *Roman* estate.

*Augustus*.

*Ianus* temple shutte onely twice before in token of generall peace.

*Cleopatra* is found dead vpon a bed of gold, and hir two women by hir.

*Aspis* brought among the figges, and did sting hir to death.

Age of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

*Antonyes* childe downe.

*Cesar* befoze he had *Cleopatra* childe.

Byrth of Iesus  
Christ.

than he, the Prince of Princes & king of kings, who was borne into this worlde in his time, to the glory of God in the highest, and the peace of the earth to men of good will.

Beuie.

The great enuie that *Julius Caesar* his great uncle had procured, neuer fell vpon him, either because men were weary of tumultes, or for that they saw such modestie in him, as he would attempt no such matter that was so odious, that is to say, to be called a kynig: Epyther for that both he and the people had in memory the malediction & cursing of the old Decree, against all that should bring in the name of a king againe, which his father *Julius* did not utterly refuse, or for that he passed not of the name, hauing the rule, or for that the name of Emperour was then so great, as *Dictator* was wont to be, whiche before was no otherwise than a gratification of the Soldiours to their Capitayne, when he had broken a battell manfully, and slaine ten thousand enemies, at which time it was lawfull for him to be called *Imperator*.

Imperator.

Cicero was called  
Emperour  
in Asia.

rator, as among all other, *Cicero* was in *Asia*, when he overcame the *Amariates*, at *Iffe*, where *Darius* was overcome, of *Alexander*. The which name hath continued euer since to that soueraine Magistrate, as well, when the whole Emperye was in the hands of one Monarche, as when it was diuided into two, the one of the East, and the other of the West. The which beganne with *Charles the Great*, and hath continued vnto *Rodolphus* that now is Emperour among the *Germane* nation in the west Empire, and ended in the East, about .118. yeaeres since, when the Citie of *Constantinople* was taken by *Mahumetes* the sonne of *Amuretes* that made himselfe a Turke Monke, and the Emperour *Constantine* slayne, and all the villanie in the worlde, shewed to the poore Christians. So as to him that will haue a Register of the whole number of Emperours, reckening *Julius Caesar* for the first, shall finde

Greece Empe-  
rours.  
Mahumetes.  
Amuretes.Germane Em-  
perours.

them to be. 118. Whereof. 42.

haue bene *Germanes*.

FINIS.

# Faultes escaped in the printing of the Bookes of Ciuill yvarres.

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
1	18	(for) should (reade	shall
3	35	Libia	Libya
4	1	Duke of Loma	Gulfe of Ionia
4	vlt.	Colligant	Colligault
5	29	of that	of them that
12	13	Papierius	Papirius
16	33	pasture	Pasture
25	25	Hispans	Hispans
29	17	Eslerio	Eslerio
32	16	Cune	Canne
38	21	Cithagus	Cethagus
50	17	meanes	malice
54	14	warres	wayes
69	vlt.	Gargius	Garganus
70	8	birdes	burdens
73	20	Carline	Carline
83	35	that Milo	Milo that.
85	26, 28, 29	Protolomic	Ptolomie
95	3	Ditrachium	Dyrachium
97	2	Sypris	Sycoris
100	22	that any	that only
102	14	minaly	manly
103	1	Baron	Barne
107	34	of. viii. C.	sauing. 800.
110	1	Vetona	Velona
114	7	stingers	stingers
115	18	foitic	400.
115	27	so	see
126	9	Methridates	Mithridates
128	33	whitch	with
129	5	Gorta	Cirta
140	17	came	continuing
161	3	40	400.
161	5	hoise	holie
161	18	Ticurus	Tituricus
167	14	Phaberius	Talarius
172	33	These wordes, but as a success for of his tyrann ie, must be red in the text, after thys worde. (thinke)	the

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
175	1	striker	strikers
178	1	hart	hast
210	3	left	hurt
ibid.	22	louking	following
212	30	Crallus	Crispus
223	19	Cornut himself	Cornutus killeth himselfe
232	33	leauce out all the line	
248	27	for dy	for
271	7	Ciceronians	Cizicenians
285	7	Caldeans	Calcidonians
ibid.	15	of Saporea	for Saporea
289	3	of	
ibid.	21	Cafe	Thafe
290	9	Roche	Rank
292	17	legates	legion
294	21	pet	after
296	11	Achia	Achia
ibid.	vlt.	Generalles	Generall
305	15	naue	none
307	30	Pergama	Pergamo
309	8	adde this, other Tributes were commanded to Kings & Princes & free Cities, according to euerie ones habilitie	
ibid.	25	Galace	Galaceam
ibid.	22	Palestia	Palestina
ibid.	31	Siana	Siciana
315	17	adde this, that the Consulles shoulde rule after the auncient manner, with out any lette of the three men.	
324	2	enues	enemies
326	4	and state	estate
339	21	Bithinus	Bithinicus
341	15	wife	neece
343	11	Menedorus his	Menedorus as one ruling his
358	2	circle	circle
359	10	adde	but Pompeis part was sad
380	19	night	neight
378	14	Antioch	Antioche
379	vlt.	of	that
382	1	sent	sent
ibid.	38	as	all

## A Table to the five Bookes of the ciuill warres of Rome.

<b>A</b>	<b>Romance in Pompeys campe.</b>	<b>pag. 111</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>crowne</b>	<b>him</b>	<b>that</b>	<b>brought</b>	<b>Ciceroes</b>	<b>head.</b>	<b>140</b>	
	<b>Abundance in Prutius and Cassius campe.</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>sendeth</b>	<b>Prutius</b>	<b>body</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>his</b>	<b>mother.</b>	<b>304</b>	
	<b>Acclamation of Pompeys Souldiours.</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>implacable</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>the</b>	<b>conspiratours.</b>			<b>309</b>	
	<b>Acclamation of Brutus and Cassius Soldiours.</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>ordeyneth</b>	<b>kingdome</b>	<b>at</b>	<b>his</b>	<b>pleasure.</b>		<b>300</b>	
	<b>Acclamation of the people to C. Cesar.</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>vleth</b>	<b>the</b>	<b>Greeke</b>	<b>fashion.</b>			<b>311</b>	
	<b>Acclamation of reuenge of Cesar.</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>vvineth</b>	<b>vwith</b>	<b>Cleopatra.</b>				<b>311</b>	
	<b>Actes of Sulpitius abrogated.</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>calleth</b>	<b>Othinius,</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>bulie</b>	<b>yongman.</b>		<b>181</b>	
	<b>Actes of Cesar ratified.</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>Antonies</b>	<b>answere</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>Othinius.</b>				<b>174</b>	
	<b>Actes of Cesar briefly rehearsed.</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>Antonies</b>	<b>answere</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>the</b>	<b>messengers</b>	<b>of</b>	<b>the</b>	<b>kill-</b>	
	<b>Actes of Brutus and Cassius.</b>	<b>301</b>		<b>lers.</b>						<b>145</b>	
	<b>Actes of Pompey.</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>Antonies</b>	<b>answere</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>Ciceroes</b>	<b>decree.</b>			<b>204</b>	
	<b>Actes a citie besieged.</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>Antonies</b>	<b>answere</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>the</b>	<b>Capitaynes.</b>			<b>184</b>	
	<b>Adoption greatly regarded in Rome.</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>Anchises</b>	<b>&amp;</b>	<b>Ponius,</b>	<b>Casars</b>	<b>auncelers.</b>			<b>163</b>	
	<b>Adonis citie vwhere Cesar loseth.</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>helpeth</b>	<b>Othinius.</b>					<b>338</b>	
	<b>Adonis citie vwhere Cesar loseth.</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>Appolonia,</b>	<b>now</b>	<b>v</b>	<b>Fullons,</b>	<b>got</b>	<b>by</b>	<b>C. Cesar.</b>	<b>110</b>	
	<b>Adonis the Emperour ordeyneth Lieftenants</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>citie</b>	<b>a</b>	<b>treasurie.</b>				<b>117</b>	
	<b>Adonis buylded Laminio.</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>Arabio,</b>	<b>king</b>	<b>taketh</b>	<b>Pompeys</b>	<b>parte.</b>			<b>251</b>	
	<b>Aglesseu in Marius lappe.</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>Apulians</b>	<b>renolte</b>	<b>from</b>	<b>the</b>	<b>Romans.</b>			<b>25</b>	
	<b>Aglesseu fight in Cassius campe.</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>ouercome</b>	<b>at</b>	<b>Albio.</b>				<b>4</b>	
	<b>Amobarbus touched of conspiracie.</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>Arminio</b>	<b>taken</b>	<b>by</b>	<b>Cesar.</b>				<b>93</b>	
	<b>Amobarbus cleare from conspiracie.</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>Asculines</b>	<b>kill</b>	<b>the</b>	<b>Romane</b>	<b>officers.</b>			<b>25</b>	
	<b>Amobarbus vvalled the three mens dominions</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>Asinius</b>	<b>Pollio,</b>	<b>agaynst</b>	<b>S Pompey.</b>				<b>179</b>	
	<b>Amobarbus reconciled to Antonie.</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>Asinius</b>	<b>delivered</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>death</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>please</b>	<b>Cleopatra.</b>	<b>310</b>	
	<b>Amobarbus sent into Eysbinia.</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>Asinius</b>	<b>killed</b>	<b>sacrificing.</b>					<b>35</b>	
	<b>Arminio, now Ischis.</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>Attilius</b>	<b>Seranus</b>	<b>kyllid.</b>					<b>44</b>	
	<b>Arminio frayeth the Germanes.</b>	<b>357</b>	<b>Aurelia</b>	<b>Orestili</b>	<b>causeth</b>	<b>Catiline</b>	<b>to</b>	<b>kill</b>	<b>his</b>	<b>sonne.</b>	<b>73</b>
	<b>Arminio condemned.</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>Aurilia,</b>	<b>an</b>	<b>Orphane</b>	<b>beu</b>	<b>vrayeth</b>	<b>himselfe.</b>		<b>246</b>	
	<b>Askection of Lucius and Casars Soldiours.</b>	<b>338</b>	<b>Augustus,</b>	<b>title</b>	<b>first</b>	<b>gyuent</b>	<b>Othinius.</b>			<b>4</b>	
	<b>Africa a prouince of two names.</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>Augustus</b>	<b>moste</b>	<b>mighty.</b>					<b>4</b>	
	<b>Africa appoynted to Lepidus.</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>vwith</b>	<b>Pompeys</b>	<b>helpe.</b>				<b>333</b>	
	<b>Africanus valiantly dieth.</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>fonde</b>	<b>on</b>	<b>vwomen.</b>				<b>343</b>	
	<b>Africanus, a taunt to Pompey.</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>Antonie</b>	<b>challengeth</b>	<b>Menedorus</b>	<b>for</b>	<b>his</b>	<b>name.</b>		<b>343</b>	
	<b>Agrippa most trusty to Cesar Othinius.</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>Archegetas,</b>	<b>an</b>	<b>image</b>	<b>of</b>	<b>Apollo.</b>			<b>354</b>	
	<b>Agrippa hath a victorie of the French.</b>	<b>246</b>									
	<b>Aux Tolumnius resembled by Pompey.</b>	<b>110</b>									
	<b>Abundant toyneth vwith Marius.</b>	<b>37</b>									
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	<b>Alexander compared vwith Cesar.</b>	<b>100</b>									
	<b>Altars dedicate to Cesar.</b>	<b>157</b>									
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	<b>Antonie seeketh beneuolence of the people.</b>	<b>166</b>									
	<b>Antonie receyueeth Cassius brother.</b>	<b>309</b>									
	<b>Antonie taketh Cassius campe.</b>	<b>200</b>									

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## The second part of Appian of Alexandria.

Wherin be contained some of the  
Romanes expeditions against forraigne  
Nations, as haue bene defended from the  
spoyle of Cæsar, or the decay of tyme,  
and bin brought into light and  
come to our handes.

That is to say:

1. Against Mithridates King of Pontus, with his mi-  
serable end.
2. Against the Iberians, now called Spaniards,  
and among many notable things, the pittifull overthrow of the  
Cittie of Numantia.
3. Against the Carthagies, with the lamentable de-  
struction of that Cittie.
4. Against Antiochus the Great, who after manye  
losses, made a dishonorable peace.
5. Against the Parthians, where Crassus was slaine,  
and Antonie foyled.
6. Against the Illyrians, of whose Conquest Octavius  
Cæsar glorieth.
7. A fragment of the war with the Frenche, with whom  
Iulius Cæsar fought tenne yeares together, and triumphed  
of them.

Translated into English by W.B.

Imprinted at London by Ralph Newberie and  
Henric Bynniman.

Anno. 1578.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE,  
his singular good Mayster, Sir  
*Christopher Hatton, Knight, Cap-  
taine of the Queenes Maiesties  
Garde, Viz chamberlaine to hir Highnesse,  
and one of hir Maiesties most hono-  
rable priue Counsaile.*



He first translatour of this Author into Latin, did make his dedicatiō to two sūdry Princes: but we haue thoughte good to make your Honor the vvhole patron of our english *Applian*, as vvholy as vve could set him forth.

In the former parte hee shewed to youre Honoure, the conquestes that the Romaines made one of another. In this parte hee sheweth the conquestes that they made of other nations: vvherein they vvente so farre, that at laste they fell dovne, beeyng ouerprest with their ovvne vvayght. To these two kindes of conquests, a thirde is to be added, vvhen a man conquereih himselfe, as *Alexander* did in conteyning from *Darius* most faire vvife and daughters, and *Cesar*, in sparing to punish his greatest enemies. To vvhom *Cicero* sayde, that in other vvictories, fortune, policie, and souldiours, might claime a parte, but in this, he alone should haue al the glorie. And vvhen *Darius* died, and vvvas holpen thereto, by *Polycrates*, he sayd, for thy paines *Alexander* shal giue thee thanks, but the Gods immortal, shal giue *Alexander*

*Steph. mus in  
his Greeke ad-  
dition to the  
Greeke Pres  
face.*

Alexander thanks, for his magnanimitie shewed to my mother, wife and childre. By such manner of conquest, your honour shall attain to moste surtrumphe, the guide of whose Chariot, shall be Grace giuen from above, that shall neuer faile you. Howv vorthy this author is to be read in these matters, his testimonie may be ynough to proue, that vvisheth him to be read in the same, afore all other.

Then may it please your Honour to accept him  
at the hands of your most humble seruaunt,  
that cōtinually prayeth for your increase  
of fame and honour, to the seruice of  
your Prince, and the glorie  
of God.

Your Honors most  
bounden seruaunte :  
H. BYNNIMAN.



# ¶ The Authours Preface to the bookes of the Romane wars, with for- raine Nations.



Beginning to write the Historie of the  
Romaines, I haue thought it necessa-  
ry to declare first, the borders of the  
nations that the Romaines ruled. In  
the maine Sea, the moste parte of the  
Brittaines is theirs. And going to  
the sea, by the pillars of Hercules, and  
sayling aboute these pillars, they bee  
Lords of al the Ilands, and the firme

land, that is inhabited alongest the sea.

The firste on the right hande of that sea, be the *Marousians*, the  
other be the nations of the *Lybians* as farre as *Carthage*, beyonde  
whome be the *Noma lians*, whome the Romaines call *Numidians*,  
and the Country *Numidia*. The other *Lybians* do inhabite about  
the shallowe seas, to *Cyrene*. Then *Cyrene*, the *Marmaridans* and  
*Ammonians*, and they that dwell at the lake of *Morea*, and the  
great citie which *Alexander* did build in *Egypt*, with *Egypt* it self,  
as farre as a man may sayle in *Nile* to the *Castle Ethiopians*, and  
by sea, to *Pelusio*.

Then turninge the course to *Syria* and *Palessina*, and beyond  
them you go to parte of the *Arabian*. The *Phenicians* bozdure  
vppon the *Palustines* at the sea, and beyond the *Phenitians*, the hol-  
low part of *Syria*, vnto the floude *Euphrates*. From the sea aboue  
the porte *Admiris*, and the sandes of *Palmyra* to *Euphrates*. They  
had the *Cilicians* of *Syria*, and the *Cappadocians* their neighbours, &  
part of *Armenia*, called *Armenia the lesse*. And all the nations  
about *Euxinus Pontus*, obeyed the Romaynes. And the *Syrians* and  
*Cilicians* that be toward the sea. The *Armenians* and *Cappadocians*  
inhabiting the nations of *Pontus*, & they of the miidle land, which

they

These pillars or  
hills of Hercules  
be in the strait-  
ghies of *Gades*,  
beynd the vyti-  
che it was thou-  
ght no ma could  
go.

Moore inhabite  
Mountains vnto  
vnto.

*Libia*, otherevile  
called *Africa*, is  
the third part of  
the world, diu-  
ded frō Asia by  
the floude *Nile*,  
and from Europe,  
by the sea, that  
is called *Medus*  
*terrarium*.

*Nomades* were  
they that alway  
followed their  
flock, and chaū-  
ged their places  
of pasture.

There be two  
shallowe seas  
called *Syris*.

*Armenians* bee  
those people of  
*Africa*, among  
whiche they  
that be called  
*Pisli*, whose

specie killeth serpents, as *Cato* proueth when he went against *Libe*. The holloye parte of *Syria*, is  
called *Calosyria*. *Pelusium* is the Farthest Citie of the coaste of *Egypt*. *Palmyra* is a free Citie in  
the confines of the *Romane* and *Parthian* kingdomes.

## The Authors Preface to

they call *Armenia the great*, of the whiche the Romaines take  
no tribute, but they receiue kings by their appointment. From  
*Cappadocia* and *Cilicia* to *Ionis*, is the great lande like an Ilande  
whiche hathe *Pontus Euxinus* and *Propontis*, and *Hellefont* on the  
right hande, and the *Aegean*, *Pamphilian*, and *Egyptian* sea on the  
lesse side, for they say it maketh almost an Ilande on both sides,  
and as men go to the *Egyptian* Sea, there be the *Pamphilians*, *Ly-  
cians*, and after them *Caria* to *Ionis*, and the *Galatians*, *Bythinians*, *Mys-  
sians* and *Phrygians* be aboue *Euxinus*. In the miidle land, the *Pis-  
dians* and *Lydians*. So manye nations inhabite *Cherronesus*, of all  
the whiche the Romaines haue rule. On the other side of that  
sea, they gouerne the nations about *Pontus* and *Mysia* in Europe,  
and the *Thracians* that be aboute *Euxinus*. From *Ionis* begimeth  
the Gulfe of *Ageo*, and the other from the sea of *Ionis*, and the  
narrowe sea of *Sicilie*, and the *Tuscane* sea to the pillars of *Hercu-  
les*. So great is the length from *Ionis* to the Ocean sea, and in that  
coaste, these be the Romaine prouinces. All *Grecia*, *Thessalia*, *Ma-  
cedonia*, and al *Egipt* vpon *Thracia* and *Illyria*, and the nations of  
*Pannonia*. Then *Italie* it selfe, the longeste of them all, reaching  
from the *Ionian*, to the moste parte of the *Tuscane* sea, to the *Cel-  
sians*, which they call *Galatians*, and of the people of the *Galls*, some  
belong to this sea, and some to the north Ocean, and some at the  
riuer of *Rene*. And all *Iberia* and *Celiberia*, that ende in the west  
and north Ocean, and *Hercules* pillars. I wil declare euidently of  
all these Nations, when I shall write of euery Nation by it  
selfe.

Nowe we haue tolde with holwe great borders their Emprre  
is compassed by sea. To him that will trauaile on the land, ther  
is a parte of *Mauritania* that goeth toward the Weste to the  
*Aethiopians*, then the other more desert, and wylde parte of *Lybia*,  
to the *Castle Aethiopians*: This is the bozdure of the Romaines  
in *Lybia*.

Of *Asia*, the floude *Euphrates*, and the hill *Caucasus*, and the  
kingdome of *Armenia the great*, and the *Colchians* that be about  
the Sea of *Euxinus*, and the rest of that sea. In Europe two flouds  
*Renus* and *Hissler* doth chiefly diuide the Romaine Kingdome. Of

¶.¶.

these

*Propontis* is now  
called *Mare di*  
*San Giorgio*  
*Pamphilius* is  
*Asia* the lesse,  
named as some  
thinke, of the  
plentye of trees.  
*Euxinus* is the  
sea that begi-  
neth at *Epheso*  
in *Thracia*, and  
goeth east and  
northe: it was  
first called *Axe-  
nus*, that was  
*Libys*, *Asia*, *Bi-  
ca* to the inhabi-  
tantes dy *Lykil*  
and ere the pas-  
sengers: but af-  
ter being made  
small by the  
Grecians, it was  
called *Euxinus*.

*Phenur* is the  
floude that diui-  
deth *Germany*  
from *Truince*,  
*Iberia* &c. now  
*Spain*.

*Euphrates* is a  
floude of *Mes-  
opotamia*.  
*Caucasus* an hya  
diuiding *India*  
from *Scythia*.

# The Authours Preface to

*Hister* is the  
same floud in  
*Rhyas* that *Da-*  
*nubius* is in Ger-  
manie the great-  
test floud in  
*Europe*.

*Dan* now *Val-*  
*achia*, the peo-  
ple were cal-  
led *Dac* or *Dac-*  
ioyning to the  
Grecs of whom  
the *Athenians*  
take their names  
of the ruins in  
Comedie as *Dis-*  
*cus*, *Geta*,  
*Cyclades*.

be the Isles in  
the *Aggean* Sea.  
*Sporades* be the  
about *Greece* in  
the *Corinthian*  
Sea. *Lebanus*,  
be his floud next  
to *Acornia*.  
*Tyrus* be the  
in the *Tus-*  
*cane* Sea.

*Myrrus* is the  
part of the  
*Aggean* Sea.

*Er* is now  
in the *Aggean*  
as it seemeth a  
mayne lande.  
*Antioch* is a  
rule of the best  
fort of men.

*C. Caesar*,  
King.  
Emperours.  
Emperours be  
called generall  
of an army.

these, *Renus* runneth to the north Ocean, and *Hister* into *Euxinus Pontus*. And in some place they goe beyond, and rule the nations that bee beyonde *Rene*, and the *Getes* that bee beyonde *Hister*, whom they call *Dacies*. These be their boundes by land, as neare as I coulde gather. All the *Islandes* that be in the *Sea*, *Cyclades*, *Sporades*, *Hiades*, *Echinades*, and *Tyrenides*, & *Muesia*, or whatsoeuer other name they haue, about *Libya*, *Ionis*, *Aegipt*, *Myrto*, or *Sicilie*, or what otherwise they be called in the *Sea*: All these be subiect to the *Romanes*, and they that for their excellencie, be named of *Y Romanes* great *Islands*, as *Cyprus*, *Creta*, *Rhodes*, *Lesbos*, *Eubois*, *Sicilie*, *Sardus*, and *Cyrras*, and whatsoeuer other else. Then passing the north Ocean, into *Y Ile* of *Brittaine*, which for *Y* greatnesse maye serue an other continent, they haue *Y* best parte of it, more than halfe, the reste they passe not of. For that parte which they haue, is not fruitfull to the. As great as all these nations be, was *Y* greatesse labour to the to conquire *Italy*, which they could hardly do after. 500. yeares, halfe of *Y* tyme being vnder kings.

But when they had expelled their kings and sworne that they would be no more receiue them, they vsed the rule of the best means, and hadde them yearely chosen two hundred yeares after the *v. C.* Their Empire waxed moste greatesse, and they were Lordes of infinite forraigne power, and subdued the most nations. The *Caesar* getting the vpper hand, made it a free state, he kept still the forme and name of a Common wealth, but made himselfe a Monarchie ouer all, and so the rule hath continued in oue to this daye, whome they call not kings, as I thinke to as noide their olde othe, but name them Emperours, whiche is the title of them that rule armies for a tyme: but in all purposes they be kings. And Emperours haue continued to this tyme aboute two hundred yeares more, in the whiche the City hath bin chiefly beautified, and the reuenue moste encreased, & all things being in long and sure peace, brought to perfeat felicitie. For the Emperours haue made some of these to be of theyr dominion by force, and haue holden in, them that renolte. Wherefore by good skill they hadde rather hope that be most profitable aboute the *Sea*, and encrease them, than to extende theyr dominion to barbarous nations, worse, & vnprofitable

# the foreyne warres.

table, of whom I haue scene Embassadours come to *Rome*, to yelde themselves subiect, and not receiued of the Emperour, as vnprofitable to him. To other many nations they appoint kings, because the Empires hadde no neede of them, some subiectes must be kepte, for a shame to forsake them, though they be poore. Create armys be in euery place, as in a circle, by the which they keepe so greatesse lande and sea, as one place. There was neuer Monarchie that was so great, or continued so long.

The state of *Greece*, if a man will begin fro the time of *Darius* army, in the which they most flourished, vnto the time of *Phillip*, *Amynas* sonne, though he put together the power of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Thebanes*, shall not appeare so mighty a thing, for they contended rather for dignitie among themselves, than to get dominion, and thought no matter so noble, as to maine- teine their libertie againste strange kings that molested them. If some of them sayled as farre as *Sicilie* in hope of rule, they were ouerthrowen. If any went into *Asia*, they did little there, and returned. And to conclude, the power of the *Grecians*, though it were cotentious for *Y* rule, it proceeded not surely out of *Greece*, but shewed they would keepe it from seruitude, & vnconquerable as muche as they could, but after *Phillip* & *Alexander*, I thinke they haue done very euill, & vnworthy themselves. The Empire of *Asia*, is not to be compared to the least of *Y* feates and vertue of *Europe*, for the weakenes & faintnesse of their nations, the which this present wrighting shal declare, for the *Romanes* with a few battels got so many nations of *Asia*, as now they commaund, although they were defended by *Y* *Macedonians*, but they had great labour about *Europe* & *Libya*, the dominion of the *Assyrians*, *Medians*, & *Persians*, three of the greatost powers, til *Alexander*, *Phillips* sonne, though he reckon *Y* *v. C.* yeares *Y* they continued, can not compare with the *Romane* Empire as it is now, and *Y* greatnes of their Empire, is lesse by halfe I thinke, if it be well considered, for the *Romanes* reach fro the *West* Ocean, to the hill *Caucasus*, & the floud *Euphrates*, and to the *Aethiopians* that be about *Aegipt* and *Arabia*, to the *East* Ocean. And their boundes is, the Ocean of the sunne rising and setting. They rule all the inwarde sea, all the *Islands*, and the *Brettaines* that be in the Ocean.

*Greece*,  
*Darius* the first  
king of *Persia*,  
that had *Cyrus*  
daughter to  
his wife.

The *Athenians*  
were ouer-  
throwen in  
*Italy*.

The power of  
*Greece*.

The rule of  
*Asia*.

*Europe*.

*Asia*.

## The Authors Preface.

Perfians flow  
from the east  
with the red sea  
and from the  
weat Arabia.

Macedonia.  
Philip.

The Medians and the Persians, when they had most of the sea, it was no further than the Gulfe of Pamphilia, and one Ile of Cyprus, or verie little of the Ionian sea, for the sea of Persis which they had, was no greater matter.

The Macedonians before Philippe, had very little power, and to some they were subiects. The labour and trauaile of Philippe, is not to be accounted light, but it was onely aboute Grecia, and one region.

Alexander.

Under Alexander, for the greatnesse, multitude, felicitie, and speedynesse, this dominion in a shorte space, became infinite, and incomparable, but because of the short time, it was like a bright lightning. The which being diuided into manye prouinces, part of them continued noble a good while. But our kings only byd maintaine two hundred thousande footemen, fortie thousande horsemen, thre hundred Elephants vsed to the warre, two thousande armed Chariots, and so muche armoure as would serue thre hundred thousande. Besides this prouision for the lande, they had two thousande of the small vessels, and of galleys little and greater a thousande foue hundred, with double furniture: eyght hundred shippes of the we, which they vsed for pompe, with steins, and sterres of golde, seauen hundred and fortie talents of Egipt, in their treasure, al the which appeareth by the pvinces recordes, which be yet extant.

The power of  
the kings of Asia  
XX.

The seconde king of Egipt, after Alexander, who of al other, was moste able to spende, most bonntifull to bestow, & most desirous to get, leste this behinde him: Other pvinces were not muche inferiour, but by mutuall discorde of their posteritie, which is the onely destruction of great kingdomes, they came to nothing.

Ptolomew  
Lagus, was  
the mightiest after  
Alexander.

But the Romane Empire passed for greatnesse and felicitie, for continuance, and wisdom in the Senate, neither wanted they manhode, nor patience, nor painefulnesse, til they had established their power, nor gaue place to misfortune: they losse sometime twenty thousande, sometime fortie and fiftie thousand at a battle: diuerse times the Citie was in daunger by famine, pestilence and sedition. Yet all this would not abate their ambition,

At Trebia.  
At the lake of  
Penna.  
At Cannone in  
Apulia.

## the Romane forraine wars.

by the space of seauen hundred yeares, stryuing with paine and perill, till they brought their dominion, (keepeing still one trade,) to this height, as they receyue moste ample fruits of their wisdom and happinesse.

These things many Gretians and Romanes haue put in writing, and the Historie is farre exceeding the Macedonians: and where as I haue considered their valiauntnesse, and would see it in euery nation, my penne hath carried me, from Lybia to Iberia, & from Iberia into Sicilie or Macedonie, or to embassages, & conferences of sundrye nations, and then brought me againe as a forced man to Sicilie and to Carthage, and estones carried me away from these vnperfect, til I had gathered by partes, howe of they sent ambassadours or armyes into Sicily, and what they did in that Island, til they had conquered it. What how many ambassages, how many leagues were made between them, what overthrowes on bothe sides were giuen, till Carthage was overcome, and Africa made a prouince, and then Carthage restored againe, to the state that it is now. I haue done the like in euery prouince, because I would know, what the Romanes did euery where, that I might see the manhode or sayntnesse of al nations, and the vertue and fortune of them that conquered, and what former other matter chaunced. Thinking this would be acceptable to other also, to vnderstand the Romanes actes, after this sorte, I haue written of euery nation by it selfe, leauing to write what was done in the meane time of other, playng them severally.

So set the times to euery thing I thought it too much, the moste notable, I will expresse by their distance of time.

At the firste the Romanes had one name, as al other: after came another, and at length, the thirde also was added to some of them, to be known by some marke of body or vertue of mind, as the Gretians had surnames ioyned to their names. Sometime I will put all, chiefly of the noble men, that they may be better known, the most I will name by the one or the other, as shal be moste fitte. And where there be thre booke that declare the Romanes doings in Italie, I call them thre, the Romanes

The Romanes  
haue diuerse  
names.

The diuision of  
the vbookes.

Actes

## The Authoures Preface.

ades with the *Italians*, and for the multitude of matter, thus diuided. The firste, conteyneth the reignes of the seauen kings, therefore I call them, *The Historie of the Romane Kings*.

When followeth the Booke of matters done in *Italy*, betwixt them that dwell in the coast of *Ionis*, the which Booke for a difference is called, *The Romanes warre after the Kings*. The last of all in that land were the *Samnites*, next the *Ionian* sea, a nation most fierce and warlike fighting with the *Romanes* fourescore yeres, till they and the *Grecians* their fellows that inhabite *Italy*, were subdued, and this booke, for the difference from the other two, is called, *The Romanes warres with the Samnites*. All the other haue their seuerall titles, as, *The Romanes warre with the Galles*, the *Sicilians*, the *Iberians*, with *Hanniball*, with *Carthage*, with *Macedonia*, and so forth. The order of the which, is after the order of the time in the which they were done, though that many other things happened by the way.

The ciuill seditions and warre among themselves most horrible of all the rest, shall be declared by their names that were chiefe doers of the same, as *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Caesar*, *Antony* and *Caesar Augustus*, and the killers of *Caesar* the elder.

Then shall be shewed of *Antony* and *Caesar*, which made an end of ciuill warre, when *Aegypt* came vnder the *Romanes* domination. So all the warres are diuided into bookes of their nation, or to the names of the Captaines, if they be ciuill.

The last booke shall declare what armies they haue, what reuenue they take of every Nation, what charges they be at with their ordinarie garrisons by sea, and suche other. And seeing I shall write of their vertue, it shall be fitte to beginne of their originall. Who I am that haue written these things, many knowe, & I haue shewed it before, and to tell it more playnly, I am of *Alexandria*, accepted in my Countrey, and exercised at *Rome* in causes of Justice, touching the Emperours, till it pleased them to thinke me worthy their seruice. He that will knowe the rest, may learne it of the Bookes that I haue written.

The

*Sannites, nowve  
Abruzzo, part of  
the Kingdome  
of Naples.*

*Appian a countie  
belonging to the  
Emperours in  
ciuill causes.*

## The Romanes warre with Mithridates King of Pontus: by Appian of Alexandria.



When the *Romanes* had overcome *Asia* *Mithridates* the King, after xliij. yeares warre, they made *Bithinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other nations, bordering vpon the, inhabiting the sea called *Euxinus*, subiecte vnto them. And in the same warre they wonne of *Cilicia*, those that were not yet of their obedience, and of *Syria*, *Phenitia*, & *Calosiria*, and *Palestina*, and the midde land, to the floud *Euphrates*, not being vnder *Mithridates*, but by the violence of that victory. And to some they put tributes by and by, & to some afterward. *Paphlagonia*, & *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, and *Mysia*, toying to *Phrygia*, and after them *Lycia*, and *Caria*, and *Ionis*, and all the rest of *Asia*, that is aboute *Pergamo*, and old *Grecia*, and *Macedonia*, which *Mithridates* hadde gotten, they recouered sone agayne: and to manie of them appointed tributes, that neuer had payd any. For which I thinke they call this chiefly the greate warre, and the victory of it also greate, and the Captayne of it that was *Pompey* in their proper language they name greate to this day: for the number of the nations that they toke or recouered, and the long time of fortie yeares, and the boldnesse and paynesfulnesse of *Mithridates*, mighty (as appeared) at all assayes. He had aboute foure hundred shippes of his owne. He had fiftie thousand horsemen, and two hundred and fiftie thousande footemen, engines, and munition accordingly. Kings and Princes were his confederates. The *Armenian*, the *Scythian*, and *Pontus*, and the kenne of *Asia*, and from thence to the streights of *Thracia*. He sente to the *Romanes* Captaynes that were at warre together, and to stirre *Spain* against them, he made amitie with the *French* to moue agaynst *Italy*. He filled the Sea with Pirates from *Cilicia*, to the pillars of *Hercules*, which he made, that no trafficke nor sayling could bee

*Cilicia* is one of the partes of *Syria*, the which is holloye, for so signifyeth the word.

*Thracie, now the  
streights of  
Constantinople.*

a.

from

from one Citie to another, and wrought a great famine in euery place. And generally, he leste nothing vndone or vndented that coulde be done, to stirre vp the greatest meltin among all men, from the East to the West. For either they made warre, or sent ayde, or robbed or vered their neighbours. This warre was variable, and in the end brought the Romanes to greatest dominions, for by this, their rule stretched from the West, to the floud *Euphrates*. It was not easie for me to deuide it by seuerall nations, being done together, and one wrapped with another. Those that coulde be separated, be told particularly. The *Greekes* thinke, that the *Thracians* did serue at *Tracy* vnder *Rhesus*, and that *Rhesus* was killed by *Dionetes* in the night, the whiche matter, *Homere* telleth in his *Clertes*, and that they fledde to the mouth of *Pontus*, which is most streight to sayle into *Thracia*, and that they that wanted Shippes, did remaine there, and toke the lande named *Bebrycia*. They that had shippes, wente beronde by *Byzance*, to that part of *Thracia* called *Bithinia*, and did inhabite at the floude *Bithia*, and being driuen by famine, returned to *Bithia*, and named it *Bithia* in stead of *Febria*, of the floud at the whiche they dwelled, and so the name not unlike in time to be changed, because there is not much difference betwene *Febria* and *Bithinia*. So do some thinke. Other suppose that *Bychus* the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Thrace*, did first raigne here, and so the name was given to both the lands. This I thought good to shew first of *Bithinia*. Of the kings that were before the Romanes, in number nine and fortie in order, it is meete for me to make some mention in these matters of the Romanes. *Prusias* that was called the hunter, married the daughter of *Perseus* King of *Macedonie*, and the Romanes and *Perseus* making warre not long after, *Prusias* stode as neuter.

*Perseus* being overcome, he mette with the *Romane* Captaines, wearing a *Romane* garmente called *Toga*, and hauing shoes after the *Italian* manner, and hys head shauen, with a cappe, after the whiche manner they goe which be made free by testamente, being an euill favoured man to beholde, and a little shotte one. Sperting wpth them, he spake in the *Romane* tong, *I am a freemane*

man

man of the Romanes, which they call *Libertus*. He appearing a sighte to be laughed at, was sent to *Rome*, where being laughed at also, he had pardon. Not long after, being *Attalus* the King of *Asia* that is about *Pergamo*, he wasted hys lande in *Asia*. Whiche when the Senate of *Rome* heard, they sente to *Prusias*, that he shoulde not molest *Attalus*, a friend and confederate to the Romanes. And when he thought muche to obey, the Embassadors sharply commaunded him to obey the Senate, and to come with a thousande horsemen to the confines to decide the matter, and willed *Attalus* to be there with as many.

He despying the small number that was wpth *Attalus*, and thinking he myghte entrappe hym, sente hys Embassadors afoze, as though he woulde followe with his thousande horse, but bringing all his army, went as to a battell. When *Attalus* and the Embassadors hearoe of it, they fledde, euery man where he coulde. He toke the carriage of the Romanes, and destroyed the towne of *Nicephoro*, and burned the Shippes that were there, and beseged *Attalus* in *Pergamo*.

When the Romanes heard of thys, they sente other Embassadors, who commaunded *Prusias* to restore *Attalus* hys losses. Then *Prusias* was afrayde, and obeyed, and wente hys waye. The payne that they put vpon him, was this, that he shoulde presently geue hym twentye armed Shippes, and in time, fiftie talentes. The Shippes he gaue out of hande, the talentes he payde in time. He was hated of his subiects for his crueltie, and his sonne *Nicomedes* well beloued of the *Bithinians*. Wherefore *Prusias* suspecting him, sent him to lue at *Rome*. And vnderstanding that he was well beloued there, he willed hym to obteine of the Senate, a release of the money he ought to *Attalus*, and sent *Mena* to deale with him, and commaunded *Mena* that if he coulde gette hym discharged of the money, he shoulde spare *Nicomedes*, but if he coulde not, he should kill him. He sente to thys purpose certayne grente Shippes, and two thousande Souldoyers. *Mena*, because the penaltie was not forgiven (for *Attalus* hadde sente *Andronicus* to tell, that the payne was lesse than the spoyle) neyther durst kyll the

a.ij.

pong

The behauioure of *Prusias* dispised. The manner of a seruant made free.

The craftie age of *Prusias*.

*Prusias* is forced to recompence *Attalus*.

*Prusias* practiseth to kill his sonne *Nicomedes*.

*Rhesus* King of *Thracia*, so called.

*Bebrycia*, the name of the lande.

*Byzantium* is now *Constantinople*.

Some call his daughter, that was sister to *Rhesus*.

*Prusias* the hunter.

The *Romane* garmente called *Toga*, and the shauen head.

young man, whome he saue to be worthy to be loued and honou-  
red, nor goe agayne into *Bithinia*. The young man, knowing of  
his tarrying, came to talke with him with his good will, and con-  
spired agaynst *Prusias*, and toke to their practise the Embassa-  
dour of *Attalus*, that he should persuaide him to get *Nicomedes* to  
the Kingdome of *Bithinia*. They met together in *Bernice*, a little  
Citie of *Epirus*. In the nighte they wente into a Shippe, there  
they consulted what was to be done, and were secrete all nighte.  
When day was come, *Nicomedes* came forth of the Ship, cladde  
with a Kings robe of purple, with a crowne on his head. *Andro-  
nicus* meeting with him, saluted him as King, and sent him forth  
with five hundredth Souldiours, which he had ready. *Atena* dis-  
sembling, as though he had not siene *Nicomedes* till then, came  
to the two thousand, as though he had bin discontented. Weeping  
come to the talke, he sayde :

*Nicomedes* she-  
weeth himselfe  
as King.

*Atena* to the  
Souldiours.

• You haue two Kinges, the one at home, the other going on.  
• You must needs foreseke safetie, and coniecture your well doing,  
• as in this, to establishe you securitie, by well appoynting, which  
• of the two you will haue raigne. The one is olde, the other is  
• young. The *Bithinians* hate the olde, but they loue the young : and  
• the chiefe of the *Romanes* loue this young man : and *Andronicus*  
• being his defendoure, hath promised *Attalus* friendship, hauing  
• a greate Kingdome ioyning to *Bithinia*, and an olde enemie of  
• *Prusias*.

When he had sayde thus, and withall declared the crueltie of  
*Prusias*, and what mischief he had done to all men, and the com-  
mon hatred of the *Bithinians* agaynst him, and perceiued that  
they abhorred the wickednesse of *Prusias*, he ledde them straight  
to *Nicomedes*, and was the seconde after *Andronicus* that called  
him King, and garded him with two thousand. *Attalus* receiued  
the young man gladly, and required *Prusias* to giue the young man  
some Citie to dwell in, and landes to finde him. He answered,  
he would shortly giue him all *Attalus* Kingdome, for whose sake  
he had invaded *Asia* before. When he had said thus, he sent to  
*Rome*, to accuse *Attalus* and *Nicomedes*, and to call them into  
iudgement: but *Attalus* wente with his armie into *Bithinia*, to  
whome

whome the *Bithinians* by little and little reuolted. *Prusias* disre-  
specting all men, and hoping that the *Romanes* would deliuer him  
from this danger, obteyned five hundred *Thracians* of *Diegelles* his  
father in lawe, and to these onely he committed his body, sleeping  
into the Castell at *Nicaea*, the Mayor of *Rome* not byinging *Prusi-  
as* messengers to the Senate speedily, because he fauoured *Atta-  
lus*, but at last being brought, and the Senate commaunding him  
to chosse Embassadors that might ende the warre, he chose thre  
men, of the whiche one had his head stricken with a stone, and  
had an euill fauoured scarre left : another had his face festered  
with a soze: the thyrde was compted an ydiot. In so muche as  
*Cato* telling at this Embassage, saide, it had nether minde, face,  
nor head. The Embassadors went into *Bithinia*, and comman-  
ded them to cease warre. *Nicomedes* and *Attalus* dissembling to  
obey the Senate, the *Bithinians* being set on, sayde, they coulde not  
any longer beare the crueltie of *Prusias*, now especially that they  
were knowen to be agaynst him. The Embassadors because the  
*Romanes* hadde not yet heard of this matter, departed, doing no-  
thing. *Prusias* desparring of the *Romanes*, in whome he had most  
trust, no help comming by them, he went to *Nicomedia* to get the  
Citie, and to defend himselfe agaynst his enimies, but they for-  
soke him, and shutte the gates agaynst him: and *Nicomedes* came  
with his army, and certayne of *Nicomedes* host being sent of him,  
killed *Prusias*, flaying to the Temple of *Iupiter*. Thus *Nicomedes*  
raigned in *Bithinia* for *Prusias*, and he in time ending his life, his  
sonne *Phileteus*, that was called *Philopater*, succeeded the *Romanes*,  
giuing him his fathers Kingdome, by decre of Senate. Thus  
wente the state of *Bithinia*, and if we will learne all, the nephewes  
of this another *Nicomedes*, lest the *Romanes* his heire by testa-  
ment.

*Nicaea* was first  
called *Antigenia*,  
afterward *Ni-  
caea*, of *Tymachus*  
ville.

Embassadors to  
be laughed at.

Nowe *Nicomedia*,  
and of *Taylers*  
*Comedia*.

*Phileteus* killed.

The *Romanes*  
made heyres of  
*Bithinia* by testa-  
ment.

Who ruled *Cappadocia* before the *Macedonians*, I can not well  
tell, whether they were vnder a King of their owne, or vnder  
*Darius*. It should seme that *Alexander* left these nations tribu-  
tarie to the rulers, when he went agaynst *Darius*: and so it semeth  
that *Amisus*, a Citie of the *Athenian* kind, did bring in the peo-  
ples rule, according to the Countreys manner. And it is sayde

*Amisus* a Citie  
laye in the  
confines of *Pa-  
phlagonia* and  
*Cappadocia*.

*Hieronymus was  
an Historiographer  
of the Kings.*

of *Hieronymus*, that he did not subdue all these Cities, but by the coast of *Pamphilia* and *Cilicia*, turne another way againste *Darius*. *Perdiccas* that succeeded *Alexander* in *Macedonia*, did put to death *Ariarathes*, ruler of *Cappadocia*, either for that he revolted, or woulde haue made it for the *Macedonians*, and appointed for these nations *Eumenes* of *Caria*. When *Eumenes* was destroyed, being iudged an enimie to the *Macedonians*, *Antipater* that after *Perdiccas* ruled the Countries that *Alexander* had gotten, sente *Antenor* to rule *Cappadocia*. And the *Macedonians* not long after beeing at ciuill debate, *Antigonus* gotte *Syria*, and expulseth *Lamendani*. *Mithridates* beeing hys familiar, and of the blood royall of *Persia*, *Antigonus* dreamed that he shoulde the grounde with golde, and that *Mithridates* shoulde carrie the golde to *Pontus*, when it was reaped, wherefore hee tooke him, and woulde haue killed hym, but he fledde with hys horse, and fenced a place in *Cappadocia*, many revolting to hym.

In hys tumulte of *Macedonia* by little and little, he gotte *Cappadocia*, and the Nations conserues to *Pontus*, and greatly enlarging hys Realme, hee lesse it to hys Chyldren. They reigned one after another, till the sixth after the firste *Mithridates*, whiche made warre with the *Romanes*. Of this stocke the Kinges of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus* coming, I thinke it to be knowen who diuided the Kingdome, some reigning in *Cappadocia*, and some in *Pontus*.

Whys *Mithridates* was first a friend to the *Romanes*, and sente *Shippes* and some little helpe againste the *Carthaginians*, that was called *Euergetes*, whiche ouercame *Cappadocia* as a strawger. And *Mithridates* hys sonne succeeded, who was named *Dionysius* and *Eupator*. The *Romanes* commaunded hym to geue place in the Kingdome of *Cappadocia* and to *Ariobarzanes*, that fought to them, and thought himselfe to be nygher to that Kingdome, than *Mithridates*, or else because they suspected the Kingdome of *Mithridates* growing so greate, and vnder the hande, woulde diuide it into more partes, and hee suffered it, but againste *Nicomedes*, that was of *Nicomedes* Prusse hys sonne, and by the *Romanes* appointed to reigne, as in his

*Dream of Antigonus*

*Perdiccas, the  
reigneth.*

his fathers kingdome, he sent *Socrates*, brother to *Nicomedes*, that was called *Chrestus*, with an armie, & *Socrates* toke the Kingdome of *Bithynia* to himselfe. At this time, *Mithridates* and *Bagoas*, expulking *Ariobarzanes* whom the *Romanes* had set in the Kingdome of *Cappadocia*, put *Ariarathes* into it. The *Romanes* did restore bothe *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* into their proper Kingdomes, sending certaine Embassadors for that purpose, whereof *Manius Acilius* was chiefe: and commaunded *Lucius Cassius* that had a litle armie in *Pergamo* in *Asia*, to helpe to it, and also *Mithridates* Eupator. But hee beeing offended with the *Romanes* for *Cappadocia*, and by them beeing put from *Phrygia*, as wee haue shewed in the Grecke matters, did not helpe. *Cassius* and *Manius* with that armie they had, and gathering a greater of the *Galatians* and *Phrygians*, sent *Nicomedes* into *Bithynia*, and *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and perswaded them bothe, beeing neyghbours to *Mithridates*, to molest hys countrey, and prouoke hym to warre, and the *Romanes* woulde be their mayntainers in it. But bothe they alyke affected, durst not prouoke *Mithridates* fearing hys mighty power. But the Ambassadors vrging them, *Nicomedes*, that had promised to geue the Embassadors muche money for hys restitution, and to the Souldiours, which yet hee ought, and beeing in debte further to the *Romanes* for moneye sente hym for hys other matters, unwillingly hee invaded *Mithridates* lande, spoiled as farre as the Citie *Amastria*, nene resisting hym or meeting with hym. For albeit *Mithridates* had hys armie ready, yet hee refrayned, to haue the more iust cause of warre.

When *Nicomedes* was returned home with a great pray, *Mithridates* sente *Pelopiola* to the *Roman* Capitaines and Embassadors, not ignorant that they were his enimies and causes of this inuasion, yet hee dissimbled, & sought more manifest causes of the warre to come. *Pelopiola* told them that *Phrygia* was taken from them, and *Cappadocia*, that had alwaies bene his auncestours and left him of his father: *Phrygia* was given him of your general, as a rewarde for the victorie gotten of *Aristonico*, & neuer thelesse redeemed of the same generall with a great summe of money.

*Chrestus, good  
or profitable.*

*Amastria, the  
chiefe Citie to  
called of a wo-  
man of *Pessia*,  
before beeing  
named *Cromia*.*

*The Embas-  
sador of *Mithri-  
dates* to the  
*Romanes*.*

So we you see (sayde he) that *Nicomedes* shutteth the mouth of *Pontus*, and spoyleth his land as farre as *Amphrys*, and caried a way so great a bottie as your selve well know. By King, hauing power & will, sufficient to reuenge, both suffer that you may be witnessers of sight of his iniuries. The which bycause you know and see, *Mithridates* desirath you, friends and confederates, as a friende and confederate, soz so do the covenants teame vs, that you woulde helpe vs against *Nicomedes* that dothe vs wrong, or sozbid him to do vs any more. Thus sayd *Pelopidas*.

*Nicomedes* Embassadors making answer to the contrarye, sayde, that *Mithridates* had long layd traynes soz *Nicomedes*, and sente *Socrates* with an army soz that kingdome, which woulde haue bin quiet, and iustly suffered his elder brother to raigne. Thus did *Mithridates* against *Nicomedes*, whome you (*Romanes*) appointed King of *Bithinia*. Whereby it is manifest, that these things be done not more against vs, than against you. By the like authoritie, it being commaunded to the Kings of *Asia*, that they should not meddle with *Europe*, he hath taken much of *Chersonesus*, and these be his actes against you, of despighte, disbeyne, and disobedience. His great preparatiō and so great furniture, as to a great and notable warre, as well of his owne armye, as of confederates of *Thracia* and *Scythia*, and other high nations. He hath married with the King of *Armenia*. He hath sente into *Egypt* and *Syria*, to allure those Kings. He hath the three hundred armed Shippes, and is making more. He hath sent for maysters and gouernours of Shippes into *Phenicia* and *Egypt*. All this is not against *Nicomedes*, but against you (*Romanes*) done by *Mithridates*, disobeyning euer since you haue commaunded hym to leaue *Phrygia*, as no right possession, which by decepte he bought for money of one of youre Generals. Being greued also that *Cappadocia* is giue by you to *Arribaranes*, fearing your increase, and taking occasion against you by vs, and if he can, to deceyue you. It is wisdomē not to farrie, till he confesse to make warre against you, but rather to loke to his actes than to his wordes, nor to be deceyued with his counterfet name of frendship, and to sozlake youre true and firme friendes in dēde, neyther to se

your

Robertus  
et Nicomedes.

Clementis  
Indy et non an  
tunc fuit  
exat in Pontum.

your iudgemente of our kingdome to be despised of him that is, an enemy both to vs and you. Thus sayde *Nicomedes* Embassadors.

*Pelopidas* came agayne to the *Romanes* audience, once moze accusing *Nicomedes* of the things that were done of old, and prayd the *Romanes* to be Iudge. These things that now be done (sayde he) he hath done in your sight. *Mithridates* kingdome he hath diminished, the Sea he hath shutte, spoyle he hath carried a way. This needeth no debating or consultation, but we once agayne pray you, epyther to correct that is done, or to help *Mithridates* that hath suffered the wrong, or lastly (*Romanes*) not to sozbidde hym to reuenge himselfe, but let them two trye it out. This answered *Pelopidas*.

It was certayne that the *Romanes* fauoured *Nicomedes*, and soz a fashion heard their controuersies: but somewhat they were moued at the wordes of *Pelopidas*. And bycause *Mithridates* was yet in league with the *Romanes*, and stode in doubt what to answer presently, and hauing with wisdomē considered the matter, they answered thus. Neyther will we haue *Mithridates* suffer any thing wrongfully of *Nicomedes*, neyther suffer warre to be made vpon *Nicomedes*, for we thinke it not good for the *Romanes*, that *Nicomedes* should be hurt. When they had thus sayde, and *Pelopidas* woulde haue made answer to their sentence so doubtfull, they wente from the seate. When *Mithridates* sawe that he was manifestly iniured of the *Romanes*, he sent his sonne *Arriathes* with a great army, to reigne in *Cappadocia*, and he expelled *Arribaranes*, and had the kingdome. *Pelopidas* coming agayne to the *Romane* officers, said thus:

What *Mithridates* hath bozne at your hāds (*Romanes*) being, spoiled of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, you haue heard. What hurt *Nicomedes* hath done him, you see, & let it passe, we appealing to your amitie and leage. And as though we were the accusers, and not accused, you answer, that you thinke it not profitable for the *Romane* state, that *Nicomedes* should be hurte, as though he were iniured. You (*Romanes*) are the cause that things be done in *Cappadocia*, against the state of Rome. For though youre con-

b.

tempt,

The Romanes  
answere.

tempt of vs, and your subtill answeres, *Mithridates* hath done this, and now he sendeth Embassadors agaiuste you to your Senate, to whome he sendeth you worde to answer: and that you attempt not begin any thing to kindle this warre, withoute the common consent of the Romanes. And that *Mithridates* hath in his fathers kingdome conteyning in length twenty thousand furlongs, gotten many nations about hym, *Colchos* a warlike nation, and the Grekes that dwel at *Pontus*, and the Barbarians that be next them. He hath friends ready to do his commaundement, *Scythians*, *Taurians*, *Bassernians*, and *Sarmatians*, and all that be about *Tana*, and *Hister*, and the sonne of *Maeth*, *Torbans* of *Armenia* is his sonne in lawe, and *Arfaces* the *Parthian* his friende. He hath a nauie of *Shippes*, whereof some be readye, and some to be made, and a furniture conueniente in all portes. The *Sithinians* byd not nolue saye vntreuly to you, of the *Egynges* of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who be lyke, not onely to take oure parte, if warre be made, but also *Asia*, that you haue lately gotte. *Grecia* and *Libya*, and many nations of *Italy*, that can not beare your ambition, do make an endlesse warre wpyth you, whych bycause you can not ceasse, you sette *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* bypon *Mithridates* by turne. You say you are friends and confederates, and you answereso, but you vse hym as an enemie. Nowe then go to, if of things past you repente yow, eyther forbidde *Nicomedes* to molest your friends, and if you doe this, I promise you that *Mithridates* shall ayd you agaiust the *Italians*, or breake that sayed friendship, or let vs goe to be iudged at *Rome*. This sayde *Pelopidas*. And bycause it seemed too presumptuous, they commaunded that *Mithridates* shoulde not deale with *Nicomedes*, nor *Cappadocia*, and that they woulde sette *Ariobarzanes* in his kingdome agayne, and that *Pelopidas* shoulde depart fro the Camp, and no more retorne as Embassadeure, except the King woulde stand to this orde. Thus they answered, and sente hym awaye wpyth keepers, that he shoulde corrupte none as he wente.

When this was sayde, not tarrying the Senates wyll for the warre, or the peoples consente, they gathered an army of *Bithinia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia* in *Asia*. They

olue

Eight of these  
furlongs make  
a mile.

Maeth is the  
great sonne in  
Scythia.

The Embassa-  
dors make  
warre with-  
out the consent  
of the Senate.

stone armye which *Lucius Cassius* had in *Asia* was ready, and all their confederates gathered together, whych they diuided into diuers Campes. *Cassius* in the midst of *Bithinia* and *Galatia*, *Annius* that way that by *Bithinia* was agaiust *Mithridates*. *Appianus* with another army at the bylles of *Cappadocia*, hauing horse and footemen, to the number of forty thousand. They had a nauie of *Shippes*, whych *Minutius Rufus*, and *Caius Popilius* gouerned, keeping the mouth of *Pontus*. *Nicomedes* came to them wpyth fiftie thousand footemen, and sixe thousand horsemen. So greate an army had they ready. *Mithridates* had of his owne two hundred and fiftie thousand footemen, forty thousand horsemen, three hundred armed *Shippes*, and a hundredeth *Gallies*, wpyth munition accordingly. His chiefe Captaynes were *Neoptolemus*, and *Archelaus* brother, the greatest parte he ledde himselfe. His sonne *Arcadius* brought the ayd of tenne thousand horse out of *Armenia* the lesse. *Dorislaus* ledde the that were in order of the mayne footemen, and *Craterus* broughte a hundred and thirtie Chariots. So greate prouision was on both sides, when the Romanes and *Mithridates* began the warre, the *CLXX. Olympiade*. In the large field at the floud *Ammeum*, did *Mithridates* and *Nicomedes* Captaynes see one another, and prepared for the fighte. *Nicomedes* fet al in order, *Neoptolemus* & *Archelaus* the light harnered only, and y horsemen y *Arcadius* brought, & some Chariots. The footmen wer yet coming. They sent a few to take a floud byl y was in y playne, y they shoulde not be copassed of the *Bithinians* which were the greater nuber. Whē they saw them beaten fro the hill, *Neoptolemus* fearing to be enclosed, came to the rescue with spede, calling with him *Arcadius*. *Nicomedes* seeing that, set bypon them, and there was a great fight and slaughter. But *Nicomedes* fiercely following. *Mithridates* men fledde, till *Archelaus* coming on the righte side, did repulse the chacers. When they coming all vpon him, he gaue place a little, that *Neoptolemus* & his might retorne fro the flight. And whē he saw that to be done in diede, he set the armed Chariots vpon the *Bithinians*, which with their violence, did teare some of the into two partes, & some into more. This arte did muche discourage *Nicomedes* host, when they saw men cut asunder yet breathing, or tozne in many peeces, or

The Romanes  
force.

*Mithridates*  
forces.

*Annius* a floud.

The fight.

b.ij.

violently

violently carried of the Chariots. The vnpleasanteſſe of the fighte, rather than loſſe by the fight, diſordered their battell for feare. Upon them being thus broken, came *Archelaus* on the front, and *Neoptolemus* and *Archibius* returning from the flight vpon the backe. They reſiſting on both ſides, defended them ſelues a good while, but after many of them were ſlayne, *Nicomedes* fledde with the reſt into *Paphlagonia*, the ſotemen of *Mithridates*, not being at the fight. The Camp, and the monie, and many priſoners were taken, all the which, *Mithridates* vſing gently, gaue them conduct money, and ſent them home, making a ſhew to his enemies of humanitie. This firſt ſeate of the great warre with *Mithridates*, affrayd the *Romane* Captaynes, as beguine raſhly, without the common conſente. For a ſelue did overcome many, without any help of the place, or fortune of the fighte, but by the vertue of the Captaynes, and valiantneſſe of the ſouldyours. *Nicomedes* Camped by *Atanium*. *Mithridates* wente to the hill *Scoroba*, that is, the boundes of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*. His ſcoutes being a hundredth horſemen of the *Sarmatians*, meeting with eyght hundredth Horſe of *Nicomedes*, tooke diuers of them, whome *Mithridates* agayne ſuffered to goe to their Countrey with money for the way. *Atanium* going backe, *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* an *Armenian* meeting with him, about the towne *Lachin*, conſtrained him to fighte, *Nicomedes* being gone to *Cafius*, hauing four thouſand horſemen, and tenne times ſo many ſotemen, of whome they killed tenne thouſande, and tooke three hundred priſoners, whome *Mithridates* being brought to him, did let goe, to winne the heartes of his enemies. *Atanium* campe was taken, he fledde to the floud *Sangarus*, and paſſed ouer by night, and ſtued himſelfe at *Pergamo*. *Cafius* and *Nicomedes*, and the *Romane* legates, ſette their Camp at *Leontophide*, which is a very ſtrong towne in the further part of *Phrygia*, and trayned the people that they had of newe huſbandmen or artificers, and toynd more to them of the *Phrygians*. And when both theſe people were vniwillig, they durſt not meddle with men expert in battell, therefore they licenced the, and departed, *Cafius* into *Apamea* with his army, *Nicomedes* into *Pergamo*, and *Atanium* to the *Rhodes*. They that kept

Nicomedes fleeth

Mithridates  
ſeeth courtelie.

Scoroba.

An other cour-  
telie of Mithri-  
dates.Pachia a towne  
at Propontis.A third courtelie  
of Mithridates.  
The Romanes  
diſcontented.  
Sangarus a  
floud called  
Ceraus.  
Leontophide.

kept the mouth of *Pontus*, hearing of this, forſooke it, and the ſhips that *Nicomedes* had in *Pontus*, were deliuered to *Mithridates*. Thus he at one bzunt, getting all *Nicomedes* land, went to it, and ſet order in the Cities. Going into *Phrygia*, and coming to an Inne where *Alexander* reſted, he tooke it for a lucky toke, that *Mithridates* might lye where *Alexander* had lodged. And he got the reſt of *Phrygia*, and *Asia*, and *Asia*, that the *Romane*s had lately wonne. And ſending to the places there aboute, he got *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*, & ſo as farre as *Ionia*. And to the *Laodiceans* that ſhabit about the floud *Lycus*, and reſiſted, for *Oppius* a *Romane* Captaine hauing horſemen and ſome ſotemen hyed, got into the Citie & kept it, he ſent his Trumpet to the walles, commanding hym to ſay, that King *Mithridates* did giue ſuretie to the *Laodiceans*, if they would bring *Oppius* to him. When they heard this Proclamation, they lette the hired ſouldiours goe freely, and brought *Oppius* to *Mithridates*, with his mace-bearers in ſcoyne: and *Mithridates* did no hurt to him but ledde him loſe aboute with him, ſhewing he had a *Romane* Generall in Captiuitie. Not long after, he tooke *Manius Acilius*, that was beſt of y<sup>e</sup> Emballadoys, & chiefe cauſe of this warre, and ledde him about, being ſet vpon an Aſſe, and telling them that looked vpon him, that he was *Atanium*, till he came to *Pergamo*, wher he put molte gold in his mouth, reproving the *Romane*s for taking of giſtes. Appoynting rulers in the countrey, he came to *At. gneſia*, *Eph. ſus*, and *Atitlene*, euery one receyving him without reſiſtance, and the *Ephesians*, throwing away the Images of the *Romane*s that were there, for the whiche they were puniſhed afterward. Going from *Ionia*, he tooke *Stratonicea*, and puniſhed it in money, and ſet a garrison in the Citie, and ſeizing a ſayze marde, he made hir one of his ſulues, and if any man be deſirous to know his name, it was *Atomire*, y<sup>e</sup> daughter of *Plinius*. The *Atagresians*, *Paphlagonians*, & *Lycians*, yet reſiſting, hee overcame by his Captaynes. And thus did *Mithridates*.

The *Romane*s hearing of thys firſt force, and inuaſion of *Asia*, determined warre againſt hym, although they were troubled with ciuill ſtriſe inceſſantly in the Citie, and *Italy* was occupied with great warre at home almoſt in euery place. The Conſuls

L. iij.

taking

Mithridates lieth  
in an harbo-  
rough, where  
great Alexander  
once did lye.Lycus.  
Oppius.Laodiceans be-  
tray Oppius.Oppius ledde  
priſoner.Manius de-  
ſpight of Mithri-  
dates, and  
cruelly handled.Mithridates ta-  
keth a wife at  
Stratonicea.  
Atomire made  
a Queene.

C. V. appoy-  
ned to the  
Romane.

V. Vant of trea-  
sure in Rome.

Mithridates de-  
creed of murder.

taking their charge, *Asia* fell to *Cornelius Sylla*, and the warre  
agaynst *Mithridates*. And where they had no store of money,  
they enacted to sell the things, that *Numa Pompilius* the king had  
appoynted for the sacrifices of y<sup>e</sup> Goddes. So great want was  
ther then, & so great ambition. Some of these things were sold,  
whereof was rayfed .ix. thousande pounce waight of golde, and  
gaue no more to so great a warre. But *Sylla* was long kept with  
sedition, as we haue shewed in the ciuill dissentions. In this  
meane time, *Mithridates* made many shippes agaynst the *Rho-*  
*dians*, and wrote secretly to all Princes and rulers of Cities,  
that they shoulde at the thirtie day, being obserued, kyll all *Ro-*  
*manes* and *Italians*, men, women and chyldren that were free, and  
when they had killed them, to caste them out vnburiad, and to  
diuide halfe theyr goddes to the king *Mithridates*, and halfe to  
themselves. He appoynted a payne to them that buried any o<sup>r</sup>  
hidde them, and a rewarde to them that bewrayed o<sup>r</sup> killed  
them that were hidde. So seruantes, libertie, to kill their Ma-  
sters: to debtours, halfe their debte, to kill their creditours.  
These *Mithridates* sente secretly to all at once. The daye be-  
ing come, diuerse calamities were sene in *Asia*, whereof these  
were some.

The *Ephesians* dragged them that were fledde into the Tem-  
ple of *Diana*, and embraced the images, and killed them. The  
*Pergamians*, shotte them to death that were fledde into the tem-  
ple of *Aesculapius*, and would not be pulled from the images.  
The *Adramiteans* killed them that swamme into the Sea, and  
drowned their chyldren. The *Cannians* being made tributarie  
to the *Rhodiens* in the warre of *Antiochus*, and restored by the  
*Romanes* a litle before, pulled the *Italians* out of their holy con-  
mon place, whether they were fledde, and first killed the chyldren  
before the mothers faces, then the mothers, & laste the fathers.  
The *Trallians*, to keepe themself from the infamie of murderers,  
hired *Theophilus* of *Paphlagonia* a cruell man, to do this acte. And  
*Theophilus* killed them being shutte in the temple of peace, & cut  
of the haies of some, that embraced the images there. The *Italians*  
and the *Romanes* suffered these calamities in *Asia*, men, women,  
chyldren,

*Athenes*, a ci-  
tie of the coaste  
of *Mysia*.  
Cruelly in this  
agaynst the Ro-  
manes.  
C. V. appoy-  
ned to the  
Romane.

chyldren, free & bonde that were of the *Italian* generation. Either  
in it was euident that *Asia* did not this so much for feare of *Mithridates*, as for hate of the *Romanes*. But they suffered double pu-  
nishment, *Mithridates* shortly after vning them cruelly contrary  
to his sayth, and after him, *Cornelius Sylla*.

*Mithridates* sayled to *Coo*, the *Coanes* receyuing him willingly: and he toke the somme of *Alexander* that reigned in *Egypt*, leste  
inco with much money of his grandmother *Cleopatra*, & brought  
him by princely. And of *Cleopatras* treasure, he sent much riches,  
workes, stones, womens aray, and plenty of money into *Pontus*.  
In this time the *Rhodiens* fortified their walles & their portes, &  
prepared al defence, some *Telmisians* and *Lycians* being confedered  
with the. All the *Italians* y<sup>e</sup> fledde out of *Asia*, came to the *Rhodes*,  
among whom was *L. Cassius*, the gouernour of *Asia*. *Mithridates*  
coming thither, they pulled downe their suburbs, that y<sup>e</sup> enimie  
shoulde take no profite by the, & prepared for the fight by sea, some  
at the front & some at the sides. *Mithridates* coming with his ga-  
lies, commaunded his men to extend theselues into winges a fote,  
that by their swifte rowyng they mighte inclose their enemies  
which were fewer. The *Rhodiens* being afraid of copassing, gaue  
place a litle, then turned & fledde to their porte, & shutting it with  
barres, they resisted *Mithridates* from the walles. He encamping  
at the Citie, & drawing nigh the porte, & attemptyng the same,  
carried for souldiers to be brought out of *Asia*. And there was  
shorte and continuall skirmishing with them at the walles, in  
the which the *Rhodiens* hauing the better, were a litle encouraged,  
and had their ships at hande to encounter the enemy when occa-  
sion shoulde serue. A great shippe of the kings passed vnder sayle,  
the *Rhodiens* sent a litle galie agaynst it, and either side helping o<sup>r</sup>  
ther diligently, a great fight began on the sea, *Mithridates* being  
superiour in anger of minde, & multitude of shippes, the *Rhodiens*  
with arte setting vpo his nauy, & disordering the so, as they toke  
one galie with the men, & much munition & spoyle, & brought hir  
into the haue: and being ignozant y<sup>e</sup> a great Galie of theirs was  
taken of the enimie, they sent .viij. of their swiftest to recover hir, &  
*Damagoras* their admiral lost with the. *Mithridates* sent .xxv. after  
him,

The Romanes  
hated.

C. V. appoy-  
ned to the  
Romane.

Of Curia and of  
Lydia.

The warre of  
*Mithridates* a-  
gaynst the  
*Rhodes*.

hym, who gaue place till it was night. Waxing darke, the kings shippes returned, and he set vpon them and toke two, and chased other two into *Lycia*, and returned by night. This was the ende of the fight betwene *Mithridates* and the *Rhadians*, done against all hope to the *Rhadians*, for their fewnesse, and to *Mithridates* for his multitude. In the fight the king sayung aboute to encourage his men, a shippe of *Libia*, in hys name, crashed the kings shippe in the confusion, the whiche the living not discerning, punished both the Captaine and the Paister, which offended all the *Xians*.

At thys time, the kings soterme being brought in great shyps, & a Percy rising vpon them, they were driven to *Rhodes*, & the *Rhadians* quickly comming vpon them, being yet troubled with the storme, they toke some, they crushed some, and some they burned, and toke four hundred prisoners. *Mithridates* preparing for to fight by sea againe, and to force the towne, he made a certaine engin called *Sambuca* carried in two shyps. The fugitiues tolde him, there was a side of an hill that might be scaled, where the Temple of *Ingrita Tabyria* was, with a weake wall. He put his army in the shyps by night, to other he gaue scaling ladders. He commaunded both to goe with silence, till a fire was made from the Temple, and then with a crye as loude as coulde bee made, some to assaulte the towne, and some to force the porte, and they with silence drewe nigh. The watche of the *Rhadians* knowing this, made a fire, and the army of *Mithridates*, thinking this had bin the fire at the Temple, from deepe silence they cried all together, as well the scalers, as the Murtherers. The *Rhadians* cried as fast chearefully, and came together to y wal, so as the kings men did nothing that night, and in the daye, were putte backe, although the *Sambuca*, affraid the *Radians* much, calling out at once, many dartes, arrowes and shotte, being broughte againste the Temple of *Iris*, and the souldiours with many scaling ladders, from their shippes, came forth as they shoulde haue giuen an assaulte. The *Rhadians* defended themselves manfully, till the engine brake for waight, and a vision of *Iris* was thought to caste a greate fire vpon it. *Mithridates* departing

The Kings  
shippe crushed  
by chance.

*Sambuca*, was  
an engin vied  
at the siege of  
Circus, by cause  
the ropes were  
to stretch it  
as the shyps in  
the instrument  
of Mithridates  
is called.

The Rhodians  
put the kings  
men awaye.

*Iris* a Gode  
delle in *Argy*.

payning of this enterprise, sayled from the *Rhodes*.

Being at *Patara* at siege, he cut down the holy woode of *Lafone Patara*, a Citye of *Lycia*.  
To make engins, till he was scared with a vision: then he left the woode. Leauing *Pelopida* to continue the warre in *Lycia*, he sente *Archilous* into *Grecia*, to winne it by force or friendship so much as was possible, and committing many things to his Captaine, he trayned and furnished his army, and passed the time with his woman of *Stratonice*. He sate in iudgement of them that were thought to watch him, or make any mutinie, or helpe the *Romaines*. And whiles hee was thus occupied, these thinges were done in *Grecia*. *Archelous* sayling with a great naue well victualled, he toke *Delos* that was reuolted from *Athens* and other places, by violence and power, killing twenty thousande men, of the whiche the moste were *Italians*, the places he appointed to the *Athenians*, by the whyche, and by other meane they extolling *Mithridates*, and greatly praysing hym, he brought them and other to his friendship. He sent the holy money of *Delos* to them by *Arifion* a man of *Athens*, and two thousand with him for y gard of the mony, the which *Arifion* vsing to his purpose, played the Tiranne in his country, and some of the *Athenians* he killed oute of hand, as fauourers of the *Romaines*, and some he sent to *Mithridates*: yet was he a scholer of *Epiturn* learning. And not he alone in *Athens*, nor *Critias* that was befoze him, and they being professors of Philosophie with *Critias*, were tyrannes, but in *Italy* they of *Pythagoras* schole, and in the other *Grecia*, they that were called the seauen Wise men, when they had rule, they toke vpon them and vsed tyranny more cruellye, than y vnlearned tyrannes. Wherefoze there is a doubt and suspition of other Philosophers, whether for vertue, or for pouertie, or for lacke of experience, they comforted themselves with Philosophie: Of the whiche now, many being priuate & poore, & couering neede by sapience, they speake bitterly againste rich men and Princes, not for contempt of riches, and rule in their opinion, but rather for enuy being caried thereinto. But they that be slandered of them, do more wisely contempne them. This one maye thinke to be spoken of *Arifion* the Philosopher, as by occasion of matter moued

*Delos* an Ile in  
the *Argian* sea.  
*Arifion* by occa-  
sion of money  
playeth the tyrant.

Philosophers  
Tyrannes.

*Thessalia free  
Toryue in  
Fron.  
Magnesia in Asia  
Dionysius in  
Thessalia.*

moued by him. The *Acheans*, and *Lacedemonians* did relent to *Archelous*, and all *Boetia*, except *Thessia*, to whom he besegged.

At this time *Metrophanes* being sente of *Mithridates* with another army, did make warre vppon *Euboea* and *Dimeciades*, and *Magnesia*, that resisted *Mithridates*. And *Britius* coming from *Macedonia* with a small naule did fight with him by Sea, and sinking one greate Shippe and a foyfte, he killed all that were in them. *Metrophanes* beholding it, he being afrayde, fledde, and hauing a good wind, *Britius* could not overtake him, but toke *Scythus* that was a receypt for the *Barbarian* roners, he hanged vpon the naues, and cutte off the hands of the free men. Then turning to *Boetia*, a thousand other horsemen and footemen coming out of *Macedonia*, at *Chorona* he fought three dayes with *Britius* and *Archelous*, with equall and indifferent fortune on both sides: but when the *Lacedemonians* and *Acheans* were come in ayde to *Archelous*, and *Archelous*, *Britius* thinking himselfe too weake to match with them all, went to *Pireo*, till *Archelous* came and kept it.

*Sylla* being chosen generall for the warre againste *Mithridates*, then toke his journey out of *Italy* with fyue legions, and some other bandes and companies, and arrived in *Greece*, gathering money and men and victuals from *Attica* and *Thessalia*. When he thoughte he was sufficiente, he wente into *Attica* againste *Archelous*, and as he came, all *Boetia* sauing a fewe revolted to him, and so did the greate Citie of *Thebes*, very lightly taking *Mithridates* parte againste the *Romanes*, and nowe more swiftly turning from *Archelous*, to *Sylla*, before they came to trevall. He went to *Attica*, and sending one parte of his armye againste the Citie to besedge *Aristion*, he wente to *Pireo*, where *Archelous* was within the walles, the heygth whereof, was fortie cubites, being the worke of *Pericles*, made of greate stone and square, when the *Athenians* made warre with the *Peloponnesians*: and because he putte all the victorie in *Pireo*, he made it the more strong. *Sylla* being come to the wall, gaue the assaulte forthwith, where muche hurte being done on both sides, the *Cappadocians* manfully defending, being weary, he wente to *Eleusina*, and *Megara*, and made engines against *Pireo*, by mountes

and rampires. Artificers, and stufte, yron, and sledge, and suche other, were broughte hym from *Thebes*. He cutt downe the wodde of *Academia*, and made greate engines, and toke away the long sides, to cast stones, timber, and earth vpon the rampire.

*Academia* was a shadowvie place, a mile from *Athens*.

There were two naues of *Athens* in *Pireo*, fauouring the *Romanes*, or forescepyng theyr safetie if anye thing shoulde happen: they wrote in pellets of leade euer what shoulde be done, and theye sent them to the *Romanes* with their sledge.

Fidelitie of naues to the *Romanes*.

This being often done, and come to knowledge, *Sylla* hauing regarde to the matter, founde it thus written, To morowe, the footemen shall come vpon the face of youre labourers, and the horsemen shall sette vpon the sydes of the *Romanes*. Therefore he layde an ambush ready, and when the enimie had thought to haue come on sabbayne, he more suddayne lye vpon sette vpon them, kylled many of them, and droue the other into the Sea. And this was the ende of this attempte.

Nowe many greate towres being sette vpon the mounte, *Archelous* did make the lyke on the other side, furnished with weapons. He sente for more powder out of *Chalcedonia*, and other Ilandes, and armed his mariners, as he that woulde haue made all. *Archelous* hadde a greater armye than *Sylla*, and nowe it was muche bigger. At midnichte he issued with lightes, and burned one of the greate engines, with all that belonged to it. *Sylla* in tenne dayes made another, and sette it where the other was, and *Archelous* created a Towler against them on the wall. Another army being come vnto hym from *Mithridates*, whiche *Pimoxes* lede, he brought them all forth to the fight, whome he mixed with shotte, and stode vnder the wall, that the warders mighte throwe vpon the enimies. Other stode at the gates with fyre, looking for the token to sallie forth. The syghte was a long tyme equall, and nowe one and then another gaue place. The *Barbarians* begonne to flee, till *Archelous* coming vpon them, made them turne agayne, whiche greatly afrayed the

c. 15.

*Romanes*.

*Scythus an He.*

*Chorona.*

*Pireo*, nowe  
Portolore,  
The port of  
*Athens*, able to  
hold four hundred  
Shippes.

*Thebes in Fessia.*

*Pireo* was  
made of pinnacles, walled  
two myles of  
length.

*Megara* is in  
*Attica*,  
*Eleusina* in  
*Attica*.

Romaines flee  
and returne as  
gayne.  
The reproved  
forte, were no-  
ted of some co-  
wardlyneſſe,  
and called  
vnto perill.

Romaines, so that they fledde from them, but *Murienus* met them and returned them, and an other bande was come from *Foragyn* with them, they that were reproued, which fixing the fight so hotte, gaue a couragious on'et vpon *Mithridates* menne, and killed two thousand of them, and droue the other into the walles. *Archelous* would haue touned them backe againe, and in the fyghte tarrying long bycause of his earnestnesse, he was shutte oute, and taken in by a rope. *Sylla* released them of rebuke that were noted, bycause they had fought valiantlye, and rewarded the souldiours wth gyftes accordingly.

*Eleusine.*

Winter being come, he placed his army in *Eleusine*, and made a ditch from the highe places to the Sea, that the enimies horsemen shoulde not easlye breake vpon them. The whiche hee working euerye daye, there were diuerſe skirmishes sometime aboute the ditch, sometime at the walles, the enimies commyng & vsyng stones, dartes and pellets. *Sylla* wanting Shippes, sente to the *Rhodes*, and where the *Rhodes* coulde not passe, bycause *Mithridates* helde the Sea, hee commaunded *Lucullus* a Noble manne of *Rome*, and Generall of this warre after *Sylla*, to goe priuilye into *Alexandria* and *Syria*, and to gather an armye of the Kinges and Citties, and to sende it to the *Rhadians*. Hee not fearing the Sea besette both Shippes, tooke a light vessell, and chaunging Shippe after Shippe, to be vnknowne, he came to *Alexandria*.

*Lucullus diligēce*

The belouyers at *Piræ*, wrote againe in the pellets, that the night following *Archelous* would sende to *Athens* being in want, cozne vpon soldiors backs. *Sylla* laying in wayte, toke the cozne and carriers.

*Chalcedon* vnto  
*Negropont*,  
chiefe citie of  
*Iubæ*.

The same daye *Minutius* didde hurte *Neopolemus* an other Captaine at *Calced*, and killed a thousand five hundred, and toke moe prisoners.

Not long after in *Piræ* in þ night, þ watch being asleepe, the Romaines brought their scales fro þ next mounts, & got the wal, and killed the watch þ was next: wherfore some of þ *Barbarians* leapt down, forsaking the wall, as though al had bene takē: other turning to force, killed þ leader of the that scaled, and slung downe the

the other headlong: other getting out of the gates, hadde there bande burned one of the Romaines Towers; had not *Sylla* come with the army, and fought wth them all that night. And the day after, and with greate labour saued it. *Archelous* made an other tower at the wall against the Romaines, that they might fight together vpon the towers, whiche they did so oft and so furiously, as it was harde, tyll *Sylla* did caste twenty greate pellets out of his sling, and killed many, and so beate *Archelous* tower, as it was vnprofitable, & *Archelous* was fayne to lie behind the wall for feare. And they in the Citie being moze & moze pressed with hunger, the flauies signified againe in the pellets, that victuall shoulde be sent that night into the Citie. *Archelous* suspecting some treason in belouaping the carrying of the victuals, sente the victuall, and set some at the gates with fire, to runne vpon the Romaines if *Sylla* would force the victuall: and both happened, for *Sylla* toke them that carried the cozne, and *Archelous* burned certaine of the engines.

At this time *Archibius Mithridates* some invaded *Macedonia* with an other army, and easly ouercame the ſelwe Romaines that were leste there, and subdued all *Macedonia*, and appointed rulers, then he marched against *Sylla*, and falling yet sicke at *Tides*, died. At *Athens* the citie being in great daunger of famine, *Sylla* made many forts about it, that none shoulde flee, but remaining there, be the moze vexed for the multitude, and erecting the mount at *Piræ* very hygh, he planted his pieces vpon it. *Achilus* digging vnder the mount, and taking away the earth long before it was knowne, they made the mount to sincke, whiche being ſone perceiued, the Romaines toke away the engines, and filled vp the earth againe: and they vsing the like waye in vndermining the wall, they met together, and fought with their short weapons as much as might be in ſuch a darknes. Whiles this was a doing, *Sylla* went against the wall with many engines, till parte of it fel, and made way to burne the next tower, and carried many lightes to caste vpon it, and commaunded the boldest men to go to the assault. Much being done on bothe ſides the tower was burned, and *Sylla* had cast downe a parte of the wall, to the which he set a garde by and by. The foundations of the wall being cast

*Archibius* dicth  
as *Tides*.

A light in the  
night.

c.ij.

down

dolour which was bound with woode, and being ful of sulphure, pitch & flare, as was sone burned, one pice fel after an other, and ouerthrew them y<sup>e</sup> stode upon it. This tumult beyng soden and great, troubled all the warders, as though that had fallen also toher w<sup>ch</sup> they were. Wherfore turning euerywhere hastily, beyng doubtful in minde for feare, they resisted their enimies faintly. And *Sylla* came vpon the citie being thus affected, & cheered his owne me<sup>n</sup>, euery putting fresh to them that were weary, & he went to the assault, giuing the courage by voyce & person, & threatening the that were unwilling, y<sup>e</sup> in this short labour they might make an end of all. *Archelus* likewise came forth with freshe men for them y<sup>e</sup> were afraid, exhorting & stirring all, as by y<sup>e</sup> onely paine to worke their weale. The great courage & boldnesse being againe on either side, great slaughter on both sides was equal & alike, till *Sylla* coming forth & very wey, blewe the retreat, & praised the soldiours vertue. *Archelus* by & by in the night repaired the breaches, making by y<sup>e</sup> was broke, against the which *Sylla* brought his whole army, thinking he might easily beate downe y<sup>e</sup> which was new made & soft. But being tryed againe in that straight place, & beaten both at the face & the side, as in slippery places, lest of the getting of *Pires* by assault, & intended to winne it by famine, & to continue the siege. And when he vnderstoode that they in the citie, were in greater want, & had spent all their beastes, & sodde their skinnies & hides, and used the broth for meate, & that some did eate dead flesh, he commaunded his army to compass the citie, that not one should escape: & when this was done, he went straight to the assault, & wonne the wall. And the weake men being fledde, he entred the Citie. And againe great slaughter & murder was in *Athens*, for they coulde not flee for weaknesse, there was no pite, neither of children nor women, & commaunding to kill euery man that they mette, for anger, that so lone, without cause, they had reuolted to the Barbarians, & resisted him so obstinately. In so much as many hearing the proclamation, did cast themselves willingly to be killed. A few w<sup>ch</sup> no great pace into the castle, & among them *Arifio*, the place of pastime being first burned that *Sylla* should make no matter of it, for to force the fort. He would not suffer y<sup>e</sup> citie to be burned,

but

but gaue the spoile to the soldiours. They found many flesh ready dressed for sustenance in many houses. The next day *Sylla* sold the seruants to the freemen, that escaped fro the murder by night, which were very few. He sayd he gaue libertie, and that libertie their posteritie should haue, & also in free elections: which he gave had to the that were alive. Thus was the citie of *Athens* filled full of miserie. *Sylla* besieged the castle, the which he easily took; *Arifio* & they y<sup>e</sup> were fled in with him, being ouertown with hunger & thirst. Of the which, *Sylla* put to death *Arifio*, & the that serued him, & such as had borne any office, or done any thing contrary to the Romanes order, since the taking of *Greece*. The other he pardoned, & appointed *Lucius* to al the affaires almost that were giuen them before of the Romanes, but took but of the *Castell* a pound waight of golde, & of silver, &c. This was done at the castle a litle after. *Sylla* immediately after the citie was take, not delaying to take *Pires* by siege, he brought engines & munition, and many men y<sup>e</sup> should overcome the wall with their instruments, and beate downe many of them that kept the wall by shooting & darting vpon them, & overthrew the bulwark pace by the wall, which was most & weake, being new made. *Archelus* thinking before, made many y<sup>e</sup> like within, that *Sylla* might else haue somewhat to do, finding a new one like y<sup>e</sup> other. But he being continual assault w<sup>ch</sup> incessable violence, going among them, exhorting the to y<sup>e</sup> mater, as a thing of great importance & praise in y<sup>e</sup> which al the hope that they had done, did lie. Wherof themselves being redy enough, for y<sup>e</sup> glory of so great a feat as to win y<sup>e</sup> wal, w<sup>ch</sup> to it so scarcely. *Archelus* being astonished at their vehement motion beyond reason, left the wall vnto the, & ranne to the strongest parte of *Pires*, that was compassed with the sea, the which *Sylla* for lacke of shippes coulde not attempt. From thence *Archelus* sayled into *Thessalia* by *Diastis*, and gathered at *Thermopyle* the rest of all his owne army, and that was brought of *Syndromichate*. He called also those that came into *Atacedonia* with *Archatias* the Kings sonne, a freshe bande and full, beside them that *Mithridates* continually sent, for he neuer leste sending: and this was done with great vehementie.

*Sylla* burned *Pires*, the which was greater labour to him than *Pires* burned, the

Mans fleshe  
dressed for sus-  
tenance.  
Libertie giuen  
to the posteritie  
of the Athenians  
not as themselves.

*Arifio* put to  
death.

*Thermopyle* is  
the greates hill  
that diuideth  
*Greece*, & be the  
streight of it  
vvhich hote vva-  
ters.

Phocæa, a little  
region of Greece.

the little not sparing, naup, munition, nor other preparation and then he went against *Archelous* into *Boeotia*. Being nigh together, they went from *Thermopylae* to *Phocida*, they being *Thracians*, and *Scythians* of *Pontus*, and *Cappadocians*, *Bithynians*, *Galcians*, and *Phrygians*, and al other that fauored *Mithridates*, al the which were *Græcians*. Every one had their chiefe captaines, & *Archelous* was the generall ouerall. *Sylla* hadde *Italians*, *Greekes*, and those *Macedonians* that were revolted from *Archelous*, and some other of the hozberers, not the thirde parte of the enimies number. Being encamped together, *Archelous* setting his men in order, alwayes prouoking to the battayle, *Sylla* delayed, considering the places and multitude of the enimies, and followed *Archelous* that went into *Calide*, expecting time and place, when he sawe him conquered at *Chironia* in hilly places, from the whiche they that wer overcome could not flee. He being in a plain very nigh, set his men redy, to prouoke *Archelous* to fight against his wil, the playne being for him commodious to marche forth, or to retire at his pleasure, whereas *Archelous* was beset with the hils, so as he could not vse his men as he would, nor altogether place them for the inequalitye of the ground. And if they should turne, the harde place would hinder their flight. He waying the matter with these difficulties, gaue the onset, knowing that that great multitude would litle profit *Archelous*, who did not thinke the *Romanes* would haue fought. therfore kept his campe negligently. When the battel was begon, then he felte the hardnesse of the place, and perceyued it to late, and sente his hozsemen to hepe him of, but they returning, and being driuen to the hils, he sent out his armed Chariots, to see if he could, by their violence, breake and cut the maine battel of the *Romanes*, the which they suffred to passe the front to the ende, diuiding themselves where they were ouertholuen of the shot, they being vnweldy to turne again. And though *Archelous* might thus haue kepte his campe, being some at the hils for their defence, yet he set the whole multitude in order, & came vpon *Sylla* on the sodayne in these streight places, because now he was at hand. First he brought forth the hozsemen with great violence, and cut asunder the *Romanes* battayle, and easily compassed both, for their small number.

They

Chironia.

*Sylla* taketh the  
advantage of  
the place.

The armed  
chariots defea-  
ted.

They fighting very valiantly, kept themselves in a ring. They were in greatest daunger that fought vnder *Galba* and *Hortensius*, against whome *Archelous* fought himself, and the *Barbarians* in his sight, shewed great manhode, till *Sylla* came thither with his hozsemen. *Archelous* thinking *Sylla* was he that came, by the shewe of the Ensignes, and the rayeing of so much duste, leauyng his compassing, went to his battayle. But *Sylla* brought his hozsemen that were beste, and two newe bandes that lay in ambush, and charged vpon them, as they were setting themselves in order, (for they were not yet al come from compassing, nor in due forme at the fronte,) and brake them, so as they were confounded, and turned to flee, the whiche he followed. Beginning the victorie thus, *Murena* in the leste wing, furthered the same, very lustily, and with encouraging of his men, mainly followed the chace. When the wings of *Archelous* were turned, the middle battayle did not holde, but fledde also. And then all that *Sylla* had forseeene, fel vpon the enimie, for not hauing a free place to turne them, nor a playne to flee, at the hilles they were slayne of them that folowed them: some fell into his handes, some that were wiser, got to their campe, whom *Archelous*, ignorant of the feates of warre, commaunded to turne vpon the enimies, when there was no way. They obeyed readily, but waiting captaines, to set them in order, not knowing their proper Ensignes, and being foully disordered, wanting place bothe to fight and to flee, being driuen into a straighte by them that chased, they were killed with ease: some of their enimies, whom they could not kill againe: some of themselves, as in a confusion in so straighte a place. They went againe to the gates, and there gathered together, rebuking them that shutte them out, rebearming they countrey Goddes, and other naturall familiaritie, that not so much of their enimies, as of their disdayne they were destroyed, till *Archelous* seeing the neede, opened the gates too late, and receyued them running in with disorder. The *Romanes* perceyuing this, calling one an other, with behemencie & swiftenesse gotte into the cape with the that fled, & brought the victorie to an end. *Archelous* & the other fledde as they could, & saued themselves at

The over-  
throw of *Ar-  
chelous*.

D.

Calide.

Calceide, of a hundred & xx. M., not many more than x. M. remaining of the Romanes, they say there died but xv. & two of them returned, this was the end of the field betwene *Sylla* and *Archelom* capitaine general of *Mithridates* at *Cheronea*, chiefly by y<sup>e</sup> wisdom of *Sylla*, & the foolishnesse of *Archelom*, this happe had they both, *Sylla* hauing got much armure & spoyle, & taken many prisoners, y<sup>e</sup> vnprofitable things gathered on an heape, being girded after the Roman manner, he burned to the Cedos of warre. Resting his army a while, he went to *Eurippu*, with y<sup>e</sup> light horse against *Archelom*, w<sup>o</sup> waſozed the *Ilandes* without dread, the Romanes hauing no ships to follow him, & toke the coast townes. And going to *Zacynthu* he cāped, as to besiege the citie: & where certen of y<sup>e</sup> Romanes cāpe, came vpo him by night, departing in hast, he went to *Calceide*, more like a Rouer thā a warrior. When *Mithridates* heard of this losse, he was troubled againe, & afrayde, as in such a case he might, & gathered an other army of all natiōs about him in hast. And thinking y<sup>e</sup> many would now forsake him for this ouerthow, or for some other occasion, he gathered together all thē y<sup>e</sup> he had in suspitiō before the warre did wāre sharper. First he killed the gouernours of the *Galatians*, which were with him as frendes, & not yet subiect to him, with their wives & chyldren except thre that fled. To some he layd traynes, some he killed in a night at a banquet, thinking none woulde keepe their faith, if *Sylla* came, & confiscating their goodes he made *Eumachus* president of that nation. The rulers that escaped gathering an army of their tenants of the countrey, droue him & his garrisons out of *Galatia*, so as *Mithridates* had nothing of that nation but money only. And being angry with y<sup>e</sup> *Chians*, euersince their ship crushed the kings shippe in the battaile at the *Rhodes*, he came secretly vpon them, & first sealed vpo their goodes that were fled to *Sylla*. Then he sent to inquire of them that toke the Romanes parte in *Chio*. And *Zenobius* that ledde the third army, as though he would haue hasted into *Gretia*, came to the wailles of *Chio* & other naked places by night & toke them, and setting a garde at the gate, proclaimed that Strangers should not stirre, & assembled the *Chians*, as to say somewhat to them from the king. Whē he was come he sayd

*Cheronea* is a towne in *Boeotia* where *Plutarch* was borne.

*Eurippus* is the streightes that floweth seven times a day.

*Zacynthus* an Ile of the *Ionian* sea.

Emetle of *Mithridates* against the *Galatians*.

*Chio*, now *Sio*.

*Mithridates* spite against the *Chians* for a small cause.

sayde the king had the citie in suspition because they fauoured the Romanes. Your care must be, to deliuer your armure & your best chyldren for pledges. They seeing theyr citie already taken, deliuered both. The which *Zenobius* sente by & by to *Euboea*, coming maunding the *Chians* to tarrie for the kings letters. *Mithridates* letter came to this effect. You be yet frends to the Romanes with whom many of your Citizens be, & you enioy the *Heremes* that they haue let you, for the which you pay nothing to vs, further a Calley of yours at the sight at *Rhodes* did shake and crush my shippes, which fault I woulde put onely vpon the guyders of the ship, if you could be recovered by loue. But secretly you haue now sent your chief men to *Sylla*, & you haue accused none of thē, as doying it without cōmon consent, nor you haue punished any of them, as not pruiue to their doings: and whereas I might punish you by death, being so counsayled by my friends, as seekers of my life, and traytours to my kingdome, I punish you in two thousand talents. This was the tenor of the letter. They would haue sent Embassadours to him, but *Zenobius* woulde not suffer them. And when their armure was gone, & their chiefe chyldren taken away, & so great an army of *Barbarians* at hād, with heauy hearts they toke the treasure out of the temples, & their wines & feluels, that they might make the .ij. M. talents. Whē they had done this, & *Zenobius* finding fault with the wayght, he called thē al into y<sup>e</sup> Theatre, & setting his soldours about y<sup>e</sup> Theatre with their weapons dōlone, & the waies dōlone to y<sup>e</sup> sea side, he called thē out senerally & put them in the ships, the men by thēselues, y<sup>e</sup> women likewise, & the chyldren by thēselues, barbarously scoffing at thē. Thus being spoyled of their countrey, they were sent into *Portus Euxinus* to *Mithridates*. After this lozt were y<sup>e</sup> *Chians* vsed. The *Ephesians* required *Zenobius* y<sup>e</sup> was come to thē, to leane his army at y<sup>e</sup> gate, & to come in with a few. He did so: and went to *Philipponis* father to *Monime*, whō *Mithridates* loued, & had made ouersee of the *Ephesians*, & willed the *Ephesians* by proclamation to come together in their assembly. They lokyng for no good at his hāds, deferred it till the next day. And in y<sup>e</sup> night gathering together & exhorting one an other, they toke *Zenobius* & killed him.

*Euboea* is a chie of *Asia*, not far from *Scio*, of the which was one *Sylla*.

*Mithridates* letter to the *Chians*.

The lamentable destruction of the *Chians*.

The *Ephesians* kill *Zenobius*.

in pysson. They fenced their walles, they put their people in order, they gathered in their coyne, & kept all the Citie by strength. The *Trallians*, *Papenians*, and *Mesopolitans*, and some other astrayed by the calamitie of *Chio*, did as the *Ephesiā*s had done. *Mithridates* sent his army against them that reuolted, and used them cruelly whom he toke, and fearyng the rest, he made the cities of *Greece*, free. He proclaymed forgiveness of debtes, and the seruours he made Citizens, & the bondmen, free, hoping, as it was in dede, that the released of debt, the new made citizens & freemen, would be sure vnto hym, thinking these things could not be sure vnto them, but by *Mithridates* rule. In the meane season *Mynio* and *Philscimus* of *Smyrna*, and *Chisthenes*, and *Asclepiodotus*, *Lesbians*, all friends to the king, and *Asclepiodotus*, sometime captayne of the *Araungers*, did make a conspiracie against *Mithridates*. Of the which *Asclepiodotus* was the betwailer: & for the more credite, he brought to passe, that the kyng, vnder a bedde, hearde what *Mynio* sayde. The conspiracie being betwayed, they were cruelly killed. The like suspicion was vpon many moe. The *Pergameneans* doyng the like foure scoze of them were takē, and other, in other cities, *Mithridates* sending searchers to euery place, who finding out his enemies, killed a thousand six hundred men, the accusers of the which, not lōg after, were sone punished of *Sylla*, some killed themselves, & some fled to *Mithridates* into *Pontus*. Now had *Mithridates* gathered an army of lxxx. M. the which *Dorilus* did leade into *Greece* to *Archelous* that had x. M. left. *Sylla* had his army nigh to *Archelous* at *Orchomeno*, & when he saw so great a nūber of horsemen, he digged many pittes in the plaine, & scoote broade. And had his army in order to receyue *Archelous*. And when the *Romanes* did sayntly come to fight for the multitude of horsemen, he rode about, & exhorted them, & beside threatened thē. But whē he could not so bring them to the matter, he leapt of his horse and toke the Ensigne & ranne to the enemies with his garde, crying: If any man aske you (O *Romanes*) where you betrayed your generall, *Sylla*, say, when he fought at *Orchomeno*. The Capitaines ranne frō their bandes to hym beyng in this daunger. When the multitude beyng ashamed, chaunged their feare into courage.

And

And when the victory began to appeare, he mounted on horse and gayne, and rode about the host, prayng them, and in euery place exhorting them, till he had brought it to end. There dyed of the enemies aboute fiftene thousande, whereof the most part were horsemen, & among them *Diogenes*, that was *Archelous* son. The souldiers fledde to the Campe, and *Sylla* fearing least *Archelous* would flee againe to *Thalcida*, he hauing no shippes, all that night he set watches in 8 playne, and in the day, not fully a furlong frō *Archelous*, he cast a trench (he not comming forth), & exhorted earnestly his army to finish the rest of al this battel, seing their enemies durst not come out, and brought them to the trench of *Archelous*. The like mutation was among the enemies, for necessitie the Captaynes running aboute, shewing the presente daunger, and rebuking them, if they would not defende theyr Camp against their enemies that were fewer than they. Force and crye being made on eyther side, there was great might shewed on both parts. The *Romanes* couering themselves with their shields, did now digge downe a corner of the Campe, but the defendants put them backe with their shorthe weapons, and none durst enter, till *Basillus* the Captayne of that legion firste leapt in, and killed him that resisted him, al the army followed, then flight and slaughter was made of the *Barbarians*, of some as they went, of other being driuen into a lake that was nigh, and where they coulde not swimme, made prayers in their *Barbarian* tong to the killers of them that vnderstode them not. And *Archelous* was hidde in a fenne, where getting boates, he sayled to *Chalcida*, and gathered together all the rest of the Kings army with diligence. *Sylla* the nexte daye gaue *Basillus* a garland, and rewarded others with giftes accordingly, and then spoyled *Beotia* that was euer wauering. And being come to *Thessalia*, wintered, and tarried for the shippes that *Lucullus* hadde. And bycause he could not tell where *Lucullus* was, he made other shippes. In this time, *Cornelius Cinna* and *Gaius Marius* his enemies in *Rome*, proclaymed him *Rebell*, spoyling his house and his Tillages, and destroying his friends. He notwithstanding did all thinges as with authority, hauing an army valiant and obedient. *Cinna* chose *Flaccus* for his

D. iij.

fellow

The victory of the Romanes.

The valiantie of Basillus.

This garland or crowne was called Palladis, which was giuen to him that first scaled the trench.

Sylla is proclaymed Rebell at Rome.

Flaccus.

Vallia, at the Round Mount. Papen of Trisphylia.

Mithridates receiveth debtes, maketh free.

A conspiracie betrayed.

Orchomenus at the Round of that name.

The boldnesse of Sylla.

fellows in the Consuls office, and sente him into *Asia* with two legions in the place of *Sylla* that was declared an enemy to be ruler of *Asia*, and make warre with *Mithridates*. *Flaccus* being expert in the warres, a man of the Senate, of good will, and beloved of the army, named *Fimbria*, wente with him. They sayling from *Brundise*, many of their shippes were lost by winters weather, and a nauie sent of *Mithridates*, burned their shippes, that went in espiall. All the army forsooke *Flaccus*, being a malicious, couetous, and cruell man, and part of them that were sente into *Thessaly*, turned to *Sylla*. The rest, *Fimbria* being thought of them a better Captayne, and of a more gentle nature than *Flaccus*, stayed from revolting, and chancing that there was a cōtention for a lodging betwene him & a treasurer, and *Flaccus* leaving the matter vniudged, and somewhat touching the honour of *Fimbria*, he being disoeynfull, threatned to returne to *Rome*, and *Flaccus* appointed a successour to him for y<sup>e</sup> things that were to be done. When *Fimbria* waiting him as he went to *Calide*, first toke the maces from *Thorms*, whom *Flaccus* had made officer against him as for receyuing the charge by the cōsent of the army, & following *Flaccus* with anger, til he droue him into an house, out of y<sup>e</sup> which escaping by night, he fledde first into *Calide*, & then into *Nicomedia*, and shut the gates. But *Fimbria* came vpon him, and killed him, being crept into a pitte, being Consul of the *Romanes*, and generall of the warre, where he was but a private mā. and was come with him as his friend at his request. He cut of his head, and threw it into the Sea, his carcase he cast out vnburi'd: so making himselfe Generall, he foughte diuers fightes valiantly with *Mithridates* his sonne, and droue the xi himselfe fro *Pergame*, whither he folloved him to *Pirane*, where he besieged him, till by shippe he fledde to *Attylone*. *Fimbria* inuading *Asia*, punished y<sup>e</sup> faction of *Cappadocia*, and spoiled the lands of them that woulde not receyue him. The *Thurs* being besieged of him, fledde to *Sylla*, who promised the to come, and willed the to say to *Fimbria*, that they were yeided to him. When *Fimbria* heard this, he prayed them as friendes to the *Romanes*, and desired them to receyue him as a *Romane* also, iessingly shewing that the *Thurs* were

*Flaccus*

*Flaccus* killed  
*Flaccus*

A more cruellie  
of a *Romane*.

There a Citie of  
*Calide*.

In which place  
Troy was.

the *Romanes* were of assinitie. Being entred, he killed all that he mette, and burned euery thing, and the Embassadoz that were sente to *Sylla*, he tormented diuers wayes, neyther sparing holy things, nor them that were fledde into the Temple of *Minerva*, whome he burned in the Temple.

The next day he bet dolone the walles, and went about to see, if any thing stode in the Citie, which was worse vfed by him a man allied, than it was in *Agamemnon*s time, no house, no temple, no image being left. The Image of *Minerva* which they called *Palladium*, sent from heauen as they thinke, some suppose was vnbroken, being couered with the walles that fell, excepte *Diomedes* and *Phis* carried it away at the warre of *Troy*. Thys did *Fimbria* against *Thurs*, the. CXX. Olimpiad the ending, which some thinke was a thousand and fifty yeares after *Agamemnon*.

When *Mithridates* heard of the losse at *Orchomene*, considering the multitude he hadde sente into *Grecia*, and the continuall and greate ouerthrowes, he sent to *Archelous*, to make truce in as good manner as he could, and being come to the parley, sayde to *Sylla*. *Mithridates* being an atintient friend to you (*Sylla*) hath made warre for the couetousnesse of other Generalles. He is content to leaue warre for thy vertues sake, by the which thou wilt commaund him that shall be iust. *Sylla* for wante of Ships and money, none being sent him bycause of his enemies that had iudged him a Rebell, hauing gathered money of the *Pythians*, *Olimpians*, and *Epidaurians*, and giuen them, by reason for their holy things, halfe the *Thebans* land that so oft rebelled, and hauing an army valiant and experte, to leade agaynst the Rebellion of his enemies, he was bent to peace, and sayd:

If *Mithridates* had bin iniured, he should haue sent Embassadores, but doyng iniurie, he hath inuaded many lands of other mens, he hath slayne very many, the common and holy thyngs of Citie, and the proper goddes of them he hath spoiled, breyng a like vnfaithfull to his friendes and to vs, of whome he hath killed many, and slayne the Princes that were at a banquet with him in the night with their wiues and childezen, and hath shewed to vs rather cruellie of nature, than necessitie of warre, and vfed

Cruellie of a  
*Romane*.

Troy worse v-  
fed of a *Romane*.

*Palladium* the  
Image of *Miner-  
na* came from  
Heauen.

*Archelous* to  
*Sylla*.

Tolke of peace.

The copie of  
Paphlagonia.

Used the *Italians* in *Asia* with all kindes of euils, destroying and murthering men, women, chilozen, and slaues that were of the nation of *Italy*, so great an hate had he againste *Italy*. He alleadgeth now auncient amitie for a fashion, but not before he hath lost a hundreth and threescore thousand men by me, he maketh any mention of it. Wherefore reason would, we should take him for unfaithfull, yet for thy sake, I will undertake to get him forgiveness of the *Romanes*, if he repente his doyngs: but if he dissembleth now also, loke thou wel to it *Archelus*, and consider the present state, as well for thy selfe, as for him. Consider howe he hath used his friends, and how we haue vied *Eumenes*, and *Massinissa*. Vee speaking thus, *Archelus* disceyrefull brake his tale, as spoken to proue him, and sayde, that he would neuer betray the army that was committed to him, yet hope I for peace at thy hand, if thou makest reasonable conditions. *Sylla* ceassing a while, sayd, *Archelus*, if *Mithridates* doe deliuer vnto me all the *Paue* which thou hast, and deliuer our Captaines, Embassadours, prisoners, fugittues, and slaues fledde fro vs, and let go the *Chians* beside forth, and all other that he hath made Captiues in *Pontus*, and take his garrisons from every place, except those which he had before the breaking of peace, and defray the charges of the warre whereof he hath bin the cause, and conteyne himselfe within the limits of his fathers dominions, I trust to perswade that the *Romanes* will no more remember what he hath done. Thus he said. *Archelus* by and by toke his garrisons from every place, and of the rest sent to the King. *Sylla* to do somewhat in this vacation, spoyle the *Enetans*, *Dardaneans*, and *Euntians*, nations nigh the *Macedonians*, and allwayes molesting *Macedonia*, he exercised his souldyours, and gotte money likewise. Embassadours were now come from *Mithridates*, who agreed to all things, haping then excepted *Paphlagonie*, saying that *Mithridates* mighte haue moze, if he would make peace with the other general *Fimbria*. *Sylla* was angry at that, and said, he would punish *Fimbria* well ynough, and whē he was come into *Asia*, he would see whether *Mithridates* hadde moze neede of warre than peace. When he had said thus, he went into *Cypsel* by *Thracia*, and sent

Lucullus.

*Lucullus* afore to *Abydos*, whether he was now come, being in daunger of rowers many times. He brought a *Paue* of *Schypps* from *Cyprus* and *Phanicia*, fro *Rhodus* and *Pamphilia*, spoyling many coastes of the enimies, and skirmishing with the Kings *Schyppes*. *Sylla* from *Cypsel*, and *Mithridates* from *Pergamo*, mette agayne to talke, and commyng both into the playne with a fewe. *Mithridates* recozded his, and his fathers amitie and confederacie, and accused the *Romane* Embassadours and Lieutenantes, whiche hadde bled him vniustly, setting *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and taking *Phrygia* from hym, and winking at *Nicomedes*, that dyd hym open iniurie. And all this they did (quoth he) for money, taken as well of me as of them. In this thyng (*O Romanes*) are you most to be blamed, bycause you will be corrupt with money. The warre being broken by your Generalles, what soeuer I haue done in defence, it hath bin rather of necessity, than of will. When *Mithridates* had sayde thus, he ceased. *Sylla* thus answered. Although thy coming is for peace, and yet doest renue other matter, I will not refuse to speake briefly of it. When I was lieutenant of *Cilicia*, I sette *Ariobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, by decree of the *Romanes*, and thou diddest obey. Thou shouldest then haue spoken against it, and not wangled afterwarde, or swarued from the order. *Manius* gaue thee *Phrygia* for money. The iniustice is indifferente to you both, and by this thou doest confesse, that thou gottest it vniustly, by giuing of money. *Manius*, both in this, and other things done for money, was reproued of vs, and the Senate dissolved all that he had done, by reason whereof, they would not make *Phrygia* tributarie vnto them, being gyven vniustly to thee, but leste it free. When by what reason doest thou usurpe the things that we haue taken by warre, and wyll not yet haue thee to rule? *Nicomedes* accuseth thee and *Alexander* for woundyng his bodie, sendyng *Socrates Chrestus* into his kyngdome. He to reuenge this, invaded thy Realme. If he dyd thee wrong, thou shouldest haue sente Embassadours, and haue tarried for aunswere. If thou dydest make speedy reuengeance on *Nicomedes*, why dydest thou invade *Ariobarzanes* that hadde

Tolke of peace  
betwene Sylla  
and Mithridates.Manius after  
reproued.

e.

done

done thee no wrong, for when thou hadst begunne with him, the Romanes were compelled by their covenantes to restore him, and being restored, to defend him. Thou madest warre, being thus persuaded, and in hope, that if thou didst overcome the Romanes, thou shouldest reigne over all, making these pretences of thy purpose, of the whiche we haue this conjecture, that before there was any warre, thou madest league with the Thracians, Scythians, and Sarmatians, and sendest to the Kings thy neybores. Thou madest Shippes, and gatheredst maisters and mates, and the time doth bewray thine intent. For when thou hardest that Italy was revolted fro vs, waiting for our trouble, thou didst invade Ariobarzanes, Nicomedes, the Galatians, and Paphlagonia. Thou dydst invade Asia our lande, and when thou hadst got it, what didst thou against the Cities, over which thou madest slaves and fellows in debt, rulers, by giving of libertie, and releassing of debt: and agaynst the Grecians, of whom, for a small occasion, thou didst kill sixtene hundred: of the princes of Galatia, whome being at a feast with thee, thou didst murder. And the Italian nation, in one daye thou didst kill and destroye, with their wives and childre, not sparing them that were fledde into the holy places. Howe greate crueltie, howe great impietie and extremitie of hate, didst thou shew agaynst vs, gathering every mans mony: Thou didst sayle into Europe with greate armies, we forbidding all Kings of Asia, to enter into Europe. When thou wert come, thou didst overcome Macedonia our province. Thou tokest from the Grecians their freedome. After that thou repente thee, or make Archelous the meane for thee, till I hadde recovered Macedonia, and delivred Grecia from thy violence, and slayne a hundred and sixtie thousand of thine army, and taken thy Campes with their munition. Therefore I marvel now thou dost iustifie thy selfe in those things, which thou desirest to be forgiven by Archelous, whiche I being farre off, thou didst graunte, but being nigh, thou dost call into question whose time is past, thou making warre, and we resisting mightily, and will resist thee to the ende.

Sylla speaking this with anger, the King was afrayde, and

graw

granted and confirmed the conditions made by Archelous, and deliveryng the Shippes, and all other things, he went into Pontus his fathers Kingdome onely. Thus the first warre betwene the Romanes and Mithridates ceased.

Sylla encamping two furlongs from Fimbria, commaunded hym to delivier the army whiche he helde agaynst the lawes. He taunted him again, that he did not rule lawfully, and being besieged of Sylla, and many openly forsaking him, he called the rest to a counsell, and exhorted them to farric: and when they sayde they would not fyght with their Countrey men, he toze his garments, and besoughte them: and when they refused that also, and many still went from him, he went to the tentes of the Captaines, and winning some with money, he called them agayne to a counsell, and commaunded them to sweare: and when the Eretians cryed, that he must call them to sweare by name, he called them that had bin benefited by hym, and first Nonius, that was priue to all his doings. But when he refused to sweare, he drew his sword, and threatned to kill hym, till a crye was made of all, and then he ceased for feare, and hyed a slave, for hope of libertie and money, to goe as a fugitive and kyll Sylla. He being about the thing, and troubled, being thereby suspected, was taken, and confessed it. And Sylla's army with rage and discipline, standing aboute Fimbria's trench, dyd reuile hym, and call him Atheniona, who a fewe dayes was a King over the seruantes in Sicilie that rebelled. By the which Fimbria despayring of all, came to the wall, and despyed to speake with Sylla. He sente Rutilius in his place, that chiefly grieved Fimbria, that he would not speake with him. which is not reuied to enemies, and desired pardon, if he hadde offended, being yet a yong man. Rutilius sayd, Sylla would let him goe quietly to the Sea, if he would giue place in Asia, in the which Sylla was lieutenant. He sayde, he would find a better way, and went to Pergamo, and in the Temple of Aesculapius killed hymselfe, and the woundes not being sufficiente, he hadde his Page dispatche, who kyllled his spallier fyffe, and then himselfe.

c. 11.

Thus

His body legi-  
went to be bury-  
ed other wise  
than Minus v.  
fed at Rome.

The rewarde  
of the faithfull  
people.

The punish-  
ment of the re-  
volting people.

Sylla to the  
Ephesians.

Hydra should  
running out of  
Taurus.

Thus ended *Fimbria*, doing muche mischief in *Asia* after *Mithridates*, whome *Sylla* gaue to his freemake mē to bury, say-  
ing, he woulde not follow *Cinna* and *Marcius* in *Rome*, who kyled  
many men, and woulde not suffer them to be buried, receyuing  
*Fimbria* armye that came vnto hym, and sette them with hys  
owne, and commaunded *Curio* to restore *Nicomedes* and *Arribar-  
zanes* into *Cappadocia*, and wrote to the Senate of all thyngs,  
not seemyng he was declared a Rebelle. Then setting his pro-  
uince, he recompenced the *Iliaus*, the *Chians*, the *Lycians*, the *Rho-  
dians*, and the *Magnesiens*, and others that were confederates,  
or that for their good will, had suffered, for the whiche cause he  
dismissed them free, and registred them friendes of the *Romanes*.  
To the rest, he sent his army, and proclaymed that all seruantes  
that hadde freedome by *Mithridates*, shoulde be restored to theyr  
maisters. Whereof manye disobeyng, and some Cities rebel-  
ling, there followed great slaughters, of free, and bond, for diuers  
occasions, the walles of many were pulled downe, and made ser-  
uile people very many. They that were of the *Cappadocians* fac-  
tion, both men & Cities were sharply punished, and chiefly the *E-  
phesiens*, which did impudently reuile the *Romanes* comandemēts.  
After this, was there a proclamation made, that the chiefe of e-  
uery Citie should come befoze *Sylla* at *Ephesus*, who being come  
into the common hall, he thus sayd vnto them.

The first came into *Asia* with our army, when *Antiochus* king  
of *Syria* did ouerrunne you, and draving him away, and makyng  
*Alu* and *Taurus* the liuets of his Kingdome, we toke not from  
you that was made oꝝ him, but leste it free, excepte some,  
which we gaue to *Eumen*, and the *Rhodes* our confederates, not  
to be tributaries, but ten mē. In pꝛofe whereof, we toke the *Li-  
cians* from the *Rhodiens*, making their complaynt. Thus did we  
for you. And you did help *Arisonicus* four yeares against vs, af-  
ter *Attalus Philometer* had left his kingdome to vs by testament,  
till *Arisonicus* was taken, and many of you came againe for ne-  
cessitie and feare. Thus doyng, and in foure and twenty yeares  
comming to great riches and substance as well publike as pri-  
uate, thorough peace and abundance, you wꝛangle agayne,  
and

and wayting our trouble in *Italia*, some of you brought in *Mi-  
thridates*, and some receyued him when he came. He the moste  
cruell of all men, in one day kyled all the *Italians* with the chyl-  
dren and mothers. And you did not spare them that fledde into  
the temples to your Goddes: for the whiche some punishment  
you haue had by *Mithridates*, beyng vnfaithfull to you, and fil-  
lyng you with murders and banishments, makyng diuisions of  
your landes, and releasing of debtes, and libertie of slaues: and  
to some putting tyrannes, and causing many robberies both by  
sea and land, that by your experience you may know, by compa-  
rison, what gouernour you haue receyued, & what relected. The  
beginners of these things haue bene partly punished by vs, but  
the payne must be publique to you that haue done the lyke, that  
it may be correspondent to that you haue done. But the *Romanes*  
will not vse wicked murders, or sudden confiscations, or risings  
of seruants, or other barbarous things which the minde abhor-  
reth. We garde shalbe had to the nation and name of *Greece*, and  
to the glozie of *Asia*, & to the frendes of the *Romanes* for honours  
sake. We put vpon you the tribute of five yeares onely to be  
brought presently, and the expences of the warre which I haue  
bestowed. For the rest I will take order, and make the diuision  
acordyng to the Cities, & I declare frendship to them that shall  
keepe these orders, and to them that will not, I appoynt punish-  
ment, as to enemies.

When *Sylla* had sayde thus, he diuided the payne to the *Eni-  
bassadours* and sente them for mony. The Cities beyng pꝛore &  
oppressed with debte, some did let to ferme their theatres to  
creditours, some their common houses, their wals and portes,  
and any other thing that was publique, not without despite of  
the *Souldiours* that gathered it. This money was brought to  
*Sylla*, and *Asia* had inough of euils: for it was full of manifest  
robberies, rather like to armies thā to pirates. For *Mithridates*  
not long befoze had set the in the sea, when he wasted al things,  
as not long to keepe it, then beyng moste abundant, not onely  
troubling men on the sea, but spoyling portes, towncs and cities  
rudentlye. *Iassus*, *Samos*, *Clazomen*, and *Samothracia*, *Sylla* being  
there,

Inconueniencen  
in *Asia*.  
*Iassus*, an Ile of  
*Cora*.

there, were taken, and the Temple of *Samothracia*, was robbed of the value of a thousand Talents. He either willingly, or leauing to punish the offendours, or bycause of the sedition at Rome, wente into *Grecia*, and from thence to *Italy*, with all his army, & what he did, we haue writte in y<sup>e</sup> booke of *Ciuitil* dissentio.

The second warre with *Mithridates* beganne of this occasion:

*Murena* being lesse of *Sylla* with two legions that were *Embricia*, shewed certayne formes of warre for desire of *Triumph*. *Mithridates* being gone to *Pontus*, made warre vpon the *Colchians* and *Bosphorians*. The *Colchians* desired his sonne *Mithridates* might be giuen them for king, whome when they had receyued, they obeyed forthwith. But the king hauing his sonne in suspitiō, that he coueted the whole kingdome, sent for him, and held him with cheynes of gold, & after killed him, when he had done him muche good seruice in *Asia* against *Embria*. Against the *Bosphorians* he gathered a gret army, and made a great nauie. The mightinesse of the whiche preparation, raysed an opinion, that it was not against the *Bosphorians*, but against the *Romanes*, for he had not retoyced all *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, but kepte parte of it *Syll*, and had *Archelous* in suspition, that he granted more in *Grecia*, than he needed to *Sylla* in making the peace: the which *Archelous* perceyuing, and fearing, fledde to *Murena*, whome he incensed, and perswaded againste *Mithridates*. *Murena* by and by entered throught *Cappadocia*, to *Comana*, the greatest Citie vnder *Mithridates*, hauing an holy temple and treasure, and killed certayne hoysenē of *Mithridates*: and when the Embassadors allaged y<sup>e</sup> leage, he answered he had none such, for *Sylla* did not wright it, but confirmed it by word, and so left it. The *Murena* had sayd thys, he fell to spoyle by and by, not refrapning from the holy money, & wintered in *Cappadocia*. *Mithridates* sent to Rome to the Senate, & to *Sylla*, to cōplaine of *Murena*'s doings, who in y<sup>e</sup> time passed the floud *Ally* that was great, and the very deepe, because of y<sup>e</sup> raine, and spoiled 400. of *Mithridates* towne, the king not yet meeting with him, but loking for his Embassadors from Rome. Wanting got a great bootie, he went into *Phrigia* & *Cappadocia*, whither *Calidius* came to him from Rome, touching *Mithridates* complayntes, but

The seconde  
waire vwith  
Mithridates.  
Colchus is next  
Pontus.

Mithridates kil-  
leth his sonne.

Archelous fleeth  
fro Mithridates.  
Comana, a Citie  
dedicate to Iels  
lous.  
Murena canil-  
leth.

Calidius come  
meth from Rome  
vwith counters  
set commaunde-  
ment.

but brought him no decree, onely sayde vnto him in the midst of the hearers, that y<sup>e</sup> Senate cōmāded him to spare the king their confederate. When he hadde said thus, he was sene to speake to him alone. And *Murena* ceased not of his inuasion, but still molested y<sup>e</sup> land of the king, who evidently perceyuing that he was vbled as an enemie of the *Romanes*, he had *Gerdus* to take the nigh townes. He ga hered many beastes of cartage & munition, & priuate men and souldoyers, and camped at the floud viter agaynst *Murena*. Neither of them began y<sup>e</sup> fight, til *Mithridates* came with a great army, then was there a mighty fight at the floud. *Mithridates* by violence passed the floud, being otherwise too good for *Murena*, who fled the kings force into a strong hill, and hauing lost many, departed by the mountaynes withoute anye way into *Phrigia*, being folloved & oppressed. This victoey being euidēt & quickly gotten, was sone spred abroade, and turned many to *Mithridates*. He putting out *Murena*'s garrisons of euery place w<sup>th</sup> great speede, did make his sacrifice to *Iupiter* y<sup>e</sup> warriour, after y<sup>e</sup> maner of his countrey, in y<sup>e</sup> top of an hil, wher they make a great pile of wood, to y<sup>e</sup> which the kings bring the first stick. When they make another lesse in a circle. Upon the higher, they put hony, milke, & wine, & oyle, & all kind of perfumes, they giue bread and meate of the best to them that be present. And they make y<sup>e</sup> pile after y<sup>e</sup> fashio of the *Persian* kings sacrifice in *Rarsardis*, the which for the greatnes, is evidently sene to many, a thousand furlongs off, and y<sup>e</sup> one cā not come nigh the place many days after, y<sup>e</sup> airc is so hate. This sacrifice did he make, after the custome of hys countrey. *Sylla* not cōtent y<sup>e</sup> *Mithridates* being in leauge, should haue war made vpon him, sent *Aulus Gabinius*, to cōmand *Murena* not to molest *Mithridates*, and that he should agree *Mithridates*, & *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* at y<sup>e</sup> meeting, making sure a somme of *Ariobarzanes* of liij. yeares of age, and by y<sup>e</sup> meane holding still that he had in *Cappadocia*, & getting more, sealed all, & put gold in y<sup>e</sup> cup, and y<sup>e</sup> meate for the iesters & singers, & at other, as his vse was, of y<sup>e</sup> which only *Gabinus* touched none. Thus y<sup>e</sup> second war of *Mithridates* did end at y<sup>e</sup> thirde yeare. Being now at quiet, he subdued *Bosphorus*, & appointed the his son *Macharus* for their king.

Murena fleeth.

The manner of  
the sacrifice of  
the kings in Asia  
made by Mithri-  
dates for the  
victory.

Gabinus' refuseth  
Mithridates gold.

He invaded the *Acheans* that he aboue *Calchas*, (which seme to be of them that fledde from *Troy*, and lost theyr way) and losing two partes of hys armie with fighte and colde, and deceiptes, he returned, and sente to *Rome* to haue the league ratified. *Aribarzanus* sente also, cyther of hymselfe, or stirred of others, that hee had not receyued *Cappadocia*, but that *Mithridates* kepte yet the better parte from hym. *Sylla* commaunded *Mithridates* to gyue place in *Cappadocia*, and hee did so, and sente other Embassadours for to haue the conditions of peace registred, but *Sylla* being dead, and the Senate not to be assembled, bycause of the vacation, he sent to *Tigranes* his sonne in law, to invade *Cappadocia* as of himself. This cautele was not unknowen to the *Romanes*. The *Armenian* compassing *Cappadocia* as with a netle, ledde away thre hundred thousande men into *Armenia*, and made them dwell with other at a place, where he first toke the Crowne of *Armenia*, and of hys name called it *Tigranocerta*, whiche is, the Citie of *Tigranes*. And these were the doyngs in *Asia*.

*Sertorius* a Captayne in *spayne*, dyd stirre it, and all the places about it, against the *Romanes*, and made a Senate of them that were with him, for to counterfeyte the *Romanes*. Two of his faction, *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fannius*, perswaded *Mithridates* to loyne with *Sertorius*, putting him in hope of a greates parte of *Asia*, and the nations about him. He being perswaded, sent to *Sertorius*. He ledde the Embassadours into his Senate, and made a glorious tale, that his renoume spredde as farre as *Pontus*, and that he besieged the *Romanes* from the West to the East. He couenanted to giue *Mithridates* *Asia*, and *Bithinia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Gallagrecia* & sent him a Captayne *Marcus Varius*, and *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fannius*, that were of that counsel. With these dyd *Mithridates* begin the third and last war with the *Romanes*, in the which he lost all his kingdome. *Sertorius* being dead in *spayne*, and Generals, sent from *Rome*, first *Lucullus* that was admiral of *syl-las* Flaue, then *Pompey*, under whome, all that *Mithridates* had, and all that was nigh it, to the floud *Euphrates*, by the pretence & violence of the war against *Mithridates*, did fall to the *Romanes*.

Mithri-

*Mithridates* hauing proued so oft what the *Romanes* were, and thinking that this war, made without cause, and of the sodaine, would not be appeased, made al the preparation that hee coulde, as now to try the whole, and the rest of the sommer, & al y winter, he made shippes and armour, he brought to the sea, 15. C. M. M. Medmines of grapne, and got confederates, beside hys former power, the *Chalibians*, the *Armenians*, the *Scythians*, the *Taurians*, *Achians*, *Heniochians*, *Leucosyrians*, and all that inhabite about the floud *Thermidon*, that was called the land of the *Amazones*.

These had he gotte in *Asia*, to them he had before, and going into *Europe*, the *Sarmatians*, *Basilians*, *Iazygians*, and *Coralians*, and al the nations of the *Thracians*, that inhabite aboute *Histen*, *Rodope*, and *Aemus*, and the *Basternians*, a most valiaunt people.

These hadde *Mithridates* in *Europe*, he hadde gathered an hundred and soztie thousande footemen, and sixtine thousande horsemen, another great number of venturers, pioners, & victualers.

When the Spring was come, he viewed his navy, and sacrificed to *Iupiter* Warriour, the usuall sacrifice, and to *Neptunus*, he did cast into the sea a Chariot of white horses, and wente to *Paphlagonia*, *Taxilus*, and *Rumocrates*, being his Generalls. When he was come, he made a solempne oration to the armie, setting forth his progenitors and himselfe verpe highly, that he had enlarged his kingdome from little to great, and was neuer overcome of the *Romanes*, being presente, whome he accused for their ambition and unsatiableness, by the whiche, (said he) they haue made *Italy* and their Countrey seruite. He repeated the last conditions, whiche they woulde not subscribe. Seeking tyme to invade him againe, and making this the cause of the warre, he extolled his power and prouiso, and shewed the *Romanes* troubles, being molested in *spayne* by *Sertorius*, and at home in *Italy*, by civil warre. Therefore (saide he) thorough their negligence, the Sea hath long tyme bene full of Pyrates. Confederates haue they none, nor willingly anye wil be vnder them. Do you not see these noble men, (sayde hee) shewing *Varius* and the *Lucians*, to be enemies to their Country, and friends to vs?

When he had said thus and stirred his armie, hee wente into

f.

Bythmia.

*Medmin* was a measure that contained sixe *Medus*, & *Medus* contained sixe *Sextars*, which is commonly called a Bushell. *Calytes* people in *Toris* that dig yron naked. *Hystechus* people of *Pontus* living by tact. *Thermidon*.

*Mithridates* to hisouldiers.

*Cochinus*, came from *Troy*.

*Tigranes* by perswasion of *Mithridates* invadeth *Cappadocia*.

*Mithridates* sent death to *Sertorius*.

The thirde warre with *Mithridates*.

Nicomedes lea-  
ueth his king-  
dome to the  
Romanes.  
Cotta Reeth.

Nudus cometh  
to Chalcide  
where the porte  
colosse is lette  
downe, & mar-  
ny Romanes  
slayne.

Bythinia, Nicomedes being dead, without a chylde, and leauing his kingdome to the Romanes. And Cotta that was president there, a man of little skill in warre, fledde to Chalcida with his power, and Bythinia was agayne vnder Mithridates, all the Romanes fleeing to Cotta into Chalcide. And Mithridates coming thither, Cotta for lacke of experience came not forth. Nudus his admirall, with part of the army, took the stronger parte of the fildes, from the whiche being driven, he fled to the gates of Chalcide, by many hedges, with great paine. At the gate there was great thruff of them that would get in, so as no darte was cast in vayne, of them that folowed. Therefore the keepers being afrayde of the gates, they let the barres fall from the tower, and took by Nudus and other Capitaynes by ropes. The other did perishe betwene their frendes and their enemies, holding by their hands to the other. Mithridates vsing the course of good fortune, brought his shippes that day to the porte, and breaking the barre that was of yron, he burned foure of the enemies shippes, and took the other thre score, neyther Cotta nor Nudus resisting, keeping theselues within the walles. Thre thousand were slayne of the Romanes, & Lucius Manlius a Senatour. Mithridates losse twentie of the Bacterians, that first wente into the porte.

Lucullus is gene-  
rall.

L. Lucullus, being Consull and chosen generall of this warre, brought one legion from Rome, and had two of Fimbrias, and beside them, two more, hauing in all thirtie thousand footemen, and sixtenc hundred horsemen, and encamped agaynst Mithridates at Cyzico. And vnderstanding by the fugitiues, that the king had thre thousandemen, and his victuals brought by the foragers, and from the sea, he sayde to them that were aboute him, that he would take his enemies without any payne, and had them remember it. He espied an hill very fitte for his campe, from the which he might get forage, and keepe it from his enemy. He intended to get it, as by it to winne victorie without daunger. Being but one way very straight to it, Mithridates kepte it with strength. For so did Taxiles & the other Capitaynes aduise him. Lucius Manlius that came fro Sertorius, and made league with Mithridates, Sertorius being now dead, reuolted secretly to Lucullus, & sayth

sayth being receyued, he perswaded Mithridates, to lette the Romanes go and campe where they would, for the two legions that were Fimbrias, would straight reuolt and come to the kynge: then what neede he vse force and slaughter when he might ouercome without fight? Mithridates consenting to this very vniwisely and vnicircumspectly, suffered the Romanes to passe the streight without feare, and to encampe at the hyll, by hauing of the whiche, they might haue victuals behinde them brought without feare, and Mithridates being shut with fennes, hilles and scudes, could haue none by lande, but very little, neyther hauing way to do it easily, nor by force to compell Lucullus for the hardnesse of the passage, whiche when he had in his power, he neglected, & winter being at hande, the coming of it by Sea would be safe. Which when Lucullus perceyued, he put his frendes in remembrance of his promise, and that he spake, to bee as it were performed. Mithridates mighte then peradventure haue passed thorough the middes of his enemies with his multitude, but he lette that passe also, and gaue himselfe onely to the getting of Cyzico, thynkyng by that, to remedy bothe the wante and hard way, and hauing plentie of Souldiours, wente aboute it by all meanes possible. His nauie he enclosed with a double wall, and entrenched the rest of the Citie, and set by many rampiers and engines vpon them, and towers, and rampies couered, and one called Helepolis, of an hundred cubites, vpon the which another tower was set, casting arrowes, and stones, & diuerse weapons. At the portes two Gallies ioined together, bare an other tower, from the which, bridges were cast from the engine nigh the wall. When all this was ready, he sente thre prisoners to Cyzico in shippes to the citie, holding by their hands, and praying them to spare the people that were in daunger, till Lysistratus their Capitaine, came to the walles, and by a trumpetted exhorted them to beare patiently their mischaunce. When Mithridates was deceyued of this purpose, he brought the engine by shippes, which threwe sodenly bridges vpon the wall, and foure men ranne vpon them, at the whiche the Cyzicians amased, for the straungers gaue place, but no more coming forth, they took

Mithridates abused.

Retours of Mithridates.

Cyzico, an Island and citie in Propontide of great renoume.

Helepolis, an engine to beate the vvall.

Lysistratus.

l.ij.

courage

courage againe, and killed those foure without, and theiwe fire and pitch vpon the shippes, and made them tourne with the engine. This at this enterprize of the sea the *Cyzians* had the better. That day the third time, he brought al his engines by land at once, they within labouring and putting them backe for all their violence. The rammes they bet with stones, or put them by with collars, and brake their dunt with peltes of wood. The fierie dartes, they quenched with vinegar and water, and other with clothes cast against them, or with saples wrapped together stopped the throwe. They leste nothing undone, that might might doe: and although they suffered all labour, and resisted the euill, yet at night parte of the wall was burned and fell: but no manne durste enter for the heate, and the *Cyzians* made it by againe in the night. And not long after, a great storme of wind did breake the reste of the kings engines. It is reade that this Cittie was in dowrie, of *Iupiter* to *Proserpine*, and the *Cyzians* honour hir most of all gods. When their feast day came, that they should sacrifice a blacke cowe, they not hauing one, made one of paste, when as a blacke cowe came to them by sea, whyche going vnder the barre of the haven, came into the Cittie, & came to the temple and stode at the aulter. The which the *Cyzians* sacrificed with good hope. *Mithridates* friendes counselled him to go from the Cittie being holy, but he would not. He went to *Pindimus* an high hill, and made a trench from it to the Cittie, and set it with towers, and with mines digged the wall. He sente his horses, leane for lacke of meate, and lame for labour, into *Eythinia*. *Lucullus* mette with them as they wente to *Rindacus*, and killed and toke many prisoners, of men fiftene *M.* of horses fire thousand, and many beasts of burden.

At this time, *Eumachus* a Captaine of *Mithridates* came ouer *Phrygia*, and slewe the *Romanes* both women and children: then he invaded *Pisidia* and *Isauria* and *Cilicia*, till one of the Princes of *Galatia*, *Deiotarus*, stopped his course and killed many. And this was done in *Phrygia*. Winter being come, *Mithridates* was without his victual that was wont to come by sea. Wherefore all his armye was famished and many dyed.

Some

Some ate dead men barbarously. Other ate hearbes, and were sicke, and casting the dead bodyes vnburied, brought pestilence with hunger. But *Mithridates* continued, hoping to get the Cittie with the engines that he had at *Indymus*: but when the *Cyzians* defeated his purpose, and burned his engines, and made many salpes vpon their enemies, being feeble for hunger, *Mithridates* intended to flee, which he did in the night with his shippes to *Paris*, and his armye wente by land to *Lampasus*. When they came to the floud *Aesepus*, whiche was growen high, *Lucullus* set vpon them as they were passing, and killed many. Thus the *Cyzians* did escape the greate preparation of the King, both by their owne manhode, and by the helpe of *Lucullus* that oppressed him with famine, for the whiche cause they make playes at this day, whiche they call *Lucullus* playes. *Mithridates* conueyed away his army that was come to *Lampasus*, and besieged of *Lucullus*, and the *Lampasians* also with shippes that he sente them. And he committed tenne thousande of the best to be guided of *Varus*, that was sente to him from *Sertorius*, and *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, and *Dionisio* an *Emuch*: he with more, sayled to *Nicomedia*, and winter weather destroyed many of them.

The *Lucullus* had wrought this feate by lād through famine, he gathered shippes out of *Asia*, & betooke them to Lieutenants. *Tritius* toke *Apamea*, and killed many that were fledde into the Temples.

*Barba* toke *Prusade*, builded vnder an hill, and *Nicea*, the garisons of *Mithridates* fleeing.

*Lucullus* toke of the enemies shippes thirtene, at the portes of *Achaia*. He ouertooke *Varus*, *Alexander*, and *Dionisius*, at *Lemus* a desert Ile, where the alter of *Philoctetes* and the serpent of brass, the bowe and the breastplate, tyed about with bendes, is sene, as a shewe of his calamitie. He sayled vpon them with great haite and contempte. They remayning still, he sente forth two shippes at once, and stayd the rest, to prouoke them to come out, but they not coming out, but descending themselves from the land, he sayled about the Ile with other shippes, and let women a lande, whiche made them to take their shippes.

f. iij.

But

The valiantnes  
of the *Cyzians*.A sacrifice to  
*Proserpine*.Eumachus kills  
with the *Romanes*  
Isauria people  
Asia the Iesse.Darius the  
last of the  
Achaia.Aesepus a floud  
in the Ile of  
Rhodus, from  
the hill Ida.

Lucullus playes

Apamea in the  
coast of *Phrygia*.Prusade called  
before *Chius*.Lemus now  
Statimene.  
The monument  
of *Philoctetes*.

Lucullus overcame  
with three  
hundred of Mithridates.

But they would not come asfote, fearyng *Lucullus* army, but  
fayling by the lande, & being folowed both by lande and fea, they  
were hurte, and great slaughter and flight was among them.  
*Varus*, *Alexander* and *Tionysius* the Eunuche were taken hide in  
a caue, of the whiche *Dionysius*, haung dronke pofion, as it is  
thought, died by and by. *Lucullus* commaunded *Varus* to be killed,  
for it was not seemely to bring a *Romane* Senatour in triumph.  
*Alexander* was kepte for the pompe. And *Lucullus* wrote of his  
victorie, letters wrapped in Laurell to the *Romanes*, as the ma-  
ner is in victories. And he wente to *Eythmia*.

Letters in Laurell  
sent.

*Mithridates* hath  
loste by fea, and  
is fained in a ro-  
uers barke.  
In *Sinope* was  
an vnderfite.

As *Mithridates* fayled into *Pontus*, he had two tempestes and  
loft about ten thousande men, & threſcoze ſhippes, the reſt were  
ſcattered as the winde droue them, his owne ſhippe falling in a  
leake, he went into a rouers barke, his friends being againſt it,  
and going with the rouers they ſet him ſafe at *Sinope*, fro whence  
he went to *Amifo* to trie all, and to his ſonne in law *Tigranes* the  
*Armenian*, and to *Atachares* his ſonne regning in *Beſſhero*, he  
ſente, that bothe ſhoulde prouide helpe. And to the *ſcythians* that  
were confines, he ſente golde, and many giſtes by *Indes*; but he  
ſcedde to *Lucullus* with hys golde and his giſtes. *Lucullus* goyng  
forwarde boldly after the victorie, overcame euery thyng as  
he wente, and winnyng a healtly countrey that had bene long  
without warre, a ſlaue was ſolde for foure drammes: an Dre  
for on: For ites, ſhepe and garments, and al other things after  
the like value. *Lucullus* beſieged *Amifo* and *Eupatoria*, whiche  
*Mithridates* builded next *Amifo*, and named *Eupatoria* of himſelf,  
and made it a kings palace, and with an other army, beſieged  
*Themifcyra*, that had the name of one of the *Amazones* at the  
floude *Thermadonta*. They lying at *Themifcyra*, ſette by towres  
and made trenches, and wrought ſo great mines, that there was  
fightyng vnder the grounde. The *Themifcyrians* opened them a-  
baue, and threw in Beares and other wilde beaſtes, & ſwarmed  
of Bees vpon the workemen. They at *Amifo* went an other  
way to worke, the *Amifians* defendyng themſelues, and many  
tymes iſſuing out, and prouokynge alſo to fight hande to hande.  
*Mithridates* ſent them much victual, armure and munition from  
*Cabeira*,

Druckes, ſleeth to  
*Lucullus*.

A dramme was  
a *Romane* penny.

*Eupatoria*.

They ſette a re-  
gion of *Pontus*.

*Cabeira*, where he wintered and gathered his army. He had of  
ſotemen ſortie thouſande, and of hoſemen ſoure thouſand.

*Cabeira* a towne  
of higher *Aſia*.

When the Spring was come, *Lucullus* wente againſt the king  
by the mountaynes, whiche he hadde garded to keepe off *Lucul-  
lus*, and to make continuall fires if any hadde ſhould be. A man  
of the Kings bloud named *Phoenix*, was chiefe of this gard, who  
when *Lucullus* approached, made fires to *Mithridates*, but yielded  
himſelfe and all his power to *Lucullus*, ſo as he without ſtoppe,  
went to *Cabeira*, and hauing a fight of hoſemen with the king,  
and being overcome, he retired to the hilles, and when *Pompeyus*,  
the Captaine of his hoſemen was taken, and broughte to *Mi-  
thridates* wounded, he asked him what thanke he would giue  
him if he were ſaued. He answered, if thou art a friend to *Lucul-  
lus*, I will giue thee very great thanke, if thou beſt his enemy, I  
will not deliber of it. Thus answered *Pompeyus*, and the *Barba-  
rians* would haue had the king to haue killed him. The king  
ſayd, he would not hurte vertue that was deſtitute of fortune:  
Preparing continually to fight, and *Lucullus* refuſing it, he fought  
a way to come vpon him on the hill. There was a certaine *ſcy-  
thian*, named *O'cabas*, that hadde bin a long fugitive with *Lucullus*,  
and bycauſe he hadde ſaued many at the fight of hoſemen, he  
was admitted to *Lucullus* table, and pruiſe to his counſell and ſe-  
cretes. He came to his tent at midde day when he was at reſt,  
and would haue gone in by force (being girded only with a ſhort  
ſworde after the manner) and being angry that he was kepte  
backe, ſaying he hadde an earneſt thing to tell him, and there-  
fore would haue them awake him, they aunſwering, that  
there was nothing ſo good for *Lucullus* as his health, he took hys  
horſe by and by, and ſcedde to *Mithridates*, eather meaning euill,  
and ſuſpected for hys doyng, or for anger, compting himſelfe diſ-  
honored. And he accused another *ſcythian* called *Sobadacus*, that he  
would flee to *Lucullus*: therefore *Sobadacus* was taken. Where-  
as *Lucullus* would not goe into the playne, bycauſe the enemies  
hoſemen were the better, and could ſee none other way, he ſought  
in a caue an Hunter of wilde beaſtes, that was expert in vnknown  
wayes, by whome he paſſed by ſecret wayes, and came vpon  
the

*Lucullus* ſaued  
come in on a  
fight of hoſe-  
men.

*Pompey* the ge-  
nerall of hoſie,  
brought before  
the King, ran-  
ſomed boldly.  
A princely ſay-  
ing of the king.

*O'cabas* ſeeke  
from *Lucullus*.

Nothing ſo  
good as health  
of a ruler.

the head of *Mithridates*, and came downe, auoyding the fieldes, for the horsemen encamped at a flash of water, at the enimyes face. Wanting viuals, he sente into *Cappadocia* for corne, and skirmished with the enimyes, and made them to flee, till the king came out of his Camp in hast, and amazed them, and made them to turne, and to asfraid the *Romanes*, as they fledde vp to the mountaynes, and did not perceiue when the enimyes ceased, but thoughte them that fledde with them, their enimyes, as well as they that chased them, so greatly were they made asfayde. *Mithridates* sent letters euery where of this victorie. A great part of his horsemen, and they of the best, lay in awaite for them that brought victuall to *Lucullus* from *Cappadocia*, hoping to bring the to famine, as they themselves were at *Cyzico*. And it was a great argument so to be, because *Lucullus* had only from *Cappadocia*, from the which, he might be shutte. The Kings horsemen meeting with the first of the foragers in a streight place, and would not tarrie, till they came to an open place, they made their horses in that streight vnprofitable vnto them. The *Romanes* therefore being quickly in order by the helpe of the place, came forth to the fighte, and killed the kings men, being holpen by the streight way, as footemen, they droue some vpon their fellows, and some they made flee by heapes, and slong them downe. A few escaping by night, ranne to the Camp, and affirmed that they onely were saved, and as the nature is, made the losse greater than it was. *Mithridates* before *Lucullus* shoulde knowe of this losse, and thinking that *Lucullus* for lacke of horsemen woulde by and by haue sette vpon him, determined to flee for feare, and told his friends in his tent. They before warning was giuen, sente away their geare hastily by night, and their cartage made a great thrusting together at the gates. The whiche the armye perceiuing, knowing them that carried, and coniecturing worse for feare, and being greued that no token was giuen, they brake vp their tranche, and fledde aboute the fieldes confusedly, euery man as well as he coulde without Captaynes, or staying for warning.

When *Mithridates* hearde of these hasty and disorderly doings, he ranne from his tent among them, and would haue sayd

some what to them, but no man giuing care to hym, and being thruste of the people, he had a fall, and getting to his horse, he fledde to the mountaynes.

Lucullus understanding of the feate of his foragers, and seeing the flight of his enimyes, sent many horsemen to follow them, and bringing his footemen to the carriers, and the reste that were in the campe, he commaunded them not to spoile, before they had killed al. But they seeing the vessels of gold and silver, and costly garments, forgot the commaundement, and where they had taken *Mithridates*, and chafred to cut the burden that one of the Mules bare, and the golde falling out, they were so busy about it, that they let the King go, who fledde to *Comana*, and from thence to *Tigranes*, with tenne thousande horse. He woulde not see hym, but commaunded to vse him like a King in his Townes. Wherefore *Mithridates* being in desperatton of his kingdome, sente *Eucchu* an Eunuch to his Palace, to kil his sisters and his wiues, and his concubines. They wer dispatched some with the sword, some with popson, some with halters pitifully. When the captaynes of *Mithridates* garnisons sawe this, the moste parte perled to *Lucullus*. He setting things in order, sayled aboute the cities of *Pontus*, and toke *Armas*, *Heracles*, and other. *Sinope* helde out lustily, and by sea fought valiantly. But whiles they were besieged, they burned their great ships, and fled with their smal.

*Lucullus* lest the citee free againe, by reason of a dreame, which was this. They say *Antiochus* bidde make warre with *Hercules* againste the *Amazones*, and being driuen by tempest to *Sinope*, he toke the Citty, and ruled there, and the *Sinopeans* had hym in greate veneration. The whiche when they fledde, they wapped it in linnen, and bound it fast, to cary with them.

*Lucullus* knowing nothing of this, nor hauing hearde of it, hee thought he sawe hym call him, and the nexte daye, commaunding them that carried that Image, to shewe what it was, hee saide it was the same that he did see in the night. This was his dreame, and he caused *Sinope* to bee still inhabited, and *Amyssus* also, oute of the whyche they fledde by sea. For understanding that it was inhabited of the *Atheniensis*, when they were Lords

The *Romanes* in a streight care flee.

*Mithridates* went forth of his victory.

A fight of the *Romanes* forrayers, and the Kings horsemen in a streight.

The Kings fence.

The Kings armye.

The soldiers have given to people.

*Mithridates* cryed to the people, who would not see him.

The king fledde to kil his sisters, wiues & daughters.

A dreame of *Lucullus* saith the Citty of *Sinope*, *Antiochus* was one that liued by them.

*Lucullus restored  
to libertie.*

of the sea, and made a populare state of it, it sometime obeyed the Persian Kings. And being restored to their libertie by *Alexander*, were subiects againe to the Kings of *Pontus*; and he taking pittie of them, and desirous of honour, after the example of *Alexander*, and the *Athenienfes* nation, he leste it in libertie, and with all speede reuoked the *Sinopeans* to their owne Cittie.

When he had thus restored them after their taking, he made league with *Mithridates* sonne, king of *Bosphorus*, offering him a crowne of golde.

When he soughte *Mithridates* that was with *Tigranes*, and being come into *Asia*, whiche bydde owe the fourthe parte of the fruits that *Sylla* putte vpon them for a payne, hee toke a tate of their houses and seruantes, and made the sacrifices of victorie, as though he hadde beene synners.

When the sacrifice was ended, he marched with two choise legions, and five hundred horse, against *Tigranes* that would not deliuer *Mithridates*. And passing *Euphrates*, requyring onely money of the Barbarians, he wente on. The men made no warre vpon him, as they that thought not good to intermedle betwene *Tigranes* and *Lucullus*.

No man durste tell *Tigranes*, that *Lucullus* was commyng; for he that tolde it fyrste was hanged, as one that troubled his Citties.

But when he hearde it, he sente *Mithrobarzanes* with two thousande horse, to stoppe *Lucullus* course. Hee appointed *Manaces* to keepe *Tigranocerta*, the whiche Cittie, as I haue sayde, the King builded in his owne honor, to the whiche he called his nobles, and appointed a paine, that whosoener broughte not hys goods thither, should be confiscate. Hee made a wall aboute it of fiftie cubites hight. The bottoms of whiche, were full of stables for horse, and in the Suburbes, hee hadde builded hys Pallace, and Gardens verie faire, with Parkes and fisherponds: and harde by, hee made a strong fozte, all the whiche committing to *Manaces*, he rode aboute his countrey to gather men.

*Lucullus*

*Lucullus* at the first conflict ouerthrew *Mithrobarzanes* and chased him. And *Sextilius* shut *Manaces* in *Tigranocerta*, spoyling all the places that were without wall, and entrenched the fozte and the Cittie, and broughte his engines, and undermined the wall. Thus was *Sextilius* occupied.

*Tigranes*, gathering two hundred fiftie thousand footmen, and fiftie thousande horsemen, sent sixe thousande horse afoze to *Tigranocerta*. They passing thorough the Romanes, carried away the Kinges Concubines that were taken. The rest of the armie, *Tigranes* sente agaynst *Lucullus*. When *Mithridates* commyng fyrste into hys sight, counselled hym not to fyghte with the Romanes, but to range with hys horsemen, and waste the countrey, to bringe them to famine, if he coulde, by the which mean, he was vfed of *Lucullus* at *Cyzico*, and losse hys feeble armie. *Tigranes* laughed at this counsell, and came forth in order of battail: and seying the little number of the Romanes, sayde: If these bee Ambassadors they be too many, but if they be enimies, they bee too fewe.

When *Lucullus* hadde perceiued a fytte hill beyond *Tigranes*, he commaunded hys horsemen to giue a charge on the front, and then to tourne and giue place of purpose, to bringe the armie oute of order. He in the meane tyme ledde his footmen to the hill, not perceiued. And when he saue the enimie disordered, and running by partes as though they hadde the victorie, and all their carriage vnder the hill, he cried: We haue gotte the victorie (my fellowes.) And fyrste he sette vpon the carriage.

They slepyng with confusion, raine vpon the footmen, and the footmen vpon the horsemen, so as there was a foule slepyng oute of hande. And they that were gone farre to pursue the Romanes, were killed of them tournyng vpon them, and the other disordered with the carriage, that they came as drinen among the al being afflicted, & none knowing the truth, how the ouerthrow began, there was exceeding slaughter, without anye spoile, for *Lucullus* had forbiode that with threats. Therefore treading vpon bracelets and chaines, they continued to murder an hundred & twenty furlongs, til night came vpon the.

G. 4.

Then

*Tigranes sayeth  
that Mithridates  
A quicke saying  
of Tigranes.*

*Lucullus winneth  
an hill.*

*Lucullus hath the  
victorye.*

*Lucullus with a  
small armye  
gaineth a great  
King.*

*Telling of  
truthes is  
rewarded.*

*Manaces  
with the chiefe  
armie.*

*The taking of  
Tigranocerta.*

The valianties  
of the Greeke  
soldiers,

then in their returne they spoiled, for *Lucullus* was contente.

After this victorie, *Manacum* that was lesse at *Tigranocerta*, was armed at the Greeke mercenarie souldiours as suspected. They fearing to be taken, got them staves and went together, and were quiet.

But when *Manacum* came vpon them with the Barbarians armed, they wrapped their cloakes aboute theyr armes in stead of tergates, and with courage fought against them, and ever as they killed any, they kepte their armour, and diuided it between them. And when they thought they had got sufficient, they took some of the little Towres and called the Romanes, and receyued them in. Thus was *Tigranocerta* taken and spoiled, being verie riche, and new builded, and inhabited moste honorably.

*Tigranes* and *Mithridates* went about gathering another army, of the whyche he made *Mithridates* Generall, the other thinking it fytte, beeyng taught with his owne losse. He sente also to the *Parthians*, requiring aide of them. And when *Lucullus* sent his Ambassadors also, requiring the laying either to help him, or not to medle with either, he secretly promised both, but performed with none.

*Mithridates* gathered armour in euerye Cittie, and had in a manner all the *Armenians* in Campe, of the whyche he chose thre score tenne thousande footemen, and halfe of the horsemen, and lette the other go. These being diuided into bands and companies after the *Greke* discipline, he took them to be trained of his men of *Lycaonia*. He was coming towards them, *Mithridates* before all his footemen, and halfe his horsemen vpon an hill. The reste of the horsemen were in the lowes, and meeting with the Romanes fought more safely, then in the plaines next *Mithridates*, and en-

A picture of the  
Parthian King.

He prouoked *Mithridates* to fight, and encamped about him, but he could not moue him, tyl famine oppressed him, and dissolved al their purpose. *Tigranes* went into the furthest parte of *Armenia*, *Mithridates* into *Pontus* with the rest of his owne army, hauyng foure thousand, and as many of *Tigranes*. *Lucullus* folowed him, being dyuen also for want. *Mithridates* outgoing him, he mette with *Fabius*, that was lesse there of *Lucullus*, and ouerthrew hym, killing fye hundred: *Fabius* taking fresh seruantes that were in the campe, foughte againe the whole day, and the fight was doubtfull, till *Mithridates* was hurt on the knee with a stone, and vnder the eye with a darte, and was caried away with speed, and many dayes the one refrained from fight, for feare of the kings health, the other, for the multitude of them that were hurte.

The *Agrians* a nation of *Scythia*, did cure *Mithridates*, vsing the poyson of Serpents for their medicines, and for that cause be came about the king. To *Fabius* came *Tigranes* another Captaine of *Lucullus* with his owne army, and receyued the power and authoritie of *Fabius*: and not long after *Mithridates* and he coming to the fight, there was such a wounde as neuer was felt. It tore the tentes of them both, it beate the beastes abroade, and stroke downe some men, and thus both went backe. When it was told that *Lucullus* was coming, *Tigranes* desirous to fight before he came, he set vpon the former watch by night, and the fight being equall, the king with his wing got the better, and disperced the enemies, drawing the footemen into a foule mire where they were killed, because they could not stie. The horsemen he sent to be chased in the plaine vsing vntill the brunt of the victorie: the captaine of a *Roman* band, running by him as his seruant, gaue him a great wounde on the thighe, because he thought he could not stie through his harnesse on the backe. After that

*Tigranes* and  
*Mithridates*  
flyeth

*Mithridates* over  
throweth  
*Fabius*.

*Fabius* ouer  
throweth *Mithridates* which  
is fore hurt.

*Tigranes* the  
kings physician.

A marvellous  
wounde beate  
both the fight.

*Tigranes* for his  
is ouerthrowen

A *Roman* cap-  
taine killeth  
the king.

Lucullus restored  
to libertie.

of the sea, and made a populare state of it, it sometime obeyed the Persian Kings. And being restored to their libertie by Alexander, were subiects againe to the Kings of Pontus: and he taking pittie of them, and desirous of honour, after the example of Alexander, and the Athenienses nation, hee left it in libertie, and wylth all speede reuoked the Sinopeans to their owne Cittie.

When he had thus restored them after their taking, he made league with Mithridates sonne, king of Bosphorus, offering him a crowne of golde.

When he soughte Mithridates that was with Tigranes, and being come into Asia, whyche dyd owe the fourth parte of the fruits that sylva putte vpon them for a payne, hee toke a taxe of their houses and seruantes, and made the sacrifices of victorie, as though the warre hadde beene synished.

When the sacrifice was ended, he marched with two choise legions, and fure hundred horse, against Tigranes that woulde not deliuer Mithridates. And passing Euphrates, requyring onely money of the Barbarians, he wente on. The men made no warre vpon him, as they that thought not good to intermedle betwene Tigranes and Lucullus.

No man durste tell Tigranes, that Lucullus was commynge: for he that tolde it fyrste was hanged, as one that troubled his Citties.

But when he hearde it, he sente Mithrobarzanes wylth two thousande horse, to stoppe Lucullus course. Hee appointed Manaces to keepe Tigranocerta, the whiche Cittie, as I haue sayde, the King builded in his owne honor, to the whiche he called his nobles, and appointed a paine, that whofoener broughte not his wodes thither, shoulde be confiscate. Hee made a wall aboute it of fiftie cubites hyghe. The bottomis of whyche, were full of tables for horse, and in the Suburbes, hee hadde builded his Pallace, and Gardens verie faire, with Parkes and fishpondes: and harde by, hee made a strong forte, all the whiche committing to Manaces, he rode aboute his countrey to gather men.

Lucullus

Lucullus at the first conflict ouerthelpe Mithrobarzanes and chased him. And Sextilius shut Manaces in Tigranocerta, spoyling all the places that were without wall, and entrenched the forte and the Cittie, and broughte his engines, and undermined the wall. Thus was Sextilius occupied.

Tigranes, gathering two hundred fiftie thousand footmen, and fiftie thousande horsemen, sent fure thousande horse afoze to Tigranocerta. They passing thorough the Romanes, caried away the Kinges Concubines that were taken. The rest of the armie, Tigranes sente agaynst Lucullus. When Mithridates commynge fyrste into his sight, counselled hym not to fyghte with the Romanes, but to range wylth his horsemen, and waste the countrey, to driue them to famine, if he coulde, by the which mean, hee was vfed of Lucullus at Cyzico, and loste his feeble armie. Tigranes laughed at this counsell, and came forth in order of battaile: and sayng the little number of the Romanes, sayde: If these bee Ambassadors they be too many, but if they be enimies, they bee too fewe.

When Lucullus hadde perceiued a fytte hill beyond Tigranes, he commaunded his horsemen to giue a charge on the front, and then to tourne and giue place of purpose, to bring the army oute of order. He in the meane tyme ledde his footmen to the hill, not perceyued. And when he saue the enimie disordered, and runnyng by partes as though they hadde the victorie, and all their carriage vnder the hill, he cried: We haue gotte the victorie (my fellows.) And fyrste hee sette vpon the carriage.

They slepyng with confusion, ranne vpon the footmen, and the footmen vpon the horsemen, so as there was a foule slepyng oute of hande. And they that were gone farre to pursue the Romanes, were killed of them tournyng vpon them, and the other disordered with the carriage, that they came as dzyen among the al being afflicted, & none knowing the truth, how the ouerthrow began, there was exceeding slaughter, without anye spoile, for Lucullus had forbiddē that with threats. Therefore treiding vpon bracelets and chaines, they continued & murder an hundred & twenty furlongs, til night came vpon the.

G. Y.

Then

Tigranes laugh-  
ed at Mithridates.  
A quicke saying  
of Tigranes.

Lucullus vyl-  
neth an hill.

Lucullus hath the  
victorye.

Lucullus vylth  
small armye a-  
gainst Tigranes  
King.

Takinge of  
tenthens  
warded.

Manaces  
with the chiefe  
of the.

The takinge of  
Tigranocerta.

The valianties  
of the Greke  
soldiers.

then in their returne they spoiled, for *Lucullus* was contente.

After this victorie, *Manacum* that was lesse at *Tigranocerta*, vnder armed at the Greke mercenarie souldiours as suspected. They fearing to be taken, got them staves and went together, and were quiet.

But when *Manacum* came vpon them with the Barbarians armed, they wrapped their cloakes aboute theyr armies in stead of tergates, and with courage fought against them, and ever as they killed any, they kepte their armour, and diuided it between them. And when they thought they had got sufficient, they tooke some of the little Towers and called the Romanes, and receyued them in. Thus was *Tigranocerta* taken and spoiled, being verie riche, and new builded, and inhabited moste honorably.

*Tigranes* and *Mithridates* went about gathering another army, of the whiche he made *Mithridates* Generall, the other thinking it fytte, beeyng taught with his owne losses. He sente also to the *Parthians*, requiring aide of them. And when *Zucullus* sent his Ambassadors also, requiring the King either to helpe him, or not to medle with either, he secretly promised both, but performed with none.

*Mithridates* gathered armour in euerye Cittie, and had in a manner all the *Armenians* in Campe, of the whiche he chose threescore tenne thousande footemen, and halfe of the horsemen, and lette the other go. These being diuided into bands and companies after the *Italian* discipline, he tooke them to be trayned of his men of *Pontus*. *Lucullus* comming towarde them, *Mithridates* helde all his footemen, and halfe his horsemen vpon an hill. The reste of the horsemen *Tigranes* ledde, and meeting with the Romanes foragers, was overcome: after the whiche the Romanes foraged more safely, euen in the places next *Mithridates*, and encamped there.

By raynyng of muche duste it was perceyued that *Tigranes* came, whose purpose was to haue shutte *Lucullus* in the midst of them both. Which when he perceyued, he sent his best horsemen, to encounter with *Tigranes* as farre off as they coude, and to compell him to leaue his raungyng, and keepe his campe.

He

He prouoked *Mithridates* to fight, and encamped about him, but he could not moue him, tyl famine oppressed him, and dissolved al their purpose. *Tigranes* went into the furthest parte of *Armenia*, *Mithridates* into *Pontus* with the rest of his owne army, haueyng foure thousand, and as many of *Tigranes*. *Lucullus* folowed him, being driuen also for want. *Mithridates* outgoing him, he mette with *Fabius*, that was lesse there of *Lucullus*, and ouerthrew hym, killing fure hundred: *Fabius* taking fresh seruantes that were in the campe, foughte againe the whole day, and the fight was doubtfull, till *Mithridates* was hurt on the knee with a stone, and vnder the eye with a darte, and was caried away with speed, and many dayes the one refrained from fight, for feare of the kings health, the other, for the multitude of them that were hurte.

The *Agrians* a nation of *Scythia*, did cure *Mithridates*, vsing the popson of Serpents for their medicines, and for that cause becomer about the king. To *Fabius* came *Triarius* another Captaine of *Lucullus* with his owne army, and receyued the power and authoritie of *Fabius*: and not long after *Mithridates* and he comming to the fight, there was such a winde as neuer was felt. It tore the tentes of them both, it beate the beastes abroade, and stroke downe some men, and thus both went backe. When it was told that *Lucullus* was comming, *Triarius* desirous to fight before he came, he set vpon the former watch by night, and the fight being equall, the king with his wing, got the better, and dispersed the enimies, driving the footemen into a foule mire where they were killed, because they could not stirre. The horsemen he sent to be chased in the playne, vsing valiantlye the brunt of the victorie: til a Captaine of a *Roman* band, running by him as his seruant, gaue him a great wounde on the thughe, because he thought he could not strike through his harnesse on the backe. They that were next, straight killed him. *Mithridates* was carried out to the hinder part. The kings frends caused their retreat to be blowe, the oldiours hauing a manifest victorie, and folowing it eagerly, and because it was straunge to be called from it, they were much troubled, and in feare leasse some other inconuenience hadde bene.

*Tigranes* and  
*Mithridates*  
flyeth

*Mithridates* over  
throveth  
his horse.

*Fabius* ouer  
throveth *Mithridates* which  
is fore hurt.

*Agrians* the  
kings physicians.

A maruelous  
winde breaketh  
the fight.

*Triarius* for haue  
is overthroveth

A *Roman* cap-  
taine like a ser-  
uant, vndereth  
the king.

g.ij.

lpl

The King is  
shewed to the  
souldiours,

The Romaynes  
forake their  
camps.  
A great number  
of Romayne  
captaines slaine.

And he is killed  
of suspicion.

Dissentis vvyth  
the Romaynes.

Lucullus is left  
alone.

*Timothem* that was the Kings Whisition, stopped the wound, & shewed the king vnto the, from above, that were come into the field & stode thronging aboute his bodye, such as *Alexander* in *India*, when the *Macedonians* were afrayde for him, shewed him selfe to be cured in a *Sibyppe*. When *Mithridates* came to hym self, he blamed them that caused the sight to ende, & that daye led his army against the Romaynes campe. They were fled from it fearfully. The y dead were spoiled, the were found. xxiij. Tribunes, & xl. Centurians, such a number of Captains as seldome hath bin found slaine in a Romayne array. *Mithridates* went in to *Armenia*, which the Romaynes call *Armenia* the lesse, taking with him the victuall that coulde be carried, and that that could not, he burned, that *Lucullus*, whome he thoughte did followe hym, shold haue none of it. A Romane Senator named *Attilius*, fled from his countrey, bicause he was condemned, and in great credite & fauor with *Mithridates*, was then taken as one that would betray him: & bicause he was a Senator, the king would not put him to the torture, but killed him. They that were of his counsell he tormented cruelly. His free made men he suffered al to departe unhurt, bicause they did but their maisters commandement. *Lucullus* now was encamped nigh to *Mithridates*, when the Lieutenant of *Asia* sent about & proclaimed to the army, that the Romaynes accused *Lucullus*, bicause he made war longer than he oughte to do, & that his army shold go from hym, they that bidde not obey, to haue their goodes confiscate. Whiche beeing tolde, the armye went al awaye saue a selue, which being very poore, & not fearing the paine, tarried stil with *Lucullus*. Thus the war betwene *Lucullus* and *Mithridates*, not surely ended nor finished, was broke vp. For *Italy* being rebelled, & they molested, & the sea being full of thieues, & they with famine oppressed, they did not thinke it good for them to take another so great a warre in hande, till they were deliuered of those incommodities. When *Mithridates* heard of this, he went into *Cappadocia*, & fortified his own kingdome, the Romanes winking at hys doings, till they had scoured the seas: whiche when it was done, and *Pompey* that was y worker of it, was in *Asia*. The war with *Mithridates* began againe, & *Pompey* was sent to be the General. Therfore bicause y acts that *Pompey*

did in the sea, before he came againste *Mithridates*, is a parte of *Pompeys* acts, and can be put into none other proper writing. I will shortly reape & run them ouer. When *Mithridates* made his first war againste the Romanes, and ruled in *Asia*, and *Sylla* was busied about *Grecia*, thinking he shoulde not long holde *Asia*, he spoiled euery place, as I haue saide, and set Pirats in the sea, the whiche at the first with a selue litle boats, vered such as they met. As the war grew, they were moze, & had gotten great ships, & taking of great gaine, they did not cease, though *Mithridates* were ouercome, & had made truce, or was fled. For they had losse their limings and countries thozow the war, and were fallen into extreame poertie, lest the land, & sought committie by y sea: and first with brigandines & foists, then with litle galleys they roused, the Archpirats being their leauers as generals of an army, vnballed Citties they spoiled, them that were walled, they undermined, or beate downe, or got by siege & destroyed. The best men they brought to the sea for their ransoms: and to auoide the infamy of their raine, they called themselves hyred souldiours, in stead of sea-rouers. They hadde workemen in chaines to do their businesse, & carying matter of wode, brasse, & yron, they neuer rested. Being proude of their gaine, & not thinking to leaue their piracie, they thought they were lyke Kings & Emperors or gret generals, & supposed y if they gathered together, they shold be vncouerable, they made ships & all kind of armoz, specially aboute *Cilicia*, that is called (the hard,) the which they made their common receptacie, or vsed it, as their campe, hanging manie forts & towers, & voyde Islands & shipping in euery place. Their chiefe trade was at *Cilicia* the harde, being without ports, & ful of great hills, of the which, by a common name, they were called *Cilices*, the whych cuill begun there, of the hard part of *Cilicia*, brought vnto them *Syrians*, *Cyprians*, *Pamphilians* & *Pontians*, and almost al the nations of y East, the whiche in the time of *Mithridates* war, rather chosing to do, than to suffer, they vld the sea for the lãd, that in short space they were many thousands, and they were not Lords only of the east seas, but all that which is within the pillours of *Hercules*. For they had ouercome some of the Romane Admirals in sea-fight, and some in *Sicilie*.

*Mithridates* lieth the sea  
vvyth *Pyrats*.

The myshappes  
by the Romans.

*Cilicia*, full of  
rockes and  
Mountaynes on  
the coaste.  
*Cilices* were  
compted rouers.

In *Sicilia*, no mā durst saile, & the land wanted their labourers, because of their robberies, and the Citie of *Rome* found this inconvenience moſte of all, all their ſubiectes being in want, and they, for their great multitude, in grievous ſamnes. This matter ſeemed great and harde vnto them, to diſpatch ſo many armies of men and ſhippes, diuided by the whole circle of the lande and ſea, eaſie to ſlee with their promiſion, and not to be ſet vpon from their countries, or euident places, not hauing any houſe or propertie, but al that euer came to hande. So that the conſideration of this warre was farre beyond the reſt, hauing no certentie, no ſuretie, nor euidece, it wrought a doubt with a fear. *Murena* being ſent againſt them, did nothing, nor *Seruilus Mauricus*, after *Murena*: but now they were come to the coaſte of *Italy*, and the rowers were byagge at *Brundise* and *Tarentum*, and had taken noble women, and two armies with their enſignes. Wherefore the *Romanes* no longer ſuffering this loſſe nor ſhame, did choſe by law, *Pompey*, a man of ſo great fame, to be chiefe Admirall for thre yeares, of al the Seas within the pillours of *Hercules*, and ſoure hundred furlongs of lāo frō the ſea, they ſet to al kings, princes & Citties to helpe *Pompey* with all things, & gaue him authoriſſe to gather armies & money. They ſent alſo a great army of their olone ordinarie, and as many ſhippes as they had, and ſire *Q.* talents of *Athens*. So great & difficult a thing did they thinke it to be, to overcome ſo many armies in ſo great a ſea, lurking in ſo many holes eaſily, and ſleeing ſafely, and appearing againe of the ſodayn. Neuer was there man before that, was ſet with ſuch a power as *Pompey* was. To whom an army was giuen of *cir.* thouſande ſoldiers, ſire thouſande hoſemen, ſhippes with ſmal beſſels two hundred *lxx.* and miniſters, whiche being of the *Senate*, they call legats, *xxv.* to whome *Pompey* deuied the ſea, and gaue them ſhippes, and hoſes and ſoldiers and enſignes of war. So was euerie man an absolute ruler of that parte that was committed to him: and he as king of kings, went about to ſee if they kepte the order that he appointed: neyther woulde he haue the chafed ſo, as they ſhould be carried from one to another without profitte, but to meeete with them, as they mighte ſerue

*Murena*,  
*Seruilus Mauricus*.

*Pompey* choſen  
admirall againſt  
the Pyrates.

ſerue one anothers turne, and ſhut them by within the compaſſes. *Pompey* hauing thus ordered all, he appointed *Tiberius Nero*, to *Spaine* and the pillers of *Hercules*, & with him *Manlius Torquatus*; *Marcus Pompeius*, to the *Ligurian* and *Celtican* ſea: *Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *Publius Atilius*, to *Lybia*, *Sardus*, *Cyprus*, and al the nigh Ilands aboute *Italy*. He appointed *Lucius Gellius*, and *Gaius Lentulus*, *Plotius Varus*, and *Terentius Varus*, to *Acarnania*, and to keepe *Sicilie* and the *Ionian* ſea. To *Lucius Cinna*, *Peloponeſus*, and the coaſt of *Aſſica*, with *Eubæa*, *Theſſalis*, *Macedonia* and *Bœtia*. To *Lucius Cullus*, the Ilandes and all the *Agean* and *Hell ſpent*. To *Publius Piſo*, *Bithynia*, *Thracia*, and *Pelopida*, and the mouth of *Pontus*. To *Metellus Nepos*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cyprus* and *Phœnitia*. Thus he appointed his Captaines to make their courſes and their onsets, and to keepe their places, and to receiue, when they ſledde from the other, that in their chaſe, they ſhould not excee too far, nor be caried abouie in their fighting, that it mighte be ſpedily done: and he ſayled to them all, and hauing overſene all in the leaſt in ſortie dayes, he came to *Rome*, and from thence to *Brundise*, & from *Brundise* into the Eaſt, ſo long a way, he aſſayde them all with his ſodayne and quicke paſſage, and great preparation, and feare of his glozy, inſomuche as the Pirates that hoped to haue bin too good for him, or truly to haue put him to paine ynough, being afraid by and by, left their expugnations of other citties, and reſorted to their wonted holdes and holes. So that the Sea was ſcawred by *Pompey* without any fight, and the Rowers were taken of the Captaines in euery place by parts. He wente into *Cilicia*, with a great army and many engins, thinking he ſhould haue hadde manye ſyghtes and beſlegings, at their rocky Tow-ers: but he needed none, for his glozy and greate power, making them aſſayde, and thinking that if they came not to ſyght, they ſhoulde finde the more gentleneſſe: ſyft they deliuered *Cragus* and *Anticragus* the greateſt ſortes they had, then the mountaine men of *Cilicia*, and in order all yielded themſelues, and alſo muche armour, ſome ready, ſome to be made ready, they deliuered: and ſhippes, ſome vpon the ſtocks, ſome apte to ſayle: braſſe and yron gathered for that purpoſe, and ſayles, cables and other dyuerſe

The manner of  
the appointmets.

The diligence  
of *Pompey*.

The Piram  
gyue ouer.

*Cragus* and *Anticragus*,  
the greateſt ſortes of  
mountaine men of  
*Cilicia*, parts of  
*Taurus*.

diuerſe matter, and a number of paſſonets, ſome being in bands for their ranſome, and ſome for to worke. Their ſtuffe Pompey burned. Their ſhips he toke. The priſoners he ſente into the Countreys, of the which, manye ſounde their graues made, becauſe they were thought to be dead. The Pirates that ſeemed to come to this warre, not of malice, but for lacke of living, he commaunded them to inhabite *Atallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphania*, or any other place, deſolate, and voyde of men, in the hard parte of *Cilicia*: ſome of them he ſent to *Dyma* in *Achaia*. Thus the Pirates warre that was thought to be moſt dangerous, was ended in few dayes of Pompey. Of ſhippes he toke. lxxij. Of the that were deliuered thre hundred and ſixe. Of Cities, Fortes, and other ſtrong places. 120. Of the Pirates were ſlayne in ſighte. 10000. Theſe things being done ſpedely, and beyonde opinion, the Romanes highly extolling Pompey being yet in *Cilicia*, choſe him the Generall of the warre againſt *Mithridates*, with like authoritie of a ruler alone, where he would invade, and make warre, and to make friends or foes of Rome, whome he thought good, and of all the armie that was out of *Italy*. gaue him the authoritie, whiche was neuer ſo giuen to none befoze him, and peraduenture for this, they called him Great, for the warre of *Mithridates* was now ended by other Captaynes.

Pompey gathering hys armie out of *Aſia*, byd encamp in the conſynes of *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* hadde a choyce armie of hys owne, of thirtie thouſande ſoemen, and thre thouſande horſemen, and he defended the place, whiche being waſted befoze by *Lucullus*, he had want of victuall. Wherefoze many fugitiues wēt from him, ſome of the which, he threwe downe headlongs, ſome he pulled out their eyes, and ſome he burned, theſe the ſewer fugitiues wēt fro him for ſcare of puniſhment. He was conſumed with want, & therfoze he ſent Embaſſadors to Pompey, to knowe with what condition he might make peace: he answered, if thou deliuer our fugitiues, and commit thy ſelfe to vs: which when *Mithridates* heard, he asked y fugitiues what they thought, and whē he ſaw them afraid, he ſwore, he would neuer make peace with the Romanes, for their couetouſneſſe: and he deliuered none,

Many reſtored  
beyonde hope.

The Pirates ap-  
pointed to in-  
habite hard pla-  
ces in the coaſt  
of *Cilicia*.

The large com-  
miſſion that  
Pompey had.

Anſwere of  
Pompey to *Mithridates*.

nor did nothing, but they were prynces to ſe. Thus diſde he.

Pompey laying an ambuſhe of horſemen, bad other go to the front of the Kings battaile, and prouoke them. And if they came forth, to geue place as though they were overcome, and bying them to the place of the ambuſhe, at the which, they retournyng, they mighte gette into the Kings Caampe with them that fledde: Whiche hadde bene done in dede, if the King ſearnyng it, hadde not broughte oute hys ſoemen: and ſo they retired.

This was the ende of the fyrſte attempt of the horſemen be-  
tweene Pompey and *Mithridates*.

The King being moleſted with want, was compelled to go backe, and ſuffer Pompey to come into that parte, thinking that being in that waſted place, he ſhoulde ſuffer many inconueni-  
ences: but he had prouided victuall to come behind hym, & going eaſtwarde againſt *Mithridates*, made many Towers and tren-  
ches againſt him, and compaſſed him in the ſpace of fyue hun-  
dred furlongs, that he coulde not nowe eaſily come by victu-  
alls. And the King did not ſtoppe his entrenching, eyther for  
ſcare, or for ignorance, or for that all ends were nowe to come  
vpon him: and being oppreſſed againe with want, he kyled  
all beaſts of cariages, onely horſes he ſpared, whiche ſcarcelye  
ſeruyng for ſyſety dayes, in the night he departed with great ſi-  
lence by harde wayes, whome Pompey coulde hardly overtake  
in a day, ſauyng the taylor. When the King being counſeled by his  
friends to ſet hys men to the battell, would not fight, but with  
his horſemen onely kepe backe them that approched, and in the  
night byd himſelfe in thicke woodes. The day folowyn, he toke  
a rocky place, to the which, was one way only to come, and there  
he was kepte with foure bandes. And the Romanes kept on the  
contrary ſide, that he ſhould not eſcape. The next daye, eyther of  
the armed their men. The ſouldarders of either part, at the ſide  
of the hill ſkirmiſhed, and the horſemen of the Kings were com-  
manded to help their fellows without horſes. Vpon whom, whē  
y Romanes came with their horſemen, y Kings mē ran on heaps  
to y cap, to get their horſes, & to match with y Romanes egallye.

b.ij.

They

Fight of horſe-  
men.

The King  
fleeth.

A discomfite  
vpon an error.

They that were about and armed, seeing them come running with shout, and not knowing what was done, but thinking they hadde fledde another way from the Campe that was taken, theye awoke their armour and fled, and the place being hard, one fell vpon an other in the thruste, til they fell from the rocks. Thus the army of *Mithridates*, thozow the lacke of them that woulde without order take vpon them to helpe their former fellows, falling into a confusion, was losse. The reste of the matter was easy to *Pompey*, killing and taking the unarmed, and buryng them in the rockes, of the which tenne thousand were slain, and all the Campe with the treasure of gold was taken. *Mithridates* with his garde onely, fleeing thorough the rocky places, met with some of the byred holmen, and thre thousande footemen. They conducted hym to *Simoregia* a castle, where he had laid vppon much money, and giuing gyfts and a yeres wages to the companions of his flight, he carried with him ffre thousande talents, and wente to the fountaines of *Euphrates*, minding to goe from thence to *Calchide*; and vsing continuall speed, passed *Euphrates* the fourth daye. Carrying there thre dayes, he toke them that were with him, or came to him, and wet to *Chotena* of *Armenia*, there ouerthrowing the *Cotenians* and *Iberians* that kepte hym off by slings and darts, he wente to the floude *Aspares*.

*Iberians* of *Armenia* & *Spain*.

These *Iberians* of *Asia*, some say were the progenitors, & some the posteritie, of the *Iberians* of *Europe*; and some say, they were onely of one name, for their maner and tongue is nothing like. *Mithridates* wintred at *Dioscuride*, which Citie they of *Chalcide*, thinke to be a Monument of the trauaile of *Cassor* and the *Argonauts*; and though he were yet sleeping, he conceived no litle matter in his mynde, but to goe aboute all *Pontus* in a circle, and the *Scythians* beyond *Pontus*, and the *Fenne* of *Meotis*, and attempt *Bisphorus*, and to take the kingdome of *Machares* his sonne, as vnproftable to him, and then to make open warre againste the *Romanes*, and to begin it from *Europe*, they being in *Asia*, and to put *Porus* in the midst, whiche some thinke to be called *Bisphorus*, of *Io* swimming ouer, when he was made a Colwe, and fled the ielousie of *Iuna*.

*Dioscuride* a Citie in *Chalcide*, where some tyme occupied three hundred nations of dyuers language.

*Porus* of *Io*.

Thys

Thus muche beyonde all reason didde *Mithridates* thinke to bring to passe. He passed by the *Scythian* nations both that were enemies or otherwise, epyther by perswasion or violence. Thus being, and in miserie, he was honoured and feared. He passed by the *Hemiochians*, they receyuing him. The *Achaens* that wold haue resisted hym, he put to flight. They as it is saide, came fro *Troy* to *Pontus*, being driuen by tempest, and there suffered muche of the *Barbarians*, because they were *Grecians*. And when they sent into their countrey for shippes, and were denied, they so hated the *Greekes*, that as *Scythians*, they sacrificed as many *Greekes* as came byste all for anger, then the fairest onely, at laste, them to whome it fell by lotte.

*Achens*, of *Troy*

A sacrifice of men.

And thus muche of *Achaens* and *Scythians*. *Mithridates* coming to *Meotis*, of the which were many Princes, they all receiued him, and sent to him for the glozpe of his actes, kingdome, and power, yet worthy to be honozed, bringing him many gyfts and sending others. He made lignage with them, thinking to do strange feats, as to go from *Thracia* to *Macedonia*, from *Macedonia* to *Pannonia*, and so to *Italy*, and the mountains of the *Alpes*, and made marriages for his daughters, with the mightiest of his confederatours.

When his sonne *Machares* hearde that he had come so gret a way in so litle time, thozowe so many fierce nations, and the places called the Locks of *Scythia*, that no man had gone before, he sent certaine Ambassadors vnto him, to excuse hym, that for necessitie, he obeyed the *Romanes*. And when he sawe his anger extreame, he fledde into *Ponto Cherroneso*, burning his shippes that his father shoulde not folow him. But he sending other to take hym, he kyled himselfe. *Mithridates* killed all his friends that he betooke to him, when he went to that kingdome. The familiars of his sonne, that were come by priuate friendship, he lette goe vnhurt. Thus did *Mithridates*.

*Machares* killeth himselfe for feare of his father.

*Pompey* followed hym sleeping as farre as *Chalcos*, not thinking good to follow him any further, nor to passe aboute *Pontus* or the *Fenne* of *Meotis*, nor supposing, that in that case he woulde attempt any great matter, he went to *Chalcos*, to see the historie of h.ij.

*Argo*.

A gentle, verdant  
 the Gentleman  
 that went  
 with *tuft*.  
 From there was  
 tied at the hill  
*Crocus*  
 Streams of  
 gold.  
*Acacia*.

Anteox lyethin  
vwyte for  
Pongey.

Proper destroy-  
ers the enemies  
w. a prodde.

Women  
found voided.

Anytime over the year that out of one of them breathes.

Thyssen-Kuleth  
L. 10001.5  
Children,

## Play in great performance

Argonante, and Caslor, and P. flux, and the journey of Hercules, and chiefly to see the passion of Prometheus, which they say he suffered at the hyll of Caucasus. There be many springs that runne from Caucasus, that carry fhyrredes of gold that can not be scene: and the inhabitants put flaxes into the streame, where it is deepest, and so gather the gold sand that is conteyned. And peradventure such a one was the golden flaxe that Actes bare on his backe. Whillett Pompey was beholbing this story, other nations that were nigh, sent unto him: but O. ades the King of Albans, and Arius, the king of Iberia, with 50. thousand, lay in wait for him at Cetus, the floud flowing into the Sea of Cassus with twelue monthes, many rivers running into him, & Arius greatest of all. When Pompey hearde of the traynes, he passed the floud, and drove the Barbarians into the thickest wooddes. They are good fighters in wooddes, hiding themselves, and appearing suddainely agayne. He compassed the woodde with his army, and burned it, and chased them that fledde, untill all sent hostages & giftes, of whom he triumphed in Rome. Among the hostages and prisoners, there were found women, having no lesse woundes than men, and they were thoughte to be Amazones, eyther because the Amazones that be a nation therby, were come to help them, or for that the Barbarians call all warlike women Amazones. Pompey going from thence, encamped in Armenia, accusing Tigranes for helping of Mithridates, marching to Artaxata where the kings pallace was. Tigranes would not have warre. He had children by Mithridates daughter, of the whiche Tigranes killed two, one in fight making him warre, the other, because he would not take him by when he had a fall at hunting, and because he did set the crowne on his head. The third, because he lamented his father in that hunting, was crowned of him, but rebelling shortly after, he was overcome of his father, and fledde to Phraata, King of the Parthians, that now succeeded in the Kingdome to his father Sertico. When Pompey was at hande, conferrying with Phraata, and he agreeing, and seeking private friendship with Pompey, the yong man humbly fledde to Pompey, being Mithridates daughters sonne. But great was the estimation of Pompey among the Barbarians, for iustice and faithfulnessse, to the which

which, his father *Tigranes* also trusting, came unto him, without sending any messengers afoze, submitting himselfe & all his, to *Pompey*, and the iudgement betwene him and his sonne. *Pompey* sent his chiefe Captaynes, commanding them to meete y<sup>e</sup> King with all honoz: they that were with *Tigranes*, bycause they hau not sent befoze, fledde, but *Tigranes* wet on, & honoured *Pompey* as the better, after the *Barbarian* fashion. Some say, he was brought by y<sup>e</sup> sergeants, whom *Pompey* had sent to fetch him. Whosoeuer he came, he made an accompt of his doyns, and gaue to *Pompey* sixe M. talents, & to euery common souldioure. 50. drammes, & to a Captayne of a band a M. and to a collonell tenne M. *Pompey* soz gaue all y<sup>e</sup> was passed, and agreed him with his sonne, and appointed him to reigne in *Sophene*, and *Gordene*, (these be now e *Armenia* the lesse) and his father, in the rest of *Armenia*, in the which his sonne should succede him. The land that he had conquered, he commanded him to leaue, and he left *Syria* fro *Euphrates* to the Sea, for *Tigranes* had this, and a part of *Cilicia*, putting out *Antiochus* that was called the butifull. The *Armenians* that forsake *Tigranes*, when he went to *Pompey*, remayning in suspiti on, perswaded his sonne, being yet with *Pompey*, to entrappe hys father. He was taken and bounde, and in that time stirring the *Parthians* against *Pompey*, was brought in triumph, & dispatched. *Pompey* thinking all warre had bin ended, builded a citie, where he ouercame *Antichriates*, and of y<sup>e</sup> nate, called it *Nicopolis*, & it is in *Armenia* y<sup>e</sup> lesse. He restozed y<sup>e</sup> kingdome of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and added *Sophene* & *Gordene* which he had giue to *Tigranes* sonne, the which now be subiect to *Cappadocia*. He gaue him also *Cabala* a citie of *Cilicia*, & others, y<sup>e</sup> which kingdome *Ariobarzanes* gaue vnto his sonne whiles he was alive, in the whiche was manye mutations, till *Augustus* time, in the whiche it was made a prouince as other kingdomes were. *Pompey* passing ouer y<sup>e</sup> hill *Taurus*, made war bpō *Antiochus Conagemus*, til he was accepted to peace. He ouercame *Darius* y<sup>e</sup> *Median*, either bycause he holp *Antiochus* or *Tigranes* befoze. He ouercame y<sup>e</sup> *Arabians*, y<sup>e</sup> he called *Nabatheis*, *Arcta* being their kin x, and y<sup>e</sup> *Zeues* y<sup>e</sup> reuolted fro their king *Aristobulus*, and toke *Ierusalem* y<sup>e</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> most f, holp euen to the, & the rest of *Cilicia* y<sup>e</sup> was not yet subiect to *Rome*, P.

Tiger for  
to the

The Journal, &c.  
of Thomas.

Tigranes sonthe is  
taken, & carried  
in triumph.  
Pompey battled  
Nicomedia.

Arabiæ.

*Tompey taketh  
Pearl-fishers.*

and that parte of *syria*, that is aboute *Emphrates*, which is called *Cale, Ithauice* and *Palestina*; and the *Idumeans*, and *Itrureans*, and al other names of *syria*, he brought vnder the Romanes dominion, without any warre, hauing no matter againste *Antiochus* the pittifull, being present and suing for his fathers kingdome, but bycause he thought, that it being taken from *Tigranes*, who had put out *Antiochus*, it might wel be iudged to the people of *Rome*.

Whiles he was aboute these matters, Ambassadors came vnto him from *Phraates* and *Tigranes*, that were at warre. They that came from *Tigranes*, desired helpe as of their frende. They that came from *Phraates*, desired to be receyued into amitie with the Romanes. And *Pompey* not minding to make war vpon the *Parthians* without the decree of the Senate, sent arbiters to reconcile them. And thus he did.

*Mithridates* had now gone about *Pontus*, and hauing taken *Panticapæon*, that is the chiefe citie of *Marchandise* in *Europa* at the entrie of *Pontus*, he killed hys sonne *Siphaxes* at *Poro*, for hys mothers faulte, whiche was this:

*Mithridates* had a castle, in the whiche were hidde vnder the grounde in byasen vessels bounde with yron, muche treasure secretly. *Stratonice*, one of *Mithridates* wiues or women, whiche had the gouernement and keeping of this Castle, whiles *Mithridates* went about *Pontus*, deliuered the Castle to *Pompey*, and reuealed the treasure that was vnknowne. Whely wth this condition, that if *Pompey* toke hir sonne *Siphaxes*, he should saue him. He hauing the money, promised to saue hir sonne, and gaue hir leaue to carie awaye hir owne things. When *Mithridates* knew wh it was done, he killed *Siphaxes* at the narrowe sea, and threw hys bodie vburied, hys mother seying it on the other shoare.

Thus he killed the childe, to be reuenged of the mother.

He sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* being in *syria*, not hearing whither he were alive or dead, that hee might enioy his fathers kingdome, and pay Tribute for it to the Romanes. *Pompey* bad him come, and speake for himselfe as *Tigranes* had done. That he saide he woulde neuer doe, being *Mithridates*, but he woulde sende some of his childezen and friends.

Thus

Thus he sayd, and withall gathered an army together of free and bond, bringing much armour, shot, and munition, sparing no mans wodde, nor labouring Dre, to make strings. He sette taxes vpon euery man, though he were but of small substance, the collectors whereof did much spight, which he knew not of. And being sick in his face of a bile, he was healed of y *Eunuchs*, and only sene of the. When he was whole, and his army gathered, there was threescore choyce bandes, with sixe hundred in a company, and there was another great multitude, and shippes, and places which his Captaynes had got whilest he was sick. He sent a part of his army to *Phanagorea*, whiche was another mart towne at the mouth, that he mighte haue his entrees on both sides, *Pompey* being yet in *syria*. *Castor* of *Phanagorea* being inured of *Triphon*, an *Eunuch* of the Kings, he killed *Triphon* as he entred, and called the people to libertie, and they bycause the Castell was holden of *Artaphernes*, and other sonnes of the Kings, did bring wodde, and burned the tower, by the whyche feare, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, *Ozethres*, and *Eupatras*, *Mithridates* childezen, gaue themselves to be taken. *Artaphernes* was about fortie yeares olde, the other were faire yong men. There was another daughter of *Mithridates* called *Cleopatra*, who tarried still, whome the father louing for hir noble heart, sent diuers foysses, and toke hir away. Other Castels there about lately taken of *Mithridates*, following the boldnesse of the *Phanagoreans*, reuolted from *Mithridates*, *Xerronesus*, *Theadofia*, *Nymphæa*, and all other that were fitte for the warre aboute *Pontus*. He seeing these many reuoltings, and hauing his army in suspicion, not faithfull, being compelled to serue of necessitie, and for the great tributes, and the infidelitie of armies alwayes toward the Generalles that be in miserie, he sent his daughters by his *Eunuchs*, to be married to the princes of *scythia*, requyring an army to be sente him with speede, sending fine hundredth *Souldyours* with them. They, being not very farre off, *Mithridates* killed the *Eunuchs*, bycause they were euer inured of the *Eunuchs*, that might do most with *Mithridates*, and led the maydes to *Pompey*. *Mithridates* being spoyled of so many childezen, Castels,

*Mithridates* sick in the face.

An *Eunuch* at *Phanagorea*.

The Kings childezen taken.

Cities reuolte.

The Kings *Eunuchs* be killed.

A straight interpretation of sight.

Participation of the at *Pessinus* Conceris *Mithridates* kyle with his sonne.

Castles, and of his whole kingdome, and not fitt to lve for to make battell, nor loking for anye helpe of the *Scythians*, yet not conceyving any small matter, as one that was in calamitie, but sent to the frenchmen, whome he hadde made friends long before, intending to go to them, and invade *Italy* with them, thynking many of *Italy* were weary of the *Romanes*, and hearing that *Anniball* began the warre in *spayne*, and was most fearefull to the *Romanes*. He knew that of late almost all *Italy* rebelled from *Rome*, and kepte a long warre with them, and that *Spartacus* a swordeplayer, was stirred by of them, a man of no regard. With this opinion he marched toward *France*. This most bold enterprise the army disappoynted, being not content with so great a boldnesse, nor so long a journey, to be ledde into a strange countrey, against men, whom they could not overcome in their owne countrey, thinking *Mithridates* to be in despair of all things, and would in labour and like a king end his life, rather than in rest. Yet awhile they abode, and were quiet, for he was no small king, and not to be contemned even in adversitie. They standing thus, *Pharnaces* that was most deere to him of all his sonnes, whome he had many times declared to be the successeur of his kingdome, either for feare of his kingdome by this army, being yet like to obteyne pardon of the *Romanes*, but if his father shoulde make warre in *Italy*, like to lose all his heritage, either for other causes and reasons, and desires, he laide wayte for his father. The conspirateures being taken, and put to the racke, *Menophanes* perswaded *Mithridates* not to kill his sonne that was so much esteemed now in his voyage, for (sayde he) suche mutations happen in warre, whiche beyng ceased, they be stayed also. He being perswaded, granted pardon to his sonne: but he fearing the remembrance of it, knowing the army was weary of the journey, in the night went to the fugitives of *Rome* that served next his father, and shewed what danger they shoulde be in if they wente into *Italy*, whiche they evidently sawe, and promising them many benefites if they woulde carrie, brought them to rebell from his father. When he had perswaded them, *Pharnaces* sente to the other that were next in the army, they also

*Pharnaces* the  
king's sonne.

*Menophanes* was  
with *Pharnaces*.

The army re-  
gathered from  
the King, by the  
promise of this  
sonne.

con-

consenting, the fugitives were the firste that departed in the morning, that forsooke the king, and other that were ever nexte, made a great shoute, and the *Paule* answered them, not being all alike disposed peradventure, but readye to mutations, and despising him that was in adversitie, alwayes hoping for better at every change. Other being ignorant of that was done, & thinking all other to be corrupted, and that they alone shoulde be despised of the more part, for feare and necessitie, rather than of good will, agreed to their purpose.

Princes forsake  
in calamitie.

*Mithridates* being stirred by the crye, sente some to knowe what they meante by thoyr crye, they not dissembling, sayde, they required the sonne to reigne for the father, a yong man for an olde, that was ruled by his Eunuches, and that had killed so many children, Captaynes, and friends. Whiche when *Mithridates* heard, he came forth to say somewhat to them, and even then a number of his gard fledde to the fugitives. They sayde they would not accept them, unlesse they did some notable feate, and withall shewed *Mithridates*. They killed his horse, and now as obteyning their purpose, saluted *Pharnaces* King, and one brought a byronde paper out of the Temple, and crowned hym with it in stead of a diademe. Whiche when *Mithridates* did see from above, he sente one after another to *Pharnaces*, to requyre safe flighte, no man of them that were sent returning, fearing least they shoulde be given to the *Romanes*. He praysing the gard, and such friends as yet carried with him, sent them to the new king, and the army killed some of them without anye cause, he taking out of his sword a poyson that ever he had carrie aboute hym, tempered it. Two of his daughters, named *Mithridates* and *Nissa*, espoused to the Kings of *Aegypt* and *Cyprus*, that were broughte uppe with hym, desyred they myghte take the poyson firste, and were verie instante, and woulde not lette hym drynke it, tyll they hadde taken it: and the position some dispatched them, but it woulde not worke upon *Mithridates* himselfe, though he walked fast for the purpose, & cause he used to eate other medicines, whiche he took ever agaynst the violence of poyson, whiche

The kings horse  
killed by his  
gard.  
A crowne of  
paper in stead  
of golde.

Two of the  
kings daughters  
die constantly  
before him.  
The poyson  
would not  
worke in the  
king, because he  
had used dayly  
medicines a-  
gainst poyson,  
which of his  
name he called  
*Mithridatum*.

i.ij.

medicines

medicines at this day be called *Mithridatum*. Seeing then one *Neron*, a Captaine of the Frenchmen, he sayde vnto him, I haue had much profite of thy right hand against mine enemies, I shall now receyue greatest pleasure, if thou wilt take me away, that am in danger to be carried to the pomp of a triumph, that haue bin a ruler and a king of so many and so greate a dominion, and can not dye of payson, bycause of the continuall receits of other medicines. But the greatest and most ready payson whiche kings alwayes feele, is the treachery of armie, childe, and friends, I did not foresee, but all things, concerning my dyet, I did foresee and keepe. *Bitatus* weeping, obeyed the necessitie of the king. Thus *Mithridates* dyed, the eleuenth after *Darius* last king of *Persia*, and the eyght from *Mithridates* that forsooke the *Macedonians*, and possessed the kingdome of *Pontus*. He liued eyght or nine yere aboue threescore, and had reigned fiftie and seauen yeres: for being yet an Orphane, the kingdome came to him. He subdued the nigh nations of the *Barbarians*, and overcame many of the *Scythians*, and made a sharpe warre against the *Romanes* fortie yeres, in the whiche he ofte conquered *Bithinia* and *Cappadocia*. He ouerranne *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Macedonia*, and sayling into *Grecia*, did manie greate ades, and was Lord of the sea from *Cilicia* to *Ionia*, till *Sylla* shutte hym agayne within his fathers kingdome, ouerthrowing 140. M. men, and after so great a losse, renued the warre easily, fighting with the best Captaynes. Being overcome of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey* he had many times the better hande of them. *Lucius Cassius*, *Oppius Quintus*, and *Manius Acilius*, he take prisoners, and ledde them about with him, til he killed him that was the cause of the warre, and the other he deliuered to *Sylla*. He ouerthrew *Phim-bria*, *Murena*, and *Cotta* the Consul, and *Fabius* and *Triarius*. He had euer a great heart, and euen in his miserie was mighty and paynefull. He left nothing vnattempted against the *Romanes*, no, not when he was ouerthrowen. He was confedered with the *Aetians* and *French*, and sente to *Sertorius* into *Iberia*. He was wounded many times in his person of his enemies and others by treason, yet not resting then, though he were olde. Neether was

The words of  
*Mithridates* be-  
fore his miserie-  
table ende.

Treachery the  
greatest payson  
to Kings.

The last of  
*Mithridates*.

The courage of  
the King.

was any of the conspiracies hidde from him, no not in his last dayes, but where he willingly let it passe, he was destroyed by it, so vnthankfull a thing is malice obteyning pardon. Bloudy he was, and alwayes cruell. He killed his mother and his brother, and of his childe, three sonnes and three daughters. His body was bigge, as his armoure do declare, whiche he sente to *Nemea* and *Delphos*. He hadde good strength, and euen to the last, could ride and throw his dart. He ranne in one day a thousand furlongs by changing of horses. He guided a chariot with xvj. horses. He was learned in the *Græke* letters, and thereby vnderstand the *Græke* Ceremonies. He loued musick. He was temperate and paynefull in all things, and onely he was overcome of pleasures with womē. Thus *Mithridates* called *Eupator* *Dionysius* dyed. When the *Romanes* heard of it, they made great joy, as deliuered of a sore enimie. *Pharnaces* sente his fathers corpse to *Sinope* to *Pompey* in *Gallicie*, and them that tolde *Minucia* & other many pledges, as wel of *Grecia* as *Barbaria*: he desired his fathers kingdom, or to be king of *Bosphorus* only, the which kingdome *Machares* his brother had of *Mithridates*. *Pompey* gaue allowance for the burying of *Mithridates* body, and appointed them that looked to it, to burie it royally, and to place it in *Sinope* among the kings Sepulchres, louing him for his noble heart, as a king most worthy in his time. He made *Pharnaces* that had deliuered *Italy* from great trouble, friend and confederate of the *Romanes*, and gaue him *Bosphorus* for his kingdome, *Phanagorea* excepted, which he left free, and of their owne iurisdiction, which were the first that resisted *Mithridates* after he renued force, and had gotten ships, and another army, and places of receipt, and were leaders of rebellion to other, and causes of his destruction. He in this one war ouerthrew the pirates, and subdued the mightiest king, and being brought to fight withoute the warre of *Pontus*, the *Chalcians*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, *Armenians*, *Medians*, *Arabians*, and *Iexes*, and other nations of the East, he subdued, and limited the Empire of the *Romanes* vnto *Aegypt*, into the whiche he would not enter, though they were at diuision, and the king calling him, and sending him giftes, and money, and garments, &c.

Misericorde obtey-  
ning pardon  
vnthankfull.  
A cruell King.

*Nemea* the place  
where teates  
were sheved  
in the honor of  
*Hercules*.  
The strength  
of the King.  
The learning  
of the King.  
He loued  
Musick.

The body of  
the King buried  
at the charges  
of the *Romanes*.

*Phanagorea* free.

i.ij.

to.

to all his armye, eyther fearing the greatnesse of that kyngdome yet flourishing, or auoyding the hate of his enemies, or oracles, forbidding it, or for other reasons whiche I will shewe in the story of *Aegypt*. Of the nations that he wanne, some he left free, bycause they were of the *Romanes* amitie. Some he made subiect to the *Romanes*, some he gaue to be kingdomes, as *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, *Bosphorus* to *Pharnace*, and *Cappadocia* to *Antiochus*, *Comagene*, and al the other that he had got in *Mesopotamia*. He appoynted *Tetrarches* of *Gallagrecia*, whiche be now *Galations*, bozderers vpon *Cappadocia*, *Detatara*, and others. *Attalus* had power ouer *Paphlagonia*, and *Aristarchus* of *Calchus*. He appoynted *Archelaus*, the holy minister of the Goddesse in *Comagene*, which is as good as a kings dominion, and declared *Castor* of *Phanagorea*, a friend to the *Romanes*, and he gaue to other much land and money. He builded Cities in *Armenia* the lesse, *Nicopolis*, bycause of his victory, in *Pontus*, *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates* *Eupator* builded, and named it of himselfe, and destroyed it, bycause it receiued the *Romanes*, and *Pompey* erected it againe, and called it *Magnopolis*. In *Cappadocia* he reedified *Atazaria*, that was utterly destroyed, and others that were decayed by afflicted he restored. In *Pontus*, *Palestina*, and *Celasyria*, and *Cilicia*, where he placed the Pirats. The Citie that of old time was called *Sale*, is now *Pompeopolis*. In *Talauria*, which Citie *Mithridates* had as a storehouse for his munition, were found two thousande cuppes made of precious stone, bound about with barres of golde, and pottes, & cannes, & lauets, beddes, and chapers most rich. There were bydles, saddles, and caparisons for horses, beset with golde and precious stone, the whiche were so many, as thirtie dayes was spent in the deliuerie of them. Part of them were given by *Darius Histaspis*, some of *Phking Ptolomei*, which *Cleopatra* gaue to *Coans*, and they to *Mithridates*, and made and gathered more, being desirous of precious apparell. At the end of Winter *Pompey* distributed gifts to his army, to euery man five *Dracmes* of *Athens*, and to the Captaines accordingly. They say the summe came to *xy. M. Talents*. He went to *Ephesus* and sayled to *Italy*, and

*Aegypt* not touched.

*Pompey* appoynted kings and princes. The minister of *Comagene* equal to king. *Castor*. Cities builded of *Pompey*.

*Magnopolis*.

*Pompeopolis*. Talents full of treasure.

Gifts to the army.

and from thence wet to *Rome*, leauing his army at *Brunduse*, and sending euery man home: whiche acte being so accepted to the people, made the *Romanes* to wonder. There came to meete him by seuerall compaignes, the yong men furthest of, then in order as euery man could for age, last the Senate, extolling his actes, for there was no man that had ouerthowen so many enemies, nor taken so many nations, and measured the *Romane* Emppre with the flood of *Euphrates*. He triumphed most gloriouly as neuer did man at the xxxv. yeare of his age, which continued two dayes of many nations, from *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and all *Syria*, of *Albania*, *Heniochia*, *Achaia*, and *Scythia*, and the *East Iberians*. And he brought into the portes seauen hundred sound shippes, and to the pompe of his triumph Chariots, and Cartes wrought with gold, and other full of diuers treasure. As a bedde of *Darius Histaspis*, and the chaire and Scepter of *Eupater*, and an image of golde of eyght cubites to the breastes, of siluer corned seauen thousand millions, five hundred and ten, an infinite number of cartes with armoure, and Armines of shippes, and a multitude of prisoners & pirates, none bound, but clad after their countrey. Before *Pompey* went the Captaynes of the kings that were overcome, or their children or generalls, some being captiues, some giuen for hostages, in number thre hundred. xliii. Then was there *Tigranes*, sonne to *Tigranes*, and flue of *Mithridates*, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Darius*, & *Xerxes*, and two daughters, *Orsaba* and *Eupatra*. There was broughte *Olthaces*, Sceptre-bearer of *Colchos*, and *Aristobulus*, king of the *Ieyes*, and the Tirans of *Cilicia*, and women of the kings bloud of *Scythia*, thre Dukes of *Iberia*, and two of *Albania*, and *Menander* of *Lodicea*, that was generall of the horsemen to *Mithridates*. The Images of them that came not, were broughte: of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* fighting, being overcome, and fleeing: of *Mithridates* the besieging, and the night, when he was fledde to is represented, and the silence. and last it was shewed holued. The Virgines that chose to dye with him were figured, and descriptions of his Sonnes and Daughters that dyed before him, the pictures of the *Barbarian* Goddes, and the

The receyuing of *Pompey* at *Rome*.

The triumph of *Pompey*.

Here a Million is ten thousande.

ozna

ornamentes of their countrey. There was bozne a table shewing these things. The Shippes that were taken, were eight hundred, with beakes of brasse. Cities builded, eight in Cappadocia, in Cilicia and Calasyria twentie, and in Palestina, that whiche is now called Seleucia. Kings overcome, Tigranes of Armenia, Artoces of Iberia, Orizes of Albania, Darius of Media, Artas of Nabathia, Antiochus Comagenus, all these did the picture shew. Pompey himselfe was in a Chariot full of precious stones, having on the cloke (as they say) of Alexander of Macedony, if it may be beleued, that by like he had it in Mithridates Guarderobe, being brought to her by Cleopatra. The Captaynes of the confederates followed the Chariote, some on horse, and some a foote. Being come to Capicolio, he killed none of the prisoners as other in triumphes had done, but sent them to their Countreys with the common expences, except the kings, of the which only Aristobulus was streight killed, and shortly after Tigranes. This was the triumph.

The glory of  
Pompey.

Pharnaces ma-  
keith vvarre.

Pharnace besieged Phanagorea, and the bozderours of Bosphorus, till the Phanagoreans driven by famine came forth and foughte, & were overcome, of whome he hurt none but toke pledges, and went his way.

Not long after he toke Sinope, and conetling Amisus, he made warre with Calusio the Lieutenant, at the which time Cesar and Pompey were at debate, till Asander his private enimie drove him out of Asia, the Romanes being otherwise occupied.

Asander.

He made warre with Cesar after he had overcome Pompey, returning from Aegypt at the hill Sectio, where his father once came Trium, and being overcome, he fledde to Sinope with a thousand horsemen. Cesar having no leysure to follow him, sente Domitius against him, to whome he deliuered the Citie, and vpon conditions of peace, went away with his horsemen, whose horse he killed, they being much greued at it. Being conuered by shippe, he fledde to Pontus, and gathering some Scythians and Sarmatians, toke Theudocia and Panticapaea. His old aduersarie Asander comming againe vpon him, and his horsemen wantyng horse, and not used to fight on foote, they were overcome, Pharna-

ccc

ces alone fighting valiantly, till he was wounded, and died when he was fitye yeares olde, and xv. yeares king of Bosphorus. This Pharnaces losse his kingdome, whiche C. Cesar gaue to Mithridates of Pergame, that had holpen him well in Aegypt. Howe they be free, but to Pontus and Bythinia, a president is sent euery yeare.

Pharnaces slaine  
by a private foe.

The other countreies that Pompey had giuen, although Cesar blamed them for taking Pompeys parte against him, yet he let them haue it, sauing the spiritual office of Comagene, which he translated from Archelous to Nicomedes: but not long after, bothe these and those that C. Cesar and M. Antonius gaue to other, were made prouinces of the Romanes, by Augustus Cesar, when he hadde wonne Aegypt, the Romanes taking lighte occasions againste euery man. Therfore their dominion increasynge by this warre of Mithridates, into Pontus Euxinus, and to the sandes of Aegypt, and the floude Euphrates from the Iberians that be at the pillars of Hercules, it maye wel be called a greate Eldozle, and Pompey the Captaine euen so. They haue also

Spiritual office  
of Comagene.

Affrica to Sirene, which Appion the king of the house of Ligidia, being base, gaue them by his Testament: only Aegypt was left for the compasse of the inward sea.

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k.

The ende of the Romaine ciuill  
vvarres vvith King Mithridates.